# THE SIEGE AND THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453

## HISTORIOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND MILITARY STUDIES

MARIOS PHILIPPIDES AND WALTER K. HANAK

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## Historiography, Topography, and Military Studies

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# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| *BS* | *Byzantinoslavica* |
| *BSEB* | *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines* |
| *Byz* | *Byzantion* |
| *ByzJ* | *Byzantinisch-Neugriechiche Jahrbücher* |
| *BZ* | *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* |
| *CBB* | P. Schreiner, ed. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, Chronica Byzantina Breviora* |
| *CC* | A. Pertusi, ed. *La Caduta di Costantinopoli.* Vol. 1: *Le Testimonianze dei Contemporanei* Vol. 2: *L'Eco nel Mondo* |
| *CFHB* | *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* |
| *CSHB* | *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* |
| *DOP* | *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* |
| *EI* | *Encyclopedia of Islam* |

| | |
|---|---|
| ***EEBΣ*** | *῾Επετηρὶς ῾Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* |
| *FC* | S. Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453* |
| *FHG* | *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* |
| *İA* | *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| *LCB* | D. M. Nicol. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* |
| *MCT* | F. Babinger. *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* |
| *MGH* | *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* |
| *MHH* | P. A. Déthier and C. [K.] Hopf, eds. *Monumenta Hungariae Historica Ser. Scriptores* (Második osztály Irok). Vol. 22.1 |
| *NE* | N. Iorga (Jorga). *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e^ Siècle*, 6 vols. |
| ***NH*** | *Νέος ῾Ελληνομνήμων* |
| *OCP* | *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *ODB* | *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* |
| *OGN* | A. E. Vacalopoulos. *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204–1461* |
| *PaL* | K. M. Setton. *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 2: *The Fifteenth Century* |
| *PG* | J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeco-Latina* |
| ΠκΠ | S. P. Lampros. *Παλαιολόγεια καὶΠελοποννησιακά*, vols. 3 and 4 |
| *PLP* | E. Trapp *et al.*, eds. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 7 vols. |
| *RdD* | F. Thiriet. *Régestes des déliberations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 3 vols. |
| *REB* | *Revue des études byzantines* |
| *RIS* | L. A. Muratori, ed. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* |
| *RKOR* | F. Dölger, ed. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* |
| *SOC* | R. Schwoebel. *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* |
| *ST* | |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *Studi e Testi* |
| *TIePN* | A. Pertusi and A. Carile, eds. *Testi Inediti e Poco Noti sulla Caduta di Costantinopoli* |
| *TODRL* | *Trudy otdela drevne russkoj literatury* |
| *VV* | *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* |
| *ZRVI* | *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, Srpska Akademija Nauka |

# Preface

Two concurrent themes run throughout our study. One is intimately involved with the sources relating to or purporting to relate to the events linked with the two-month siege and the ultimate fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks led by the Sultan Mehmed II *Fatih*, the Conqueror (1444–1446, 1451–1481), on May 29, 1453. Their authenticity or inauthenticity, reliability, and factual accuracy are analyzed, and the various folk themes and stories that relate to this memorable event and its aftermath are scrutinized for their veracity. The second theme is occupied with an analysis of the military planning and operational approaches in the course of the siege. Thus the title and sub-title of our study reflects these two concerns.

The first part, *The Pen*, evaluates the voluminous sources, some of which have been traditionally accepted as authentic and as absolutely authoritative by various modern historians. In the course of this study, we will point out that the traditional views on these sources may not be as reliable as they have been deemed to be. On the contrary, some belong to the realm of fantasy and produce legends; others, depending on the agenda of the author, seem to fabricate personalities and events. On the other hand, sources that have been despised or considered to be too confusing, and have been further confused by modern historians, include valuable information that has not been utilized thus far.

Thus Chapter 1 is meant to be an introductory unit and attempts to present in an organized fashion the various narratives of the siege that have come down to us. Here we attempt to evaluate the information of each source. To our knowledge no such catalogue exists, detailing the related *Quellenforschungen* and their accompanying problems, as well as assessing the worth of each narrative. This chapter goes beyond the existing testimonies of eyewitnesses and treats the historiographical tradition that existed in the east after the fall.

Chapter 2 focuses on four narratives that have been neglected by the scholarship on the siege: these include the forgotten Latin narratives of “Riccherio,” Tetaldi, and Pope Pius II, and as well the Slavonic text of Nestor-Iskander, which had been regarded as a confused secondary source composed by an unknown author who was present in the Ottoman camp. We will demonstrate that it is a first-rate source composed by an eyewitness who was with the defenders within the imperial city after his defection from the Ottoman camp and not with the besiegers during the course of the final two months before the fall of Constantinople.

Chapter 4 addresses the thorny matter, which has achieved Homeric proportions in the scholarship of recent centuries, of the evolution of the *Chronicon Minus* into the celebrated *Maius* and of all the problems that are associated with this elaboration. Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos will be discussed, and his various agendas in drastically altering the annual compilation of Georgios Sphrantzes. The elaborator's dependence upon other non-Greek sources will be demonstrated and his connection to other less well-known chronicles will be pointed out, in the hope of relegating this complicated problem to its proper position within the historiographical corpus of the siege.

Chapter 4 leads us to folk history, to myths, and to legends that immediately appeared in the days following the siege and the sack, and as well in the ensuing centuries, even by scholars. This excursus also brings us to examine some of the more imposing structures still surviving in Istanbul, such as the Church of Hagia Theodosia/Gül Camii and the thorny problem of its identification and location, or the unimposing areas such as the Vefa Meidan, or even the largely unknown areas even among the current residents of Istanbul such as the square of the Uç baş. These locations are important, as we shall see, for the mythology and legendary accounts associated with them.

The second part of our study, *The Sword*, addresses the operations of the siege itself, analyzing in a systematic fashion the military situation as it confronted the Byzantines and their allies. Our focus in this analysis is upon the strategy employed by both sides, but especially the Ottoman offense. On this basic point, we find previous research seriously lacking. For reasons that are not sufficiently perceptible, modern historians have neglected Ottoman strategy. They tend to view the siege as a series of isolated incidents, which seem *prima facie* to be unconnected. We believe that there was a basic Turkish strategy that evolved during the progression of the siege, as circumstances warranted a change in tactics. Perhaps this strategy vacillated during the course of the siege, as events do not seem to follow a prescribed course of action even in modern warfare. And perhaps at the very end of the siege Ottoman strategy had direction and because of that the Byzantine defenses weakened. It is ultimately the grand strategy of the offense and the defense that concerns our views and us will be summarized in Chapter 11.

This part begins with Chapter 5, which consists of our detailed survey of the existing walls, gates, and defensive and contiguous structures. Over the years it became evident to us that the numerous modern studies of the siege, even by the most eminent scholars and respected authors, display unfamiliarity with the ancient remains. Consequently, we spent a great deal of time surveying the walls, gates, and adjacent structures, even in neighborhoods such as Sulu Kule, which are seldom if ever visited by scholars. We investigated the surviving remains before they were extensively renovated and thus became lost to the scholar interested in the topography of the siege of 1453.

Chapter 6 treats the imperial court's intensive diplomatic activities on the eve of the siege, while Chapter 7 considers the preparations of the Porte, its erection of the Bosphoros Castle, and the intense preparations for building bombards to level the land fortifications.

Chapter 8 considers the Golden Horn sector and, as will become apparent, this section had no important offensive value, but was utilized by the Ottoman forces to weaken the protection at the land walls. The main focus of the Turkish offensive strategy was to compel the defenders to spread thin their troops, both along the land and sea walls. Otherwise, the sea walls came under no immediate or direct threat. The naval focus of the sultan must thus be viewed as secondary to the land operations of his main army.

Chapter 9 deals with the adjustments in offensive strategy of the sultan as the siege ran its course. It is mainly as a result of these changes, recommended by the Ottoman high command, that we may infer the overall grand strategy of the sultan in the siege.

Chapter 10, albeit rather late in this study, addresses the general questions and assumptions often raised by scholars concerning Mehmed II's strategy for the siege and conquest of the imperial city. As will become evident, the sultan's approach was to vary his strategies, often dictated by circumstances as they evolved over a two-month period.

Chapter 11 contains our conclusions based on the evidence at hand and as we have interpreted it in the previous chapters. In some ways, these conclusions come as a surprise, given the confident statements, albeit insupportable by the available authentic evidence, of scholars that are often encountered in the accounts on the siege.

To these chapters we have added "Appendices" presenting a journal of the events linked to the siege (Appendix I), a compilation of texts addressing the execution of the grand duke, Loukas Notaras (Appendix II), and the notorious incident of the Kerkoporta, over which scholars have spilled much ink needlessly (Appendix III). Appendix IV, however, considers another oversight in the various investigations of the siege period. As we will have occasion to observe, the compilation of a prosopography of the participants in the siege and the sack of

Constantinople has become imperative. There has never been any systematic study of the defenders, aggressors, and survivors, and there is no basic list of participants available to scholarship. We present for the first time an essential, if limited, tool for scholars investigating the siege. This first step for the eventual compilation of a workable prosopography of the defenders is based on available texts.

While we do not wish to criticize in detail the various approaches to the siege by our predecessors, whose views will be examined and evaluated in due course within the appropriate sections of our study, we should stress that what has been produced thus far in scholarship is not, we believe, very satisfactory. The limitations imposed on any investigation of the siege have tended to assert themselves and have often led investigators in the wrong direction and to arrive at simplistic conclusions. Some of these limitations can be attributed to a lack of direct access to the sources that are not easily located and lack translation, as they are written in more than a handful of languages and are difficult to comprehend, even by the standards of the fifteenth century, and by an inferior and unsatisfactory publication of the texts. In addition, the lack of familiarity with the topography of the land and sea fortifications, the actual ruins of the land walls and the little that survives of the sea walls, and most significantly the failure of personal inspection of the areas under siege have simply complicated the difficult task of previous investigators. Their results present an inconclusive picture or an inadequate understanding, leading them into the historiographical traps as they emerged over the centuries.

The last two centuries have witnessed an immense increase in our knowledge of the expansion of the Ottoman Turks into the Greco-Byzantine/Frankish Levant, as new or neglected manuscripts and contemporary testimonies have been steadily discovered. Yet the scholarly views on this subject have been hardly modified, in spite of the new archaeological discoveries and the new manuscript sources that have become available to scholarship. And so if one were to read the story of the siege and fall of Constantinople as it has been told and retold a number of times in the last two hundred years, one would be hard pressed to discover any new insights into this monumental event in the various studies, aside from the literary talents of each author. Thus, while Sir Steven Runciman composed a popular account of the siege of 1453 that has remained in print for almost forty years since its first edition, there are severe limitations to his approach, and his narrative does not differ substantially in outlook or interpretations from the earlier studies of numerous worthy predecessors, such as father and son A. D. and J. H. Mordtmann, A. G. Paspates, E. Pears, or G. Schlumberger. Our observations also apply to the book by D. Stacton/D. Dereksen. He does not possess Runciman's literary skills or familiarity with the sources, which he could not or did not read in the original languages, but relied on the few, albeit inaccurate and flawed, translations in existence. The only modern scholar whose work demonstrates the availability of sources, and not all, by any means, is K. M. Setton. Their modern accounts may differ in details and in the literary talent that each author possesses, but they can hardly be said to offer new insights and new interpretations. Scholarship is always careful to move slowly in modifying transmitted pictures. As small changes in the form of additions and corrections accumulate, in time new syntheses become imperative. We would go so far as to submit that our basic conception of the siege, the fall, and the sack is still predicated on the interpretations that the nineteenth-century scholars placed on these monumental events.

The nineteenth-century investigators, researchers, and historians in general, we are reminded, were in many ways motivated by concerns that differ considerably from those of modern scholarship. Thus the scholars of that century could not break free from the restraints that their own period had placed upon them. This was an era characterized by nationalistic archetypes and sweeping generalizations, as the "new" nations in southeastern Europe, free at last of the Ottoman yoke, were struggling to survive and were desperate to discover and to isolate, in the events of the past, historical precedents to justify and sanction their new-found liberties. In addition, western European scholars still viewed the Ottoman Turkish Empire as "the sick man" of Europe. Furthermore, under the immense influence of Edward Gibbon, the Greco-Byzantine civilization of the Middle Ages was largely seen as a monolithic theocratic state that showed some sparks of heroism in its final chapters only when the inevitable decline of the Ottoman Turks had arrived. Against such a backdrop, the "causation" of the fall focused on the "degenerate" character of the Greeks, who refused to fight against the Ottoman aggressor. At the same time, the triumphal victory of the Turks over Constantinople was attributed to the advances in western military technology that had been imported by the Turkish forces, such as artillery and the enormous bombards of Mehmed II that supposedly leveled the ancient land fortifications of Constantinople and thus delivered the city to him.

We believe that the time has arrived to discard or to modify radically such simplistic views. Scholarship is obligated to produce new and authoritative analyses of events that may result in surprisingly fresh syntheses. While this is not the proper place to argue in favor of such an approach, the texts presented in this volume would militate in its favor. Even a cursory reading of our texts, for instance, demonstrates that the supposed ace of Mehmed II, that is, his bombards operated by gunpowder, was a failure. The bombards, in fact, achieved very little in the siege of 1453, played a negligible role in the siege of Negroponte, and failed miserably in the siege of Rhodes. The Ottoman victory in 1453 must be attributed to other factors. The Ottoman bombards were too cumbersome, could not be aimed effectively, and failed to reduce to rubble the mighty land fortifications of Constantinople. We should recall that the art of effective deployment of artillery pieces was still in its infancy and that the bombards of the *quattrocento* were still employed as battering rams or as stone-throwing catapults. The science of ballistics was still far in the future and unperfected. The effect of bombards was mainly psychological and was felt more by the non-combatants than by the professionals, who must have observed, at least in the course of the siege, the strategic and tactical limitations of Ottoman artillery. The immediate cause of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 must be attributed to the withdrawal of Giustiniani and his disciplined band of *condottieri*, and to the ensuing panic among the remainder of the defenders. The Turks did not breach the land walls. Their defenders in the vicinity of the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton abandoned the ancient fortifications. In the end, the enemy overran this critical sector in the defense of the imperial city.

Similarly, in a later period, the fall of Negroponte/Khalkis in Euboea can be reasonably attributed to the failure of the Venetian commanders to provide effective aid to the besieged, who probably perished in bewilderment, seeing their fleet simply standing by and idly watching the conflict. Immensely more important, more significant, and more effective to operations during the sieges in the Levant of the *quattrocento* were the activities of "renegades," spies, potential traitors, and the existence of fifth columns within the cities under siege. This specific aspect of warfare has not been exhaustively investigated in modern scholarship and deserves a fresh look. Given the indisputable role played by such individuals as Halil Pasha, the grand vizier of Mehmed II's Porte, of Loukas Notaras, the "prime minister" of the imperial administration of Constantine XI, of Tommaso Schiavo and of Luca da Curzola and of their cohorts in Negroponte, of Meister George and of Meligalos and of Sophianos in Rhodes in 1481, we believe that a modern investigation of the importance of intelligence and counter-intelligence operations in siege warfare of the period will produce rewarding results.

The systematic study of the fall of Constantinople and of Byzantine-Frankish Greece, in general, as well as the related expansion of the Ottoman Turks into southeastern Europe, was pioneered by K. Sathas, P. A. Déthier, and S. P. Lampros, in their numerous publications that spanned the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. We have structured this study in the partial belief that their work, while significant, was never brought to a proper conclusion and that their studies and contributions to medieval and Renaissance historiography remain largely inaccessible to English-speaking students. In recent decades our understanding of the monumental events involved in the end of Byzantine Greece and of the expansion of the Ottoman Turks into the Levant and southeastern Europe have been aided and enriched by new and interesting approaches, innovative lines of research, and fresh ways of looking at a fascinating and complicated situation, but the sad fact remains that numerous sources remain inaccessible to the majority of students and scholars. We therefore make no apologies for the unabashedly old-fashioned approach that we have employed in our study.[1]

We, the authors of this study, have engaged in research and study of the material for the siege of Constantinople in 1453, both independently and in collaboration, for over thirty years. In the course of our detailed analyses of sources and accounts, we discovered that there were numerous gaps and flaws in all scholarly attempts to give meaning to this monumental event. Our research has taken us to numerous libraries in Europe and the United States, and we were compelled to visit and revisit the sites in question countless times. In the process of our research we became dissatisfied and frustrated with the numerous bits of scholarship that have been published on this event. Our collaboration over the course of many years proved an extremely rewarding experience and we present its results here. We wrote this book from the perspective that previous studies were not inclusive and did not address the problems adequately. We hope that we have taken a small step toward this goal. In truth, if this study had been compiled at the end of the nineteenth century or in the course of the twentieth, our understanding of the siege of 1453 would have been on a more solid foundation. We have tried to remedy this situation and we are hopeful that future studies will contribute substantial material that is pertinent to the siege and its aftermath.

A great deal remains to be done. Further research may reveal additional "sources" and "lost" accounts. Likewise, additional information may be uncovered in the Ottoman libraries and manuscript collections that have thus far been overlooked. New authoritative editions of well-known texts have become imperative. To cite one significant example, there is the work of Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani, for which there exists no critical edition of this informative and basic account of the siege. The edition would have to take into consideration all available manuscripts of the *quattrocento* and their valuable marginalia, which remain for the most part unknown to scholars. As well, a critical edition of the text of Ubertino Pusculo is imperative; and other Slavonic versions of the text of

Nestor-Iskander will have to be re-examined and re-evaluated, given the newly acquired status of eyewitness. A compilation of the prosopography of the besiegers will furnish additional information, while more insights will be gained from a complete prosopography of the defenders. Lastly, the field of intelligence and counter-intelligence, double agents, renegades, and downright traitors remains open.

We should add a note in regard to transliteration of names. While we use the accepted form for Christian names that have English equivalents, such as George (exceptions are made for initial citations of prominent Byzantine annalists, hence, Georgios), John, or Constantine, a practice of transliterating other Greek names into English, by-passing the normal transliteration, is observed: thus "Palaiologos" and not "Palaeologus," "Palaiologan" and not "Palaeologan." But consistency is elusive. It is more common to encounter "Thessaloniki" and the Latinized "Thessalonica" or the grammatically correct form "Thessalonike." We should admit that we have been guilty of following the common usage. The same is true for Turkish names and titles. We will encounter "Mehmed" and not the phonetically incorrect "Mehmet" or the pedantic "Mohammed/ Muhammad."

With respect to all the passages cited in a score of languages throughout this work, we have provided our own translations of these passages, unless the name of another translator is cited in an accompanying note. Generally speaking, we have not translated the extensive number of texts cited in the footnotes, unless we believed the language to be rather exotic and the information present to be of substantial significance.

Finally, we should like to note that we have consciously tried, as much as possible but not totally, to avoid redundancy in the use of the adjectival form "Byzantine" or the noun "Byzantium." The application of this adjective, in particular, to the Greeks of the Middle Ages dates back to the seventeenth century, when French antiquarians first coined it. It is further unfortunate that Gibbon's towering influence has colored "Byzantine" with its familiar pejorative dimension. We have, therefore, often employed the term "Greek," which might not be deemed inappropriate if language and religion were to count as criteria for ethnicity. After all, the common language of the average Greek of the *quattrocento* did not differ radically from the spoken idiom of the nineteenth century and the citizens of the modern Hellenic Republic could have understood the spoken idiom of Constantine XI's subjects with relative ease. Moreover, the religion of the vast majority of modern Greek-speakers remains Orthodox Christianity, which has miraculously survived organized persecutions, forced conversions, and brutal policies during the "Dark Age" of modern Greece. Thus, while one might be charged with anachronism if one were to maintain that the Palaiologan *coda* of the Greek empire was the seminal form of the modern Greek nation, we feel that it is neither anachronistic nor unnatural to employ the term “Greek” for the Christian Greek-speakers of the late medieval Balkans and of Constantinople in the fifteenth century.

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# Note

[1] While we subscribe to the following views that Sir Steven Runciman expressed in the "Preface" (p. xi) to his *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1: *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1951), we would like to stress that the minutiae and the details regarding the siege of 1453 have not been settled, thus far, to allow a solitary historian to take up the pen of Homer or Herodotus, or even of Thucydides, and complete a task that would bring us beyond the "Alexandrine Age" and produce a highly accurate historical investigation that would merit praise among the experts on style and the devotees of creative literature. We quote Runciman's passage at length: "A single author cannot speak with the high authority of a panel of experts, but he may succeed in giving to his work an integrated and even an epical quality that no composite volume can achieve. Homer as well as Herodotus was a Father of History, as Gibbon, the greatest of our historians, was aware; and it is difficult, in spite of certain critics, to believe Homer was a panel. History writing today has passed into an Alexandrian age, where criticism has overpowered creation. Faced by the mountainous heap of the minutiae of knowledge and awed by the watchful severity of his colleagues, the modern historian too often takes refuge in learned articles or narrowly specialized dissertations, small fortresses that are easy to defend from attack. His work can be of the highest quality; but it is not an end in itself. We believe that the supreme duty of the historian is to write history, that is to say, to attempt to record in one sweeping sequence the greatest events and movements that have swayed the destinies of man. The writer rash enough to make an attempt should not be criticized for his ambition, however much he may deserve censure for the inadequacy of his equipment or the inanity of his results."

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# PART I

# THE PEN

# Chapter 1

# Scholarship and the Siege of 1453

# I. General Remarks

During the nineteenth century, "new" sources describing the siege, fall and sack of Constantinople in 1453 were discovered. The texts that had been forgotten or misplaced since the days of the Renaissance were edited and published in scholarly journals. A significant number of important documents saw the light of print for the first time:

1. The report of Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, the Genoese *podestà* of Pera/Galatas, the Genoese suburb across Constantinople on the northern shore of the Golden Horn. This important *epistula* dealing with the siege, sack, and the fate of Pera was composed on June 23, 1453, while Lomellino still felt the effects of the disaster and was still in deep grief and a state of depression.[1]
2. The valuable diary of the Venetian physician Nicolò Barbaro, who was on board a Venetian galley in defense of the harbor and who recorded all events, including numerous operations on the western land fortifications. He provides informative lists of Venetian combatants, casualties, refugees, and prisoners who fell into the hands of the Turks and were subsequently ransomed or perished in captivity.[2]
3. A section in Zorzi Dolfin's *Cronaca delle famiglie nobili di Venezia*, evidently copied from Languschi's *opusculum* and entitled *Excidio e presa di Constantinopoli nell' anno 1453*.[3]
4. Adamo di Montaldo's *De Constantinopolitano Excidio ad nobilissimum iuvenem Melladucam Cicadam*, a rhetorical piece composed in the humanistic flowery style favored by intellectuals of the period. It also deals with events, but the work is not chronologically contemporaneous with the siege and sack. It appears to have been written in the early 1470s.[4]
5. The Greek "biography" of Sultan Mehmed II by the Greek historian Kritoboulos, who had contacts with the patriarchate of Constantinople in the years that followed the sack and described these dealings in a manuscript discovered by Philipp A. Déthier in Istanbul.[5]
6. The Slavonic eyewitness account by Nestor-Iskander (İskender), which in its original form was a diary comparable to that of Barbaro whom it complements in a number of respects, but unlike Barbaro's narrative it deals exclusively with the land operations of the siege and not with the Venetian galleys in the harbor of the Golden Horn.[6]

These accounts have invited detailed scholarly analyses of the events that they presented and promised a better understanding of the complicated military operations associated with the end of the medieval Greek "empire" of the Palaiologoi.[7] Interest created by the discovery of such texts stimulated further research in topography and rudimentary archaeological investigation. Scholars began to visit Constantinople in person in order to evaluate the military situation of 1453 in its proper geographical context. The elder A. D. Mordtmann, for instance, made good use of his familiarity with the Constantinopolitan topography, and his work remains an immensely enhanced study of the siege.[8] The Greek physician A. G. Paspates, who had been reared and educated in the United States, further enriched his research.[9] The scholarly community soon realized the value of topographical investigation, as it had already done in the case of classical studies, and important basic research was soon initiated.[10]

The eighteenth century had not observed comparable activities in its approach to the siege but had concentrated, uncritically in some instances, on available sources. The case of Edward Gibbon is notorious. His sources were limited and he himself had never visited Constantinople. A number of useful accounts were discovered after Gibbon had finished his work.[11] There were also sources available to Gibbon, which he simply ignored or failed to utilize. In general, however, the eighteenth century witnessed the discovery and subsequent publication of some precious sources on the siege of 1453: Tetaldi's French version[12] and Ubertino Pusculo's Latin poem of Vergilian hexameters.[13] It should be noted, nevertheless, that Gibbon's account of the siege was and still is immensely popular, despite limitations, which to a large degree may be attributed to the prevailing standards of scholarship in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, Gibbon should not be found at fault for his failure to recognize the importance of topography or for neglecting chronicles in manuscript form that were buried in widely scattered libraries and collections. Although his work contains numerous shortcomings, various scholars and readers first became familiar with the siege through his popular book. In addition, Gibbon maintained a critical eye on the information available to him and in certain cases he proved a more careful historian than his successors in the following two centuries. Gibbon, for instance, is seldom given credit for suspecting that behind the Greek narrative attributed to the pen of George Sphrantzes (Gibbon's "Phranza") lurks an ecclesiastical elaborator.[14] Gibbon, in fact, anticipated the modern demonstration that Sphrantzes' *Chronicon Maius* is actually a paraphrase into Greek of Bishop Leonardo's Latin text, which was carried out by a notorious forger of Palaiologan documents, the prelate Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, one century or more after the death of Sphrantzes.

Thus the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were primarily an age of discovery and recovery. The “new” accounts underscored the need for textual evaluation, for *Quellenforschung*, and for a detailed investigation of the siege. The monumental fall of Constantinople had heralded the end of the Greek version of the Roman Empire. Perhaps it even marked the end of the Middle Ages, according to the reckoning of a few historians who boldly and confidently viewed history as a continuous process accented by abrupt, albeit well-defined and discernible, breaks in chronology.[15] While more sophisticated modern approaches frown upon such views, the least that can be said concerning this matter is that the year 1453 marks the most important date in the two millennia of Greek recorded history. After all, it amounted to a prelude of a long subjugation to an Islamic master. The citizens of the tiny reconstituted Greek nation of the nineteenth century demanded a reliable record of the siege and of the critical period that had witnessed the heroic death of the last Greek emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XI Dragaš Palaiologos. The fall of the imperial city had brought about the permanent occupation of Constantinople. This critical period also ushered in the so-called Dark Age of the infamous Turkish domination. Both the citizens of modern Hellas and numerous European scholars felt an acute need for the formation of a collection of all known eyewitness and near-contemporary accounts of the siege. It was a cumbersome, formidable task for individuals of that era to hunt down either the sources published in a score of periodicals on the continent or to consult the manuscripts themselves, scattered as they were, and still are, in libraries and collections throughout Europe.

Philipp A. Déthier, the energetic director of the Imperial Museum of Antiquity in Constantinople, who was destined to have his share of problems and numerous misunderstandings with the maverick Heinrich Schliemann, eventually undertook this ambitious project. In regard to the latter’s notorious excavations and smuggling operations at Hisarlik/Troy, Déthier was so exasperated with Schliemann’s attempts to disregard the explicit instructions issued to him by the Ottoman authorities that he threatened to revoke his permit to excavate in the Troad. He had grown particularly impatient with Schliemann’s “discovery,” questionable purchase, and eventual removal to Greece of a Hellenistic metope depicting the chariot of Helios, nowadays housed in Berlin’s Pergamon Museum.[16] In collaboration with the respected medievalist Carl [Karl] Hopf, Déthier produced an impressive collection of all known sources on the siege of Constantinople in 1453 and the scholarly community eagerly anticipated its publication.

Yet, while the first two volumes were being printed and collated in Pera/Galatas or in Budapest, the official sponsor of this enterprise, the

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, suddenly announced that the *opus*, already scheduled to appear as volume 21, parts 1 and 2, and volume 22, parts 1 and 2, of the prestigious series *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, was not to be published for a simple, albeit legitimate reason: an inordinate amount of printing errors had been detected in the galleys. The publication of this useful project then reached a state of scholarly limbo. Officially, the collection was not published, but a number of advanced copies had already been forwarded by the Academy to a few investigators and libraries. These rare surviving copies[17] have been widely sought and eagerly consulted ever since. Some texts included in the Déthier collection have not been printed a second time and the manuscripts still await modern editors. An additional two volumes were prepared but were never printed.

The Déthier project was so ambitious and so formidable that a similar undertaking would not be attempted again for another century. In the meantime, more documents and additional material from archival records pertaining to the siege and fall continued to be unearthed. Thus N. Iorga (Jorga) published numerous documents in his monumental series on the late crusades but, unfortunately, he often presented summaries and short extracts instead of the complete original text.[18] In addition, S. P. Lampros also collected and printed numerous contemporary and near contemporary lamentations, dirges, and popular tales dealing with the siege,[19] which, however, offer little factual material to the historian interested in the diplomacy of the period and in the military operations. Such scholarly efforts culminated in 1976 when the late Agostino Pertusi published his collection of sources.[20] In some cases Pertusi presented improved text, since he had taken the trouble to consult and collate manuscripts anew, such as his selections from Barbaro's important *Giornale*, which thus received welcome attention.[21] The same holds true of Pertusi's selections from Leonardo.[22] Finally, there has been considerable improvement over the sixteenth-century printed editions of this key text. Moreover, selections from Pusculo's poem[23] were also an improvement over the careless eighteenth-century printed edition of this work.[24] While some narratives were printed in their original languages, with facing-page Italian translation, unfortunately other selections appear only in Italian translation without the original text. Typical examples include Tetaldi's French version (the Latin version does not appear at all),[25] Nestor-Iskander (without the Slavonic text),[26] the report of Bishop Samuel (without the original German),[27] or the report of the refugees Thomas Eparkhos and Diplovatatzes.[28] Printed editions of these texts in the original languages are not easily obtainable. This absence of the original testimonies and accounts remains the most severe and frustrating limitation to an investigator consulting Pertusi's collection. Furthermore, one laments the fact that Pertusi presented only selections and short tantalizing extracts. A serious investigator must still consult the rare collection of Déthier. Despite all the errors in the *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, the texts are after all complete. Viewed from this perspective, the Pertusi collection of selections (an anthology in the final analysis) has only underscored the need for a new exhaustive compilation of all complete sources. An anthology is simply not satisfactory, even though it may have been executed with expert editorial skill. Consequently, the Déthier *opus* has not yet found a worthy successor and remains indispensable.

While the publication of the Pertusi collection was greeted as a useful and a much-needed step[29] for a proper understanding of the operations in 1453, its severe limitations soon became apparent. This was after all a collection of selections with the original text sometimes missing. Its very nature as an anthology limited its usefulness, since in certain cases important information was omitted for inexplicable reasons. One typical example requires attention: Pertusi included selections from a letter[30] written by the eyewitness Cardinal Isidore, the Greek legate of Pope Nicholas V to Constantinople. Isidore fought heroically in the siege, was wounded during the sack, was then captured, and was somehow ransomed early on, soon after concealing himself in Genoese Pera for ten days while the Turks actively searched for him. He escaped aboard a Turkish vessel that took him to Asia Minor, crossed to Chios, and finally reached safety in Venetian Crete.[31] Isidore's letter was addressed to his Greek friend, the famous Cardinal Bessarion in Italy, in which he spoke of the drama of Constantinople, thus providing us with a very early testimony by an active participant. The letter is dated *sexta die Iulii anno Domini MºCCCCºLIIIº*, "the sixth day of July 1453 A.D." Pertusi has chosen to omit a significant section of this highly informative *epistula*, which treats the execution of several distinguished Greek prisoners of the sultan, including the grand duke of the emperor, Loukas Notaras.[32]

Beyond these two volumes Pertusi prepared another collection of less famous documents and sources.[33] In the meantime, he continued with his quest to identify "new" sources and was able to recover an important account, an unknown *relazione* by the Anconan consul in Constantinople, Benvenuto.[34] Pertusi did not live to see the publication of this volume, which, in its final stages, was supervised by A. Carile and was published in 1983. There are serious problems with this volume, however, as the nemesis of Déthier has reasserted itself and this book is plagued by numerous typographical errors. One must still check previous editions in order to isolate and correct the various mistakes.

Despite the need, still sorely felt, for adequate information on the siege, fall and sack of 1453, students of these texts have, by now, sufficient material at their disposal to make some sense of military operations and of the strategy that was employed by besieger and besieged.[35] It must be stated at the outset that scholarship has been rather slow and careful to compare, collate, and evaluate “sources.” It is only in the last sixty years, for instance, that the unreliability of the *Chronicon Maius* has been convincingly demonstrated and that the Latin text of Bishop Leonardo’s *epistula* has served as an anchor in the composition of other accounts.

# II. *Quattrocento* Sources on the Siege and the Fall

## A. Eyewitness Accounts

**1. NICOLÒ BARBARO**. A physician on a Venetian galley, he maintained a journal that has been used by every modern historian investigating the siege. However, Barbaro's text presents several problems that deal with the prosopographical material and it is not always clear which piece of information is correct, as several contradictions emerge in his narrative. Thus in one of his lists Barbaro states that the Turks captured the knight Grioni during the sack:[36]

> *…tuti…nobeli da Veniexia, i qual fo prexoni in man del turco, tuti tornò a Veniexia, i qual tuti si ave taia, chi ducati doamilia, chi ducati mile, e chi ducati otozento, in men de uno ano tuti si fo tornadi a Veniexia: … ser Zacaria Grioni, el cavalier, sora comito*.

> …all Venetian nobles, who were left prisoners in the hands of the Turks and who returned to Venice in less than one year. Some paid a ransom of one thousand ducats, others two thousand, and others eight hundred. They returned to Venice: …Sir Zacaria Grioni, the knight and commander.

In the following paragraphs Barbaro presents a list of the noble Venetians who died during the siege and sack and enumerates Grioni as a casualty:[37] *nobeli morti, da poi la prexa…: ser Zacaria Grioni el cavalier*, "the nobles who fell in the siege: …Sir Zacaria Grioni, the knight." As is apparent, there is something wrong with Barbaro's second list that names casualties. Grioni, as Barbaro noted elsewhere in his narrative, was captured with his ship, while the Venetian fleet was leaving the harbor of Constantinople during the sack:[38] *la galìa de Candia patron misser Zacaria Grioni el cavalier, quela si fo prexa*, "the galley from Candia with Zacaria Grioni, the knight, as her captain was captured." To complicate matters further, Languschi-Dolfin reports that Grioni reached Negroponte (Chalcis in Euboea) together with the other ships fleeing from Constantinople:[39]

> *Le gallie tre de Romania, et le do gallie sotil Treuisana et Zacharia Grioni de Candia cum le naue de Candia tirate fuora del porto circa a mezo di feceno uela et in 4. zorni perueneno a Negroponte doue trouono M. Jacomo Loredan capitano zeneral cum otto gallie che aspettauano tempo de andar a dar soccorso a Constantinopoli*.

> The three galleys from Romania, the two light galleys of Trevisano and Zacaria Grioni from Candia with the ships from Candia left the port about noon, made sail, and in four days arrived in Negroponte where they met Giacomo Loredan, the captain general, with his eight galleys awaiting to set sail to come to the aid of Constantinople.

Scholarship has not exhaustively investigated or sorted the additions and changes made to Barbaro's autograph by later hands; so far, some changes made by Marco Barbaro, *il genealogista*, have been noted. Some simply provide clarifications with new information that gradually became available. Marco added, for instance, to the physician's list of executions, a note to indicate that Venice's *bailo*, Girolamo Minotto, was executed along with his son. The latter's fate had been uncertain for some time.[40] Marco clarified the situation on July 18, 1453: *il Turco feceli tagliar la testa…al bailo nostro et suo fiol*, "the Turk ordered the decapitation…of our *bailo* and of his son."[41] In addition, an anonymous note sought to silence aspersions on the critical withdrawal of Giovanni Giustiniani from his assigned sector during the last battle. While Barbaro himself only noted that the Genoese *condottiere* retreated,[42] *Zuan Zustignan, zenovexe da Zenova, se delibera de abandonar la sua posta*, "Giovanni Giustiniani, a Genoese from Genoa, decided to abandon his post," the *marginalium* supplies the explanation,[43] *per essire ferito de freza*, "because he was struck by an arrow," a statement that is also echoed, almost verbatim by Languschi-Dolfin, *vien ferito de freza*, "he was struck by an arrow."[44] Furthermore, the last two paragraphs of the journal, which report the aftermath and the wave of executions, as well as the fate of a *gran baron greco*, "a great Greek baron" (Loukas Notaras?) are additions by Marco. This precious source was first edited and published in its entirety by Cornet. Some relevant sections, with improved text, are reproduced in *CC* 1: 8–39; for an English translation of this text, cf. [Melville] Jones; in addition, there exists a modern Greek translation by Lappa, pp. 89–213.[45] There also exists a Latin partial translation of the journal, which some scholars have mistakenly assumed to be a fifteenth-century rendition into Latin of the original text, which is composed in the spoken Venetian idiom of the period. This Latin ἐφημερὶς/journal is in actuality a later translation and has been published under the title, *Nicolai Barbari Patricii Veneti Ephemerides de Constantinopoli anno 1453 obsessa atque expugnata*, in *PG* 158: cols. 1067–1078. The journal is further reproduced and translated, *infra*, Appendix I.

**2. ANGELO GIOVANNI LOMELLINO**. He was the *podestà* of Pera and on June 23, 1453, wrote his report in a letter entitled *Epistula de*

*Constantinopoleos Excidio*. For a long time Lomellino was the subject of a misunderstanding. As the first editor of Barbaro's journal, in his annotations he had erroneously assumed that "Angelo Zaccaria" was the *podestà* of Pera. This Angelo Zaccaria was a Genoese in Pera who had informed the sultan of the defenders' plans to burn the Turkish boats that been transported over dry land and launched into the Golden Horn, behind the chain-boom that was blocking the entrance to Constantinople's harbor. This traitor was named by Ubertino Pusculo in his poem: ...*Furtim / Detulit accelerans Machmetto nuntius audax / Angelus ex Galata Zacharias, atque suorum / consilia expandit*, "in secret and in haste, Angelo Zaccaria from Galatas [Pera] with audacity ran to Mehmed and informed him of the plans of his own people."[46] Furthermore, Pusculo claims that this traitor by lighting a fire gave the signal to the Turks that the Christian boats were commencing their attack, as their galleys quietly began to leave their anchorage under the cover of darkness:[47] *Ecce facem summa Galatae de turre levari / Cernitur: hoc Teucris signum fore nuntius ipse / Creditur*, "lo! they saw a torch lifted from the tallest tower of Galatas [Pera]; it is believed that the messenger himself [Zaccaria] gave this signal to the Turks." The identification of Angelo Zaccaria with Angelo Giovanni Lomellino was simply a confusion based on common first names but this misapprehension plagued scholarship for some time. The actual *podestà* of Pera was not a traitor and was affected deeply by the sack of Constantinople, as his letter reveals. Moreover, his own nephew had volunteered his services, had fought against the janissaries in the last battle, and had been captured, but Lomellino, as he sadly notes, had lost all trace of him in captivity:[48] *Imperialis nepos meus captus fuit; in redemptione eius feci quantum fuit mihi possibile... dominus...ipsum cepit*, "my nephew Imperiale was captured. I did all that was possible for me to ransom him...the lord [sultan] kept him." However, his fate is known from a letter of Soderini, who reported on August 30 of the same year that Imperiale had become a renegade by converting to Islam and had subsequently obtained a position in the sultan's Porte.[49] Lomellino's emotional and confused letter[50] was first edited by de Sacy, pp. 74–79. It was edited and printed a second time by Belgrano, pp. 229–233. Iorga, pp. 105–108, also edited it. An improved text with Italian translation is offered by *CC* 1: 42–51. Melville Jones, pp. 131–135, has translated it into English.[51]

**3. JACOPO TETALDI**, a merchant from Florence. There survives a French version (before December 31, 1453) and a Latin version whose date remains uncertain but it displays a later appendix (probably of 1454), which addresses the organization of a projected crusade. It is more likely that the Latin version, minus this appendix, antedates the French. In all likelihood, both the French and Latin versions are based on a lost, or misplaced, Italian original. Tetaldi, his manuscripts, editions, and his testimony will concern us later.[52]

**4. BISHOP LEONARDO GIUSTINIANI**, the most authoritative source that has spawned a number of followers/imitators in Latin, Greek, and Italian. His *epistula/aviso* of August 16, 1453, to Pope Nicholas V, as he states: *data Chii, XVI die Augusti*, remains our basic source for the event.[53] His report was the first extensive narrative in literary form to reach Europe; the disaster is described in graphic detail with the experience of an actual participant in the defense, a proud eyewitness:[54]

> *Narrabo igitur et flens, et gemens Constantinopolis proxime de cernentibus oculis discrimen ultimum et iacturam…sed quoniam quae visu magis quam quae auditu, verius exponuntur, quod scio loquar: et quod vidi fidelius contestabor.*
>
> With tears and groans will I give an account of the last struggle and loss of Constantinople, which I saw with my own eyes recently… since these events can be related more reliably by an eyewitness than by hearsay. I will tell what I know and will be a trustworthy witness to what I have seen.

Elsewhere in his narrative he emphasized the fact that he was an eyewitness to the events:[55] *Testis sum*, "I am an eyewitness." When Cardinal Isidore, en route to Constantinople in 1452, made a stop at the island of Chios, Leonardo fell under the spell of the Greek cardinal, who recruited him for the defense:[56]

> *cum igitur reverendissimus pater D<ominus> cardinalis Sabinensis pro natione Graecorum legatus, in eius famulatum me ex Chio vocasset, egi summa cum animi mei diligentia, ut… fidem defensarem.*
>
> When the most reverend father, the lord cardinal of the Sabines and [papal] legate to the nation of the Greeks, summoned me from Chios to join his retinue, I accepted and committed myself to the defense of the faith with all my energy.

We do not know in what capacity Leonardo assisted in the defense but he was an eyewitness to several important events. He evidently accompanied Isidore and his band of warriors to the walls and he was probably stationed together with the cardinal in the sector of Saint Demetrios:[57] *Cardinalis a consilio nunquam absens, Sancti Demetrii regionem ad mare defensabat*, "the cardinal, never absent from a council, was defending the region of Saint Demetrios by the sea." The two friends were finally separated in the early stages of the sack.

Cardinal Isidore was wounded in the neighborhood of Hagia Sophia, was captured, and then taken to the Turkish camp. Early on that day, before his identity was established, he was ransomed, as he noted in a letter:[58]

> *Quos omnes actus et opera praefata propriis oculis vidi, et ego ipse cum viris Constantinopolitanis omnibus una passus sum, licet de manibus impiorum me Deus eripuit, ut Jonam ab utero ceti.*
>
> All these events and the aforementioned deeds I saw with my own eyes and I suffered together with all the Constantinopolitans. But God snatched me away from the hands of the impious [the Turks], as he delivered Jonah from the belly of the whale.

In another letter addressed to his friend Cardinal Bessarion, Isidore supplies details of his adventures and mentions the wound that he received at the gate of "that renowned monastery" [Hagia Sophia]:[59]

> *et per immortalem Deum, cuius oculis patent et manifesta sunt omnia, saepius ac saepius illum execratus sum ac maledixi crudelem ex Turcis qui me sagitta fixit atque in sinistra capitis parte vulneravit ante ianuam cuiusdam monasterii, non tam acriter tamen ut eadem hora mihi vitam eripuerit, propterea quia eques eram et attonitus et spiculum ipsum magna in parte vires amiserat; sed me Deus, opinor, servare voluit, ut reliquas omnes tales ac tantas infortunatissimae illius urbis adversitates conspiciam.*
>
> And by the immortal God, whose eyes see everything most clearly, time and again have I cursed and reviled that cruel Turk who wounded me with an arrow on the left side of my head before the door of that renowned monastery. I was not overly concerned over my possible death at the time, as I was mounted and the shaft itself was almost spent. But I believe that God saved me so that I could witness the ill luck of that hapless city.

Leonardo did not sustain any wounds and fell unharmed into the hands of the Turks. Isidore implies that he himself reached the neighborhood of Hagia Sophia from the walls, presumably his assigned sector of Saint Demetrios, because he had a horse. The importance of a mount to avoid capture or death by the defenders is also underscored by Benvenuto, who states, as his text unfortunately breaks off, that *omnes provisores, ut credit interfecti erant…quia manserunt pedestres in platea*, "all commanders, as it is believed, were killed…because they were left behind on foot in the *piazza*/square." Perhaps Leonardo had lost his mount, was then captured, and was handled roughly by the Turks:[60] *Qua tempestate concussus, ego quoque captus sum: et pro demeritis meis vinctus caesusque a Theucris. Non fui dignus cum Christo Salvatore configi*, “caught in that upheaval, I also became a prisoner; and for my sins I was bound and beaten by the Turks. I was not worthy to be crucified with Christ, our Savior.” Leonardo provides no details of his liberation, which, unlike that of his friend and patron, may have occurred early on, as we learn elsewhere that he was able to buy books that the conquerors were selling on the very day of the sack:[61]

> *Et sicut eadem petitio subjungebat venerabilis frater noster Leonardus Methalinensis ord. fratrum praedicatorum professor in Constantinopoli et Pera publice dicere praesumit, quod omnes de pr<a>eda a Teucris rapta enim sciente vero domino et contradicente licite emere possunt nec data etiam pretio Teucris soluto restituere tenentur, ipseque archiepiscopus duo missalia et unum breviarium et nonnullos alios libros dict<a>e librari<a>e deputatos emere non dubitaverit.*
>
> Our venerable brother Leonardo, the archbishop of Mytilene, a professor of the Order, stated in this report that anyone could buy in Constantinople and Pera, for a settled price, from the loot and booty of the Turks (with the lord’s knowledge that his edict was being violated). The archbishop himself did not hesitate to purchase two missals, a breviary, and other books that belonged to the aforementioned library.

We do not know how Leonardo and his books eventually found their way to Chios. One might suppose that Leonardo was one of the passengers on board a western ship that managed to reach the safety of the Aegean archipelago. Perhaps he was one of the refugees on the very vessel that had carried the wounded Giovanni Giustiniani to Chios and to his death. It had to be a Genoese ship,[62] for the Venetians had left by midday while Leonardo was still a prisoner.

Leonardo’s later life is not well documented. It was believed that he returned to the island of Lesbos, was captured by the Turks in the sack of Mytilene in 1462, was subsequently ransomed, and then wrote an account of this siege and sack entitled *De Lesbo a Turcis capta*. This work betrays, however, the hand of a different author. It is written in a less sophisticated style and prose, and employs a different Latin idiom that betrays more parallels with an ecclesiastical sermon than with the humanistic precepts of composition employed by Leonardo in his account of the siege and the sack of 1453. In fact, Archbishop Benedetto, the successor of Leonardo to the see of Mytilene, composed the *De Lesbo*. Pope Pius II nominated Benedetto to this post on December 3, 1459, after the death of Leonardo. The latter returned to

Italy in 1458 attempting to gain military aid against his old enemy, Mehmed II, who was making preparations to attack Lesbos. Leonardo died in Italy in late February or early March 1459.[63]

The second half of the *quattrocento* witnessed great strides with the newly invented printing press. Consequently, eyewitness accounts with sensational appeal proliferated, such as the reports of the Turkish advance[64] into southeastern Europe and the Balkans. At times they bypassed the stage of manuscript publication and went directly to the typesetter. A clear example is provided by the work of Guillaume Caoursin, whose eyewitness account of the siege of Rhodes in 1480 by the Turks was published in printed form a few months after the withdrawal of the enemy. The notable manuscript of Caoursin's text, illustrated with exquisite miniatures and illuminations depicting the siege and the various councils of the Knights of Saint John, appeared after the publication of the printed pamphlet; it was an understandable delay, since the illustrations could not be executed with a speed that could match that of the printer.[65]

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Leonardo's work on the siege became popular and was recorded in various manuscript renditions: *Ven. Marc. lat. XIV 218* (no. 4677), fols. $46^{v}$–$68^{v}$; *Ven. Marc. lat.* 397 (no. 1733), fols. $1^{r}$–$22^{r}$; *Mediol. Trivult. lat. N 641*, fols. $1^{r}$–$21^{r}$ (unfortunately, this work was not utilized in its entirety by Pertusi in his selections of Leonardo in *CC* 1, or its valuable *marginalia*); *Mediol. Ambros. lat. C 1454*, fols. $25^{v}$–$44^{r}$; *Vat. lat. 4137*, fols. $172^{r}$–$206^{v}$; *Vat. lat. 5392*, fols. $99^{r}$–$106^{r}$; and *Flor. Riccard. lat.* 660 [= M II 19], fols. 44–50 (which was not consulted by Pertusi for his selections of Leonardo in *CC* 1). In the sixteenth century Leonardo's *aviso* became famous with its translated and printed versions that will be cited presently. The Latin text was first published in 1584.[66] Bzovius based the early printed editions on a transcription of the *Vat. Lat. ms. 4137*.

The standard edition of this Latin authoritative *epistula* remains the *editio princeps* by D. P. Lonicer, *Chronica Turcica*, 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1578): 84–102. All other editions, with the exception of the selections in *CC* 1 that present a better text, are based on Lonicer: *De Urbis Constantinopoleos Jactura Captivitateque*. *Повѣсть о Цареградѣ*, ed. I. I. Sreznevsky (Saint Petersburg, 1855), pp. 50–68; J.-P. Migne, ed. *PG* 159 (Paris, 1866): cols. 923–953; eds. P. A. Déthier and C. Hopf, *MHH, Ser. Scriptores*, 22.1: 553–616, with the Italian translation of Leonardo, as it appeared in Sansovino 623–666; and *Epistola reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Leonardi Ordinis Praedicatorum, archiepiscopi Mitileni, sacrarum litterarum professoris, ad beatissimum dominum nostrum Nicolaum papam quintum* [*de urbis Constantinopolis captivitate*], ed.

Belgrano, no. 150, 13: 233–257. Also we should note the selections with improved text and Italian translation in *CC* 1: 124–171. The *epistola* has been translated into English by Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 11–42.

Mention should be made of the followers and imitators of Leonardo, whose text they have reproduced in paraphrased form, in actual translation, and in elaboration:

**i. Giacomo Languschi** and ***Ignotus***: A colorful mixture of the fifteenth-century Venetian vernacular and Latin is encountered in Giacomo Languschi's version of the siege that was composed sometime after 1454.[67] This account is embedded in Zorzi Dolfin's chronicle. Thomas, "Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453," pp. 1–38, first edited it; selections are also printed in *TIePN*, pp. 169–180. A small section of this interesting account has been translated into English by Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 125–131. The text in its entirety remains untranslated. It contains some additional material to Leonardo, including the Italian text of the *amanname* that Mehmed II granted to Pera after the fall.[68]

Dolfin's chronicle begins with Attila the Hun and ends with the death of Doge Francesco Foscari; it has attracted little scholarly attention. More specifically, in regard to the siege section, Pertusi merely notes a general correspondence in phrasing between Languschi-Dolfin and Leonardo, but he fails to pursue a systematic analysis.[69] Nevertheless, it has become clear that Languschi-Dolfin's version of the siege and fall contains, to a great extent, parts of Leonardo's narrative translated into the Venetian vernacular.[70] Furthermore, it is likely that both Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the anonymous codex *Barberini Chronicle 111*,[71] which may have utilized Sansovino's Italian translation of Leonardo, also employs Languschi-Dolfin's vernacular version and not the Latin text of Leonardo directly. Both Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the anonymous author of the *Barberini Chronicle* penned their works in Italy and, one suspects, both were more comfortable with spoken Italian than with scholarly Latin.

In addition, there is a certain relationship between Languschi-Dolfin and Ubertino Pusculo (*infra*, II.A.7). Languschi-Dolfin received some information from Pusculo; both authors display not only similar phraseology, but also information not encountered in Leonardo. Moreover, Languschi-Dolfin also utilized another source, since some of his statements are encountered neither in Leonardo nor in Pusculo. Indeed Languschi-Dolfin displays a certain degree of sophistication. It becomes clear that he was aware of the existence and value of documents. At the end of his narrative, for instance, he cites the document that Mehmed II, through his lieutenant Zaganos Pasha, granted to the Genoese of Pera. This *aman-name* has survived in a

Greek version and there is no doubt that this was the original language in which this document was composed. It corresponds to the Italian text of Languschi-Dolfin. It is entitled (fol. 322 [34–36]): *come el gran Turco fece un priuilegio a Genoesi per hauerli data Pera*.[72]

This unidentified source that Languschi-Dolfin has utilized is unknown, as some of the information is not duplicated in the surviving chronicles, eyewitness accounts, or *avisi* of the period. Therefore one must assume that Languschi had consulted a document or a source, perhaps from the pen of an eyewitness who has disappeared since the fifteenth century. While the identity of this unknown author, the *Ignotus*, may never be established with any degree of certainty, a likely candidate is Ludovico (or Aluvixe/Alvise/Aloixe, as the name is spelled in the various forms of the Venetian dialect of the *quattrocento*) Diedo, the captain of the galleys of Romania, specifically from Tana. Diedo had reached Constantinople in November 1452, and his ships had guarded the chain across the Golden Horn during the siege in order to protect the harbor from the Turkish fleet. In the course of the long siege he was elevated to the post of *capitano generale del mar*, "naval commander-in-chief,"[73] by the Venetian authorities in Constantinople.[74] Despite his prominent role in the defense and his commanding position, Diedo has never been the subject of a scholarly study or of a monograph. He supervised the orderly departure of the Venetian vessels from the Golden Horn during the sack, guided his vessels through the Aegean, put in at the Venetian outpost of Negroponte (Chalcis in Euboea), and safely brought the refugees back to Venice. He was very proud of the role that he played in the drama of Constantinople, as it is recorded by the inscription on his tomb in the Church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo in Venice.[75] Barbaro notes Diedo's leadership in the exodus of the armada:[76]

> …*adonca al mezo dì con l'aiuto de misser domene Dio, misser Aluvixe Diedo, el capetanio da la Tana, si fexe vela con la sua galìa, e poi la galìa de ser Jeruolemo Morexini, e poi la galìa de Trabexonda vizo patron ser Dolfin Dolfin, ma questa galìa de Trabexonda asai stentò a levarse, e questo perché el ne manca homeni cento e sesanta quatro, i qual parte se anegò e parte morti da le bombarde, e morti pur in la bataia per altro muodo, siché apena quela potè levarse; poi se leva la galìa sutil de misser Cabriel Trivixan, lui si romaxe in tera in man de Turchi; la galìa de Candia patron misser Zacaria Grioni el cavalier, quela si for prexa, poi driedo queste galìe si levò tre nave de Candia, le qual son, ser Zuan Venier, ser Antonio Filamati <e> el Galina, e tuti andasemo in conserva nave e galìe per infina fuora del streto, con una buora a più de dodexe mìa per ora; si el fose stà bonaza o vento in*

> *prova, tuti nui saremo stadi prexi.*

> …in the middle of the day, with the help of our Lord God, Sir Alvise Diedo, the captain from Tana, set sail with his galley. Then came the galley of Sir Jeruolamo Morexini and then the galley from Trebizond with the commander Dolfin Dolfin, but this galley from Trebizond was in difficulty because it was lacking one hundred and sixty-four men. Some had drowned, some had been killed by the bombards, and others died in the course of the battle. She could hardly make her way under sail. Then came the light galley of Sir Gabriel Trivixan [Trevisan], while he remained in the territory in the hands of the Turks. The galley from Candia with the commander Zacaria Grioni, the knight, was captured. Next came the three ships from Candia, which belonged to Sir Zuan Venier, to Sir Antonio Filamati [Philomates], <and to> Galina [Gialinas/Hyalinas]. We all, ships and galleys, proceeded under a *buora* [northeasterly wind], with a speed greater than twelve miles per hour. Had it been calm or had the wind changed direction we would all have become prisoners.

On Diedo fell the sad duty of announcing the disaster to the citizens and authorities of the *Serenissima*. Once in Venice, perhaps in the same evening that the flotilla had arrived, Diedo was called upon to give an oral report on the fall to a stunned audience:[77]

> …*vadit quod mittatur ad presens ser Ludovio Diedo qui venit capitaneus galearum Romaniae et interfuit illi miserabili cladi ut in hoc Concilio referat ad omnia.*

> …a party was dispatched to summon Sir Ludovico Diedo who went as the captain of the galleys from Romania and was present in the miserable disaster to make a report about everything to the Council.

Diedo was then asked to produce a written *relazione* of his experiences.[78]

His official written report, containing a detailed account of the operations during the siege, has unfortunately vanished. The reasons behind this disappearance are not clear. We could simply suppose that it has been misplaced and that it is still awaiting discovery, even though scholars like the meticulous Pertusi have searched for it in vain. Alternatively, with a measure of suspicion, we may theorize that it was deliberately misplaced, removed, or even destroyed, as it may have contained passages, reports, observations, and comments that may have cast aspersions upon influential members of Venetian families and nobles for their actions during the siege. Nevertheless, we know that this report existed and it may have been one of the sources, perhaps the major source that the Venetian Languschi consulted. Languschi preserved an account of the reception of the news of the fall in Venice, which had preceded the arrival of the refugees. The news had first arrived in the form of letters from Lepanto (Naupaktos) and Corfu; then Diedo and his flotilla arrived to confirm the disaster and to produce this *relazione* that has vanished. It is possible that Diedo took the trouble to read this official report to a large audience before it was filed and before its "disappearance." Languschi states:[79]

> *Ad 4. luijo fu de mercatore datina zonzeno a Uenetia e le tre gallie grosse de Romania desfortunate capitano ser Aluise Diedo sensa leuar San Marco ne altra insegna sensa trombe e pifari, cum ogni segno de mestitia.*
>
> On July 4 the merchant ships and the three large galleys from Romania under the unfortunate captain Sir Alvise Diedo came to Venice without flying the banner of Saint Mark or any other insignia, without trumpets and fifes, but with all signs of grief.

In the beginning of his account, Languschi names his sources, but, for reasons that can no longer be explored, as the trail of the lost *relazione* is quite cold and can hardly be followed nowadays, he neglects (perhaps on purpose?) to mention Diedo. There remains the possibility that he never consulted Diedo's report:[80]

> *Adoncha lo excidio de Constantinopoli descriuo come la cosa e passada tracta la historia da quelli autori che quella hanno scripto, come hano uisto, imperoche altramente le cose uiste, et altramente le udite se scriueno. Le qual cose ornatamente fono descripte dal. R.$^{do}$ uescouo de Mettelino che era in la fameja de Cardinal Sabino legato mandato per la union de Greci lo qual romaxe preson in Constantinopoli, et fu recaptado, et fu etiam descripto da Filippo da Rimano cancellier a Corfu.*
>
> I will describe the circumstances of the fall of Constantinople, utilizing in my history the narratives of those authors who actually saw what they described, as it makes a difference to compose something based on events witnessed as opposed on hearsay. The story is described elegantly by the most reverend bishop of Mytilene [= Leonardo Giustiniani of Chios], who was in the retinue of the Cardinal of Sabina [= Isidore], the legate dispatched for the union with the Greeks, who was taken prisoner in Constantinople and was ransomed later, and by Filippo da Rimini, the chancellor of Corfu.

Thus Languschi cites Leonardo, Isidore, and Filippo da Rimini as his sources. Yet some of the information that he presents is not duplicated in these accounts. It is clear that he used material from a source that is not cited anywhere in his narrative, such as Mehmed II's *aman-name* to Pera. Diedo's lost *relazione* may have been one of his sources. Whether this source was actually composed by Diedo or by some other unknown author is unclear. It must have existed and the author's name will be indicated henceforth by the generic *Ignotus*.[81]

**ii. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini** (Pope Pius II) composed an *opusculum* on the siege and fall.[82] An early printed edition of Aeneas Silvius' pamphlet, under the title *Tractatulus*, was published in the fifteenth century. An early copy is rather logically bound together with Nikolaos Sekoundinos' *Otthomanorum Familia*,[83] and is currently housed in the Gennadeios Library of Athens. The very same work of Aeneas Silvius was also published in the collection: *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensi, qui post adeptum pontificatum Pius eius nominis secundus appellatus est, opera quae extant omnia, nunc demum post corruptissimas aeditiones summa diligentia castigata & in unum corpus redacta. Quorum elenchum uersa pagella indicabit* (Basileae, *sine anno* [= 1571], ex officina Henrici Petrina; repr. Frankfurt, 1967), pp. 400–403.[84] The second edition is clearly later than the Gennadeios pamphlet. The two printed texts are not identical. There are differences in spelling, punctuation, and choice of words. Aeneas Silvius has made extensive use of Leonardo's text. For a modern edition, with English translation and commentary, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 93–119.

**iii.** Richer's account of the siege,[85] which had been considered an eyewitness account by "Riccherio," but has now been demonstrated to be a work of the sixteenth century by a French courtier/scholar: Riccherio [Richer], *De rebus Turcarum libri octo* (Paris, 1540). The siege section has been translated under the impression that an eyewitness had composed the narrative, and Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 117–124, colors it accordingly.

**iv.** Leonardo's text is mainly known through Francesco Sansovino's Italian rendition in his sixteenth-century best-seller: *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi: nella quale si contengono la origine, le lege, l'usanze, i costumi, cose religiosi come mondani de' Turchi: oltre cio vi sono tutte le guerre che di tempo sono state fatte da quella natione cominciando da Othomano primo Re di questa gente fino al moderno Selim con le vite di tutti i principi di casa Othomana*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1564, 1568, 1571, and so forth).[86]

**v.** The Greek rendition of the *Chronicon Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes, that is, Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, was completed *ca.* 1580.[87] It has been edited and translated into Romanian by V.

Grecu, *Chronicon Minus. Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477. În annexă Pseudo-Phrantzes. Macarie Melissenos Cronica, 1258–1481*, Scriptores Byzantini 5 (Bucharest, 1966). Its siege description has been translated into English by Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*; and by Margaret G. Carroll, *A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of Constantinople, 1453*. Unfortunately, Carroll is under the erroneous impression that this chronicle is an authentic narrative by George Sphrantzes, while, in fact, it is a forgery by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos.

**vi.** In the C*odex Barberinus Graecus 111*, it is very likely that Leonardo's letter was further paraphrased into the Greek vernacular of the early seventeenth century through the Italian translation of Sansovino or Languschi-Dolfin, and not directly from Leonardo's Latin text. It was published in its entirety by G. T. Zoras, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων (κατὰ τὸν Βαρβ. Ἑλληνικὸν Κώδικα 111)* (Athens, 1958). The siege section was also published by Zoras in a separate pamphlet: *Ἡ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἡ Βασιλεία Μωάμεθ Β΄ τοῦ Κατακτητοῦ (κατὰ τὸν Ἀνέκδοτον Ἑλληνικὸν Βαρβερινὸν Κώδικα 111 τῆς Βατικανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης)* (Athens, 1952). This chronicle has been translated into German by Kreutel;[88] and into English by Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373–1513*.[89]

The manuscript of this text was first described briefly by S. P. Lampros,[90] and was later examined by G. Moravcsik, who, in time, realized that the anonymous author of this chronicle had also made some use of Leonardo.[91] The *codex* is a copy of a lost original; in its present state it is both acephalous and incomplete. G. T. Zoras, who edited and published the surviving passages, originally dated the composition, through internal evidence, *ca.* 1530, but Elizabeth A. Zachariadou prefers a later date, after 1573.[92] Zoras demonstrates that the anonymous author was influenced by well-known Italian authors such as Andrea Cambini (*ca.* 1450–1527), who published a *Commentario dell origine de Turchi et imperio della casa ottomana* in Florence between 1528 and 1538, as well as by Paolo Giovio (d. 1552). Zachariadou demonstrates that he also employed Sansovino's *Gl'Annali*. In 1966 Zoras published sections of the *Barberini Chronicle* that had not been included in his original publication. These "new" sections derive from three folios that had fallen out of the main body of eighty-four surviving folios and had been subsequently discovered by Monsignor P. Canard.[93] One of these newly discovered folios contains events from the year 1596 and it can be safely concluded that that this work was "composed" or compiled as early as the first quarter of the seventeenth century but not as late as 1671, the date of the death of Cardinal Antonio Barberini.

**5. CARDINAL ISIDORE.** No comprehensive biography[94] of this towering figure exists and there are serious, perhaps even insurmountable, problems concerning his youth and early career. It is possible, but not indisputable, for there exists much confusion in our sources,[95] that Isidore was appointed metropolitan of Monembasia in the Morea in 1421. A recent and interesting supposition by Kalligas[96] seeks to identify Isidore with a hypothetical illegitimate son of the despot of the Morea, Theodore I Palaiologos. According to this view, Isidore emerges as a cousin of the last emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XI. In 1453 Isidore was the Greek legate of the pope to Constantinople, fought heroically and bravely throughout the defense, was wounded during the sack,[97] was captured but was ransomed[98] soon thereafter on the same day, and subsequently met with a number of adventures before he finally found safety in Venetian Crete, where he composed a number of letters that were then sent to Italy:

**i.** Letter I, *Epistola composita per Pasium de Bertipalia notarium ad instantiam reverendissimi domini Isidori cardinalis Sabiniensis*, "a letter put together by Pasio di Bertipaglia, the notary, at the instigation of the most reverend Lord Isidore, the cardinal of Sabina," is dated July 6, 1453, from Crete: *Ex Candida insulae Cretae pridie Nonas Julii MCCCLIII.* It was probably composed in Greek by the cardinal and was translated into Latin by Pasio di Bertipaglia. Selections from this letter with Italian translation have been published in *CC* 1: 58–64, but the entire text has not been printed thus far and is contained in only one *quattrocento* manuscript, *Ven. Marc. lat. 496* (1688), fols. 330r–331r.

**ii.** Letter II, is probably the most important in the series, as it contains a detailed description of the siege. It was sent to the Greek Cardinal Bessarion: *Epistola reverendissimi patris domini Isidori cardinalis Ruteni scripta ad reverendissimum dominum Bisarionem episcopum Tusculanum ac cardinalem Nicenum Bononiaeque legatum*, "letter of the most reverend Father, Lord Isidore, the Russian cardinal, to the most reverend Lord Bessarion, the Tusculan bishop and Nicene cardinal, the legate to Bologna." It bears the same date as the previous letter: *in Creta, die sexta Iulii.* This significant letter was composed in Greek but the Greek text has not survived and we only possess its Latin translation by Lianoro de Lianori. It was first published by Hofmann, "Ein Brief des Kardinals Isidor von Kiew an Kardinal Bessarion," pp. 405–414, who fails to mention that this is only a translation of a Greek original. It survives in three manuscripts: one from the *quattrocento* that is housed in Florence, *Riccard. lat. 660* [*M II 19*], fols. 55r–61r; the second, also from the *quattrocento*, is found in Bologna, *Bibl. Univ. lat. B 52*, fols. 40r–42v; and the third from the sixteenth century is deposited in Padua, *Bibl. Sem. lat. 126*, fols. 33r–36r. The most important of the three manuscripts appears to be the Bolognese *codex*, which is probably the autograph of Lianoro's exercise, as it notes that it is a humanistic exercise:[99] *Habes iam, Alberte dilectissime, grecam epistolam factam latinam*, "dearest Albert: here is a Greek letter that has been turned into Latin." Selections with Italian translation are printed in *CC* 1: 64–80, with unfortunate omissions of passages that contain important information.[100]

**iii.** Letter III is the only *epistula* of Isidore that had been known for a substantial period of time. It addresses, however, generalities and is meant to awaken Christendom against the Turks. It is exceptionally uninformative with regard to the siege. It is addressed to *universis et singulis Christi fidelibus*, "all the faithful," and is dated July 8, *die octava Iulii.* In its traditional printed form this letter is an abstract and not a verbatim quotation of the manuscript text made by Antonino, the bishop of Florence, who in his *Chronicon*, part III, ch. 13, states: *Haec in substantia sunt in litteris praedictis, etsi aliqualiter verba immutata*, "in substance these matters are to be found in aforementioned letter, even though I have somewhat changed the phraseology." Antonino's version is encountered in most printed editions and is not taken directly from manuscripts but from his abstract. Moreover, A. G. Welykyi, "Duae Epistulae Cardinalis Isidori Ineditae," *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii*, *Записки чина Св. Василий Великого*, ser. 3, 1 (1950): 289–291, also printed the text of this abstract from a particularly unreliable manuscript. The exact words of Isidore or of his translator/redactor, as Isidore never managed to master Latin, were finally published in the selections of *CC* 1. The text in its edited and abbreviated form has been published a number of times, including the edition of Philipp Lonicer, *Chronicorum turcicorum, in quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes…* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1578), followed by Nikolaus Reusner, in Johannes Sturm, *De bello adversus Turcas perpetuo administrando* (Jena, 1598), by *PG* 159: cols. 953–956, and by *MHH* 21: 687–702. Selections with Italian translation appear in *CC* 1: 80–90. This was probably the best-known letter by Isidore, as it survives in eight manuscripts of the fifteenth century and one of the seventeenth.[101]

**iv.** Letter IV to Pope Nicholas V qualifies as Isidore's official report in his capacity as papal legate to Constantinople. It is not as extensive as his Letter II to his friend Cardinal Bessarion. This letter contains a description of the siege in abbreviated form. Nevertheless, it includes important details that could be of use to a historian interested in the siege. Like the previous letter, it appears to have been composed or at least translated into Latin on July 8: *die octava Iulii*, as stated at the beginning. The conclusion of the letter mentions July 15: *Datum*

*Cretae, die XV Julii.* It was first published in *NE* 2: 522–524, but this edition seems to have been an inaccurate transcription with numerous errors. The letter is published in its entirety, with Italian translation, in *CC* 1: 90–100. It exists in two surviving *codices* from the fifteenth century: *Mediol. Bibl. Braid. lat. AE XII 40,* fols. 54$^{v}$–55$^{v}$, and *Paris., Nouv. Acquis., lat. 546,* fols. 169$^{r}$–170$^{v}$.

**v.** Letter V, dated: July 26, *die 26 Julii,* is addressed to Francesco Foscari, the Doge of Venice, and adds nothing of importance to the operations of the siege. It has more in common with Letter III. It was first published by Welykyi, "Duae Epistulae Cardinalis Isidori Ineditae," pp. 286–289, along with Letter III, and exhibits the same problems of transcription. Much better, in terms of the text, are the selections in *CC* 1: 100–106. The text survives in a single manuscript of the *quattrocento*: *Vat. Barb. lat. 2682,* fols. 56$^{v}$–58$^{r}$.

**vi.** Letter VI, lacking a date anywhere in the manuscript, although *CC* 2: 498 claims that it was written on July 6 to Domenico Capranica and deals with generalities and the situation in the Aegean after the sack. It was published in *NE* 2: 518–519, and with Italian translation in *TIePN,* pp. 12–15.

**vii.** Letter VII, addressed to the authorities and the city of Florence, *Magnificis dominis prioribus palatii et communitatis Florentinorum,* is dated July 7: *Datae VII Iulii.* It mentions the atrocities committed during the sack, the alleged designs of Mehmed II for world domination, and the panic that ensued throughout the islands of the Aegean after the fall. It was edited by Hofmann, "Quellen zu Isidor von Kiew als Kardinal und Patriarch," pp. 143–157; selections with Italian translation have been printed in *TIePN,* pp. 16–21.

**viii.** Letter VIII, addressed to the city of Bologna (*ad communitatem Bonnoniae*), is dated July 7. It was published by W. Röll, "Ein zweiter Brief Isidors von Kiew über die Eroberung Konstantinopels," *BZ* 69 (1976): 13–16. Like Letter VII, it considers the Turkish threat to Europe and adds nothing to the siege.

In connection with Isidore's eight letters, the following material is pertinent to the siege, to the cardinal's information with regard to the operations, to the sack, and to his subsequent adventures:

**a.** Isidore's own letter of February 22, 1455, *Data Romae die XXII Februarii MCCCL$^{o}$ quinto,* to Philip the Good, the duke of Burgundy, was composed after a certain amount of time had elapsed following the fall. It adds nothing new, except Isidore's personal testimony that numerous Genoese volunteers from Pera assisted in the defense. Evidently the cardinal was trying to correct the widespread impression that the Genoese from Pera had not assisted in the defense of Constantinople, an impression that had probably been reinforced by the withdrawal of the Genoese *condottiere*, Giovanni Giustiniani, and his forces from the walls at a critical moment during the last battle of May 29:

> …*nec deerant nobis Ianuenses, qui omni conatu Urbem ipsam tutati sunt, et quamquam simulatu cum Teucro viverent hocque fieret statuto consilio, tamen noctu clam ad nos eos quos valebant ac poterant viros et sic subsidia mittebant frequentique senatu imperatorio aderant.*

> …nor did we miss the Genoese, who defended the city with all their strength and, even though they pretended to have a treaty of neutrality with the Turk. At night they secretly sent us those men who were strong and able, in addition to other assistance. They were also present at the frequent meetings of the emperor's senate.

This letter was published in its entirety, with Italian translation, in an *editio princeps*, in *CC* 1: 106–110.

**b.** A letter by Henry of Soemmern, dated September 11 (1453), *raptim ex urbe Romana, XI<sup>a</sup> Septembris*, in which he speaks of the adventures of Isidore from the day of the sack to his arrival in Crete, with a short account of the siege, adding that Isidore was expected to arrive in Rome within the next eight days, *et infra octo dies Romae expectatur*. Henry names his sources in the letter (a section omitted by *CC* 1), which consist mainly of the letter that Isidore had already sent to the pope, of Isidore's letters to Cardinal Domenico Capranica, and of Isidore's appeal to all Christians:[102]

> …*hanc totam seriem rei gestae collegi fideliter ex diversis epistolis scriptis ad diversos de ista materia…alia domini cardinali Rutheni, qui de hac re unam papae, aliam domino cardinali Firmano; tertia<m>que…erat omnibus Christifidelibus. Et ex duabus aliis scriptis domino Firmano: quarum unam scripsit ipse agens, familiaris et domesticus dicti cardinalis rutheni, aliam vicarius Ordinis Minorum provinciae Candiae; quarum omnium copias habeo ex copiis domini Firmani.*

> …I have faithfully collected the chain of events from numerous letters on this subject addressed to individuals…one letter was by the Russian lord cardinal [Isidore], who informed the pope on this matter; another directed to the lord cardinal of Firmano [Domenico Capranica]; …a third was addressed to all those who believe in Christ. And from two others that he wrote to the lord of Firmano. One was written by a person close to the aforementioned Russian cardinal, and another by the vicar of the Minorites in the province of Candia. I have copies of all these letters, made from the copies of

the lord of Firmano.

This note supplies us with good information on the dissemination of information with regard to the sack by the late summer of 1453. Further, it is informative on the circulation of the letters of Isidore and serves also as a reminder that Isidore's complete correspondence on the siege and fall is no longer extant.

The full letter of Henry was published by A. Vigna, "Codice diplomatico delle colonie Tauro-Liguri durante la signoria dell'Ufficio di S. Giorgio (MCCCCLIII–MCCCCLXXV)," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 6 (1868): 19–21; and in *NE* 3: 307–315. Selections with Italian translation also appear in *CC* 2: 82–96. For a new edition of this Latin letter with an English translation, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 121–131.

**c.** A letter by a friend, a *familiaris* (a member of his retinue?) of Isidore, which may have been used by Henry of Soemmern. It employs similar phraseology and deals with adventures of the cardinal after the sack. The letter is dated July 15, 1453: *ex Candia, die XV Julii M.CCCC.LLLIIIº*. It was published in *NE* 2: 519–520, and then reprinted in its entirety with Italian translation in *CC* 1: 114–119.

**6. BENVENUTO.** He served as the Anconan consul in Constantinople and was a *baro imperatoris*, "a baron of the emperor," as he proudly styles himself. He is not known from other sources. The manuscript heading includes the following information: *Benevenutus civis Anchonitanus in Constantinopoli consul dicit se omnia infra scripta vidisse*, "Benvenuto, an Anconitan citizen and consul in Constantinople, states that he has personally witnessed all the events described below." He was a participant to the events and wrote a short account, which, however, has unfortunately survived in incomplete form, missing its important conclusion. The date of the manuscript is given as "Venice, July 31, 1453." It was discovered by Pertusi, who first published it as "The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of its Consul, Benvenuto, on the Fall of the City," pp. 199–218. It was then published with Italian translation in *TIePN*, pp. 4–5. For an English translation, cf. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373–1513*, pp. 197–199. It is not known how Benvenuto escaped from Constantinople. He could have been a passenger aboard one of the refugee ships, perhaps on an Anconan vessel that, as we know from Barbaro (20), was in the harbor of Constantinople during the siege: *…nave…per longo de la cadena…patroni di quele…una de Anchontani, de botte 1000.*

**7. UBERTINO PUSCULO.** He was the "classical" poet of the siege and had traveled to Constantinople to perfect his knowledge of ancient Greek. He remained in the city throughout the siege. After his captivity he found his way back to Italy, via Rhodes, and composed a poem describing the situation before and during the siege and sack. This poem is of the utmost value for the historian, for Pusculo was an eyewitness to the siege and sack. Moreover, he was a participant who had seen, met, and even conversed with many Italian and Greek defenders, whose activities, operations, and positions on the walls he meticulously noted in his work. Pusculo's epic poem provides one of the most important accounts of the drama that took place in Constantinople in 1453 and is a reliable prosopography of the defenders.

Pusculo's work was first printed in the eighteenth century in an inferior edition titled: *Constantinopolis libri IV*. It was edited by G. Bregantini, *Miscellanea di varie operette*, 1 (Venice, 1740). The editor used only the single manuscript housed in Venice's Marciana Library. G. M. Gervasi had transcribed the text. Bregantini's text without improvements was reprinted in A. S. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, 3 (Leipzig, 1857): Appendix, 12–83. *CC* 1: 124–171 has published a slim selection from Book IV with Italian translation. Pertusi's extract presents an improvement over Bregantini's edition. However, Pusculo's narrative and information in Books I–III have been neglected by scholarship. It is unfortunate that this primary document still awaits a modern editor. There exist another four manuscripts of this work but they have never been collated with the Marciana text. A modern edition, with a complete *apparatus criticus*, would be of immense value to anyone interested in the siege and in the situation preceding the siege.

**8. EPARKHOS AND DIPLOVATATZES.** A short report prepared by two refugees who managed to reach Germany. Their names and the events, however, have been garbled, perhaps through inaccuracies in translation. The document contains the following note at the end:[103]

> *Disse Ding hat gesagt Herr Thomas Eperkus, ein Graf auss Constantinopel, und Josu Deplorentatz, eins Grafen Sun, und Thutro de Constantinopel, der ir Krichisch in Weilisch prach hat, und Dumita Exswinnilwacz, und Mathes Hack von Utrecht, der ir Welisch in Teutsch hat pracht.*
>
> This is what was said by Lord Thomas Eperkus [Eparkhos?], a nobleman from Constantinople, and Josu Deploretantz [Joseph Diplovatazes?], the son of a nobleman, and Thutro of Constantinople, who translated their Greek into Wallachian, and Dumita Exswinnilwacz, and Matthew Hack from Utrecht, who translated the Wallachian into German.

It was published in *NE* 2: 514–518; an Italian translation without the original German text is published in *CC* 1: 234–239.

**9. NESTOR-ISKANDER.** He was a youthful eyewitness who had escaped from the Ottoman camp and was with the defenders during the course of the siege. His Slavonic narrative, a diary, makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the siege and contains prosopographical material that is not encountered elsewhere. There are three versions of the text: the first dates to the actual diary of Nestor-Iskander that may no longer be extant; the second is a more elaborated literary version with Old Slavonic and Medieval Russian text.[104] The third version, an emended and interpolated text, exists only in a late sixteenth-century Serbian modified text of an Old Slavonic and Medieval Russian manuscript, Mount Athos, *Hilandar 280 Slavic*, folia $257^{r}$–$289^{v}$ (*The Tale of Constantinople*).[105] For the Old Slavonic and Medieval Russian renditions of this tale, cf. I. Sreznevsky, *Повѣсть о Царьградѣ* [The Tale of Constantinople] (St. Petersburg, 1855); V. Iakovlev, *Сказение о Царьградѣ по древним Сказание по Древним Рукописиам* [The Legend of Constantinople according to Ancient Texts] (St. Petersburg, 1868), pp. 56–116. Archimandrite Leonid, *Повѣсть о Царьградѣ (его основании и взятïи Турками въ 1453 году) Нестора Искандера XV Вѣка* [The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture by the Turks in 1453), by Nestor-Iskander, Fifteenth Century], Памятники Древней Письменности и Искусства (St. Petersburg, 1888). Leonid's text was reprinted by O. V. Tvorogov, "Повесть о взятии Царьграда Турками в 1453 Году [The Tale of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453]," in *Памятники Литературы Древнеи Руси. Вторая половина XV Beka* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 216–267. For a new edition, English translation, and commentary, cf. W. K. Hanak and M. Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander: The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture by the Turks in the Year 1453) (From the Early Sixteenth-Century Manuscript of the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra, No. 773)*, Late Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 5 (New Rochelle, Athens, and Moscow, 1998). Other translations and renditions include: M. Alexandropoulos, *Ἡ Πολιορκία καί Ἅλωση τῆς Πόλης. Τό Ρωσικό Χρονικό τοῦ Νέστορα Ἰσκεντέρη* (Athens, 1978) (in Greek); P. A. Déthier, *Anonymous Moscovita*, in *MHH* 21.1: 1047–1122 (in French); M. Braun and M. Schneider, *Bericht über die Eroberung Konstantinopels nach der Nikon-Chronik übersezt und erläutert* (Leipzig, 1943) (in German); selections in Italian, without the Slavonic text, by Emanuela Folco in *CC* 1: 267–299; and Matilda Casas Olea, ed., *Néstor-Iskáer. Relato sobre la toma de*

*Constantinopla. Estudio preliminar, tradución y notas* (Grenada, 2003) (in Spanish).[106]

**10. BISHOP SAMILE (SAMUEL)**. He was an ecclesiastic, a bishop, or, as he designates himself, *Vladik*, who was present during the siege:

> *Grossen Gruess von…Samile dem Bladick (oder Bischoff) vnd von dem andern Bladick (oder Bischoff) von Constantinopolis yecz und zusam gefügt in der Walachay*.
>
> Warm greetings from…Samile the Vladik (or Bishop) and from the other Vladik (or bishop) of Constantinople who fled together to Wallachia.

This is a report that is worthy of note, which in some ways parallels the testimony given by Eparkhos and Diplovatazes. Like the latter, the substance of the report seems to have suffered in translation. It was dictated on August 6: *Geben an dem sechsten des Monätz Augusti, anno Domini M°CCCC°LIIJ°*. Its text was transcribed in the nineteenth century by G. M. Thomas, who, however, did not publish it: *Hanc epistolam exscripsit in usum D. teutsch, gymnasii schässburgensis rectoris, G. M. Thomas, 3 julii 1855*. It was finally published in *NE* 4: 65–68; and without the original German text, *CC* 1: 234–239 has published the report in Italian translation.

**11. CONSTANTINE OF OSTROVICA**. This Slavonic text was composed by Konstantin Mihailović, who was in the Ottoman camp with Mehmed II's Serbian contingents. Konstantin eventually became a renegade and joined the janissary corps. Late in his life he renounced Islam and reverted to Christianity. Konstantin has also been the subject of considerable misunderstandings and for a long time he was known as a "Polish janissary." In fact, he was a cavalryman with the Serbian contingent that had been summoned by Mehmed to participate in the siege. The text was first edited and published by J. Los, *Pamieçtniki Janczara czyli Kronika Turecka Konstantego z Ostrowicy napisana niedzy r. 1496 a 1501* [A Memoir of a Janissary or a Turkish Chronicle of Konstantine of Ostrovica, Written between the Years 1496 and 1501], in *Bibliotheca Pisa row Posit* (Cracow, 1912), pp. 70–76. There exists a French translation by T. docks, *Memoires d'un janissaries polonaise (et Chrétien), Temin ocular et active du siège et de la pries de Constantinople et de toutes les expéditions de Mahomed II, écrit vers 1498*, in *MHH* 22.2: 249–392, with notes by P. A. Déthier. There also exists an English translation of this source, B. A. Stolz, *Konstantin Mihailović, Memories of a Janissary* (London, 1892; repr. Ann Arbor, 1975). In addition, cf. the selection in Italian translation, without the Slavonic text, by A. Danti in *CC* 1: 256–260.

**12. REPORT OF THE FRANCISCANS**. It has been preserved in two short versions. Version A includes the date July 4, *adì 4 de luglio*. The report was given by *alquanti frati de Observanzia de san Francesco, che funo prixi nella dicta citade, quali venene a Bologna et disseno tale novitate* (Version B: *disseno alquanti frati de l'Observanza de san Francesco, che fono prixi ne la dita citade; i quali venono a Bologna e diseno tale novitade*), "some brothers of the Order of Saint Francis, who were taken prisoners in the aforementioned city [Constantinople], who came to Bologna and announced the news [of the sack]." This brief, but useful report, was first published by L. A. Muratori, *Historia miscella Bononiensis, RIS* 18 (Milan, 1731): 701–702; then reprinted in A. Sorbelli, *RIS*, n.s., 18.1.4 (Bologna, 1927): 186–190; and in *TIePN*, pp. 25–26.

## B. Non-Eyewitness Early Accounts

**1. PAOLO DOTTI**. He was a lawyer from Padua and chanced to be in Crete. He wrote an account that must have been based on very early oral information that he had received, but not from Cardinal Isidore, who arrived in Crete almost one month later, on July 8, according to Henry of Soemmern: *devenit…inde Cretam, mediocriter valens, VIII*$^{a}$ *Julii*, "he came down to Crete…in passable health, on July 8." Dotti's letter is dated *XI Junii*, June 11. Often Dotti is not certain of the facts, as he colors his short narrative with phrases such as *fama… fuisse*, "rumor had it." In addition, he speaks of refugees who had abandoned their homes in the Aegean and fled, in mortal fear of the Turks, to Venetian Crete. They must have been his source. Extracts from his short letter were first published in *NE* 2: 513–514; the entire text was then published by S. P. Lampros. "Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι ἐπὶ τῇ Ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," *NH* 5 (1908): 263–265, with numerous errors in transcription. More recently, it has been printed with improvements and with Italian translation in *CC* 2: 12–17.

**2. FRA GIROLAMO FROM FLORENCE**. Like Dotti, before the arrival of Isidore, Fra Girolamo was also in Crete and composed a letter to Domenico Capranica on the fall. His letter is dated July 5 (*die quinta Julii*). Unlike Dotti, Fra Girolamo concentrates on the atrocities committed by the conquerors during the sack, on the growing might of the Turks, and on the increasing danger to Europe. A brief extract from this letter was first published in *NE* 2: 520. The complete text, with Italian translation, is printed in *CC* 2: 32–39.

**3. LAURO QUIRINI**. This well-known humanist who was in Crete at the time wrote a long letter addressed to Pope Nicholas V, *Epistola ad beatissimum Nicolaum V pontificem maximum*, dated July 15, *data*

*Candidae Idibus Iulii 1453.* By that date, Cardinal Isidore had arrived and had probably given a public recitation of his adventures and of the operations during the siege. Isidore may have had a private conversation with Quirini, whose account is authoritative and comprehensive. It is probably the longest timely narrative to be composed by a humanist who was not present during the siege but utilized oral information given to him by survivors and refugees in Crete. His letter includes some of the earliest observations on Ottoman strategy and he is the first author to speak of the structure of the last assault, which came in three successive waves until the defenders were exhausted. It was first edited and published by A. Pertusi, "Le Epistole Storiche di Lauro Quirini sulla Caduta di Costantinopoli e la Potenza dei Turchi," in *Lauro Quirini Umanista*, Studi e Testi a cura di P. O. Kristeller, K. Krauter, A. Pertusi, G. Ravegnani, C. Seno (Florence, 1977), pp. 163–259.[107] Selections with some Italian translations, for not all printed Latin passages are translated, appear in *TIePN*, pp. 62–94.

**4. HENRY OF SOEMMERN**. Cf. *supra*, II.A.5.viii.b.

**5. AENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINI (POPE PIUS II)**. Cf. *supra*, II.A.4.ii.

**6. NICCOLA DELLA TUCCIA**. His *Cronaca di Viterbo* includes a small section on the siege. It was composed in the fall of 1453. It contains information (or gossip?) that is not encountered elsewhere on an individual whom he identifies as *un fiorentine detto Neri, quale era stato 36 anni in detta città, …ed era tanto in grazia dell' impratore di Costantinopoli, che sua petizione teneva le chiavi di una porta*, "a Florentine called Neri, who had spent thirty-six years in the aforementioned city [Constantinople], …and was shown such favor by the emperor of Constantinople that he was given, as he had requested, the keys to a gate." Neri opened this gate in the course of the last battle and allowed the Turks to enter. This account was published over a century ago but scholars have not taken notice of its information, which deserves a fresh look. Cf. I. Ciampi, ed., *Documenti di storia italiana pubbl. a cura della R. Deputazione sugli studi di Storia patria per le provincie di Toscana, dell' Umbria e delle Marche*, 5 (Florence, 1872): 227–230; the siege section is reprinted in *TIePN*, pp. 96–100.

**7. NICCOLÒ TIGNOSI DA FOLIGNO**. His account, *Expugnatio Constantinopolitana,* really an appendix to a letter that he wrote to a friend, is extensive and involves observations on the personality of Mehmed II, as well as comments on the international situation following the fall. His information derives from an otherwise unknown eyewitness, probably a merchant, who managed to conceal himself during the sack and managed to escape subsequently: *a quodam*

*Pisaurense, qui toto bello Constantinopolitano affuit et in conflictus fine latuit in caverna per dies aliquot*, "from a certain citizen of Perugia, who was present throughout the war in Constantinople and who in the final assault concealed himself in a cavern for a number of days." This information is probably authentic, as many other survivors attempted to hide in hollows and caverns. Cf., for example, Barbaro's journal:[108] *Ma i nostri marcadanti che scapolò queli si se scoxe in le caverne soto tera; passada il furia, queli si fo trovadi da Turchi, e tuti si fo prexi e poi vendudi per schiavi*, "those of our merchants who escaped [the initial massacre], concealed themselves in subterranean hollows. After their fury subsided, the Turks found them. They were all captured and sold into slavery." Exactly where these caverns were is not specified but it is possible that the huge water cisterns of Constantinople are meant. A number of them, such as the cisterns of Aetius or Aspar in the vicinity of the critical sector, were easily accessible to defenders who may have been seeking shelter once they had abandoned their posts on the fortifications around the Blakhernai, the Kaligaria/*Eğri* Gate, or the Adrianople/*Edirne* Gate. Tignosi's account has not been known widely and has not been used by modern scholars; its information deserves a fresh look and evaluation. It was first edited and published by M. Sensi, "Niccolò Tignosi da Foligno. L'opera e il pensiero," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia* 9 (1971/1972): 423–431. Its pertinent sections have been reprinted with Italian translation in *TIePN*, pp. 102–121.

**8. FILIPPO DA RIMINI**. This account is included in a letter to Francesco Barbaro and was written in Corfu at the end of 1453. Da Rimini was the Venetian chancellor of the Greek island of Corfu and in his account we begin to detect the origin of tales that eventually spread throughout Europe, transforming the historical circumstances into tales, legends, and myths. Thus da Rimini reports that the sultan personally raped a woman on the very altar of Hagia Sophia, drawing a conscious parallel with the ancient tales about the rape of Cassandra in a sanctuary and thus assisting in the promotion of the popular notion that the sack of Constantinople was an act of revenge for the sack of Troy committed by the descendants of the Trojans themselves, the Turks:[109]

> *…victoria tumens Teucrorum rex…celeberrimum Sophiae fanum profanandum…ibi immitis bestia ab miti virgine pudorem extorquens gloriatus se tum ultum Torianae virginis vicem in templo Palladis defloratae.*

> …the king of the Trojans [= sultan of the Turks], swollen with pride over his victory, …dishonored the most famous shrine of Wisdom [the Church of Hagia Sophia]. There he deflowered a mild

> virgin, as if he were a savage beast, and glorified himself by avenging the fate of the Trojan virgin [Cassandra] who was deflowered in the temple of Pallas [Athena].

As we noted earlier, Languschi-Dolfin cites da Rimini's letter as one of the sources that he had consulted. Indeed, Languschi-Dolfin procured this reference to Troy and repeated it with obvious echoes but without excessive rhetorical elaboration in his text:[110]

> *Da tanta uictoria sfongiatto el gran Turco disse, hauer se uindicato de la uiolation de la uergine troiana facta nel tempio de Pallas*.
>
> The grand Turk [Mehmed II], swollen with pride over his victory, said that he had avenged the violation of the Trojan virgin [Cassandra], which had been committed in the temple of Pallas [Athena].

This important account was first published from a lost transcript of 1870, made from the manuscript housed in Venice's Marciana by G. Valentinelli, in *Epistola ad Franciscum Barbarum, virum inclitum, procuratorem Sancti Marci dignissimum* [*Excidium Constantinopolitanae urbis*], in *MHH* 22.1: 656–682; and by A. Pertusi, "La lettera di Filippo da Rimini, cancelliere di Corfù, a Francesco Barbaro e i primi documenti occidentali sulla caduta di Costantinopoli (1453)," *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδη*, Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 6 (Venice, 1974): 120–157. Selections with Italian translation are printed in *TIePN*, pp. 127–141.

**9. ANTONIO IVANI DA SARZANA**. His account, *Expugnatio Constantinopolitana ad illustrem dominum Federicum Montisferetri Urbini ac Durantis comitem*, is appended to a letter that he sent to Federico di Montefeltro, the duke of Urbino, in the spring of 1454. He was well informed and he had access to archival material that is now perhaps lost forever. Among his acquaintances and employers he lists the doge of Genoa, Ludovico Campofregoso. His description of the siege and sack was probably composed the previous fall of 1453. He cannot vouch for all the information that he presents, or perhaps this hesitation represents the normal affectation displayed by humanists at the time:

> *…illa ipsa litteris mandavi quae mihi relata sunt; quae si vera erunt, verus atque fidus haberi potere; sin vero minus, velim meae innocentiae parcas.*
>
> …I have committed to writing what I have been told. If they

> represent true events then I can be considered a true historian. If not, please attribute them to my own simplicity.

He reports an incident that took place during the final assault; this event is not cited in any other account. The incident is valuable for it concerns the Venetian land forces in the final assault, of whose actions we hear very little elsewhere. Unfortunately, Ivani does not identify by name the heroic Venetian, who it is suspected[111] to be Girolamo Minotto, the *bailo* of Venice in Constantinople who was in charge of the sector of Blakhernai during the siege:[112]

> *Inter auxiliares vir quidam Venetus erat animi nempe magni qui desperata salute ingentem militum manum in patentiorem locum deducit, quos pluribus verbis hortatur ut mori pro religione strenue malint quam ignaviter vivere….*

> Among the auxiliary forces there was a certain courageous Venetian, who, when he saw that the battle was about to be lost, led a huge band of soldiers to an open place, whom he urged with a speech to prefer death in defense of their faith than a cowardly survival….

Minotto was captured in the sack and was executed a few days later by order of the sultan.[113] The exact circumstances of his capture and execution are unknown and his fate was not ascertained for quite some time after the fall. There are numerous vague reports of these circumstances in the surviving accounts. Most succinct is the statement of Lomellino, the *podestà* of Pera:[114] *Decapitari fecit…bailum Venetorum cum eius filio et aliis septem Venetis*, “he [Mehmed] ordered the decapitation of the *bailo* of the Venetians, of his son, and of another seven Venetians.” Ivani’s interesting and informative narrative deserves further scholarly attention and evaluation, as modern historians in their investigations of the siege have not employed it. It was published, erroneously as an anonymous source and with the wrong date of composition, under the title: *Anonymi historiola quae inscribitur Constantinopolitanae civitatis expugnatio conscripta a 1459 p. Chr. e cod. chart. Bibl. Templi Cathedr. Strengnes.*, in *MHH* 22.1: 71–94; selections, with Italian translation, were also published in *TIePN*, pp. 146–165.

**10. NIKOLAOS SEKOUNDINOS**. This well-known and capable Greco-Italian Linguist[115] delivered an address to the Venetian senate on December 16, 1453, discussing the fall of the imperial city and the death of Loukas Notaras.[116] He again pronounced a speech in the court of Naples before Alfonso V on January 25, 1454. This speech is a valuable source for the siege. Even though Sekoundinos had not been present during the siege, he was one of the first westerners to visit the occupied capital of the Greeks after the sack. He accompanied the Venetian envoy Bartolomeo Marcello to the Porte in order to assist in difficult negotiations involving the ransom of Venetians who had been captured by the sultan's janissaries in the sack of May 29, 1453, and with the thorny problems of resuming trade in the Levant. He probably spent about two months in Constantinople. Then he was dispatched by Marcello to Venice and from there he traveled to Rome and to Naples in order to present his impressions of the new situation in the Levant. His impressions summarized in the speech must include oral information that was passed on to him by survivors of the sack. He is the first source to suggest that the emperor asked his comrades to kill him but when they proved unwilling to do so, he discarded all imperial insignia in the last phases of the general assault in order to evade capture by the janissaries and perished in the desperate struggle of the last stand:[117]

> *Imperator ubi hostem ruinas iam occupare moenium victoriaque potiri certissima vidit, ne caperetur vivus…suos, qui pauci aderant, hortari coepit, ut se occiderent; sed cum tantum facinus audere voluisset nemo, imperatoriis insignibus depositis et abiectis, ne hostibus notus fieret, privatum <se> gerens stricto ense in aciem irruit….*
>
> When the emperor saw that the enemy was in command of the ruined fortifications and that the battle was lost, so that he would not be taken alive…he asked the few comrades who were still there to put him to death. But as no one was willing to commit such a crime, he removed and threw away his imperial insignia so that the enemy would not recognize him and with bare sword in hand he entered the struggle….

This is an important text on the events of the siege and on the aftermath by a wellinformed author, who visited the devastated city soon after the events. Unfortunately, there exists no reliable edition of the complete text. The complete text was first published by V. V. Makušev, *Monumenta historica Slavorum Meridiolanum vicinorumque populorum*, 1 (Warsaw, 1874): 295–306, but it was based on inferior manuscripts and this edition contains numerous inaccuracies. A better, but incomplete, text was then published in *NE* 3: 316–323; selections, with Italian translation, were then printed in *CC* 1: 128–140.[118] But *CC* 1, for some reason, chose to omit the long account of the execution of Loukas Notaras, which is of great interest to historians.

**11. GIACOMO (JACOPO) LANGUSCHI**. Cf. *supra*, II.A.4.i.

**12. JOHN MOSKHOS**. He was a minor Greek intellectual in Italy and was commissioned to write this piece, a rhetorical ἐπιτάφιος in honor of the last grand duke of Constantinople, Loukas Notaras. Under the constrictions of the literary genre then in vogue, one should not expect detailed historical information backed by archival material. Strictly speaking, it does not deal directly with the siege of 1453 but with the role that Notaras himself played in the defense and his subsequent execution after the sack. There is every reason to believe that this piece was encouraged, and perhaps was directly commissioned, by Anna Notaras herself, the daughter of Loukas, who, prior to the siege of 1453, had been sent to Venice with her two sisters, Euphrosyne and Theodora.[119] In the decade of the 1460s, after he made his escape from Mehmed II's *seraglio*, they were joined by their brother Jacob/Iakobos, whom the sultan had reserved for his harem in 1453.

By the 1470s loud charges were voiced against Notaras.[120] It was said that he had failed to contribute his fair share to the defense of Constantinople in 1453, in spite of his immense wealth. It was especially in Italy that certain texts went so far as to accuse Notaras of high treason. Leonardo, an eyewitness, had reported the grand duke's quarrel with Giovanni Giustiniani, during which the *condottiere* had accused Notaras of being a *proditor/traditore.* Di Montaldo, who wrote an interesting (but thus far overlooked by scholars) account of the siege and sack, also called Notaras a "traitor" and described his last moments with unflattering colors in a key passage that accuses Notaras of opening a gate to admit the attacking enemy:[121]

> *Quod patefacto ut ingerunt hostio per civem, quem Magnum Ducem cognominabant, copiarum introitus numero ingenti patuit.*
>
> As they say, the way for the enemy [the Turks] was opened by a citizen, whom they call the Grand Duke, and he offered an opening to a huge number of troops.

Later in his narrative, Notaras is again painted in dark colors:[122]

> *Lucas, Magnus Dux cognomento honoris dictus, quem proditionis infamia reum fecit…in regis indignationem devenit. Quam quidem ob rem mox clamitantem e complexibus parentis arripi puerum jussit, cumque invitum violasset, eundem cum patre ac altero fratre morte multandum dedit, objecta de proditione civitatis culpa, quam perperam tradisse patrem asserebat.*
>
> About Loukas Notaras, called by the honorific title of 'grand duke,' who had been charged with the crime of treason, the king [= sultan] began to feel indignation. Soon thereafter the king [=

> sultan] ordered that his [Notaras'] young son be tearfully torn from the arms of his parents. He then violated the protesting boy. Next, he ordered that he with his other brother be executed, as he asserted that their father had been charged with treason against his homeland.

Reports about the fate of the Notaras family were numerous and no one could ascertain what had really happened or was the fate of the survivors. As late as March 1454, the facts remained unclear and the authorities in Genoa instructed their envoys, Luciano Spinola and Baldassare Maruffo, to the Porte to inquire into this matter:[123]

> *Ex ipso domino Luca credimus superesse filium et filias duas, que dicuntur posite in maxima calamitate et servitute; ex quo volumus intuitu Dei primum, deinde pro honore patrie, inquiratis ubi ille puelle sint, et si aliqua ratione prodesse poteritis eis, enitamini verbo et opera ac studio pro omni commodo earum; et si fieri poterit, incumbite ut meliorem aliquam conditione assequantur; et quoniam id est opus summe misericordie, cavete ne in hoc sitis negligentes. Quod autem de puellis diximus, hoc idem de filio dicimus si egebit presidio vestro.*

> We believe that one son and two daughters of Lord Loukas Notaras are alive and are said to be in the greatest danger and servitude. We wish that, for the love of God and for the honor of our country, you inquire about the whereabouts of the daughters and that you try to help them and ameliorate their circumstances in any possible way, by deed, by word, and by persistence. If it can be done, bring about some improvement in their condition. As this amounts to charitable work, please do not neglect it. Our instructions in regard to the daughters also apply to the son if he is in need of your assistance.

The authorities probably did not know that the three daughters of Notaras had been sent to Venice before the onset of the siege. Nevertheless, the family of Notaras had numerous links in Genoa[124] and the authorities felt obliged to inquire. The youngest son of Notaras, Jacob, who had indeed survived the *seraglio* of the sultan, eventually escaped from Constantinople, as is elucidated in another surviving document, a letter of Recommendation[125] from January 6, 1468, *data Janue die VI Januarii 1468*:

> *Pro domino Jacobo Notara.... Non ignari sumus amice cum genuensibus versatus sit clarus olim et magnificus vir dominus Lucas Notatra constantinopolinus et tunc magnus dux romeorum; quem iniqua et acerba illius fortuna vita et magne parte familie ac bonorum privavit... harum nostrarum litterarum et decreti auctoritate decernimus et*

> *statuimus quod magnificus item eques prefati domini Luce filius, dominus Jacobus Notara.*
>
> On behalf of Lord Jacob Notaras.... We are not unaware of the friendship of the late, glorious, and magnificent Loukas Notaras of Constantinople, who was then the grand duke of the Romans [= Greeks]. An unjust and bitter fortune deprived him of his life, of a great part of his family, and of his property.... We decree and declare, under our authority in the present letter, that the magnificent knight, Lord Jacob Notaras, is the son of the aforementioned Lord Loukas.

After his escape, Jacob came to Italy and married a woman for whom his sister Anna had no affection, as she herself declared in her will long after Jacob's death:[126]

> ἀκόμη νὰ μηδὲν ἠμπορῆ κανεὶς ἀπὸ τοὺς κομμισαρίους μου νὰ ποιήση κανένα συμβιβασμὸν μὲ τὴν Ζαμπέτα τὴν κουνιάδα μου, οὐδὲ μὲ ἄλλον τινα διὰ ὄνομά της, ὅτι πολὺν βίον μου ἐκατηνάλωσε...ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου καὶ αὐτὸν ὅλον τὸν ἐκατέκρυψεν.
>
> My executors will have no authority to come to an understanding with my sister-in-law Zabeta, nor with anyone else acting in her name, as she squandered much of my fortune and concealed all of my brother's property.

Anna died on July 8, 1507.[127] In the same will she mentions that her sister Theodora, ἀφήνω, διὰ πιστοτάτους μου ἐπιτρόπους καὶ κομμισαρίους...καὶ τὴν...Θεοδώραν τὴν ἀδελφήν μου, "I designate as my most loyal overseers and executors...and my sister Theodora," was still alive but that her second sister, Euphrosyne, had evidently died:

> ἀκόμα νὰ ἐξαγοράσουν ἕνα αἰχμάλωτον ἀπὸ τοὺς Τούρκους Χριστιανὸ καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐλευθερώσουν διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς Κυρὰ Φροσύνης, τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου, καθὼς τὸ ἐπαφῆκεν ἔν τι πρὸ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς.
>
> Let them also ransom a Christian prisoner from the Turks for the soul of Lady Phrosyne [that is, Euphrosyne], my sister, as she had specified before her death.

All sorts of tales circulated that reported conflicting versions of the grand duke's last days, while he was a prisoner of the sultan. In addition, folk motifs also accumulated about the figure of the last grand duke. One was extremely insulting and duplicates material that is also reported in Marco Polo's narrative: Pseudo-Sphrantzes' account of Notaras' execution seems to repeat the "concealed treasure" motif that is encountered in Marco Polo's story of the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258. Notaras attracted all this lore because he was fabulously wealthy and because he was the chief financial minister of Constantine XI and of the imperial administration. He had worked hard securing loans for the emperor until the siege, a fact that may be behind some strange and rhetorically forced arguments encountered in Moskhos' text.

Anna and her humanistic circle sought to counteract the charges that were in circulation by encouraging or even commissioning Moskhos[128] to compose this Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνδοξωτάτῳ καὶ ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ μακαρίτῃ μεγάλῳ δουκὶ κυρῷ Λουκᾷ τῷ Νοταρᾷ, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μόσχου, *A Funeral Speech in Honor of the Most Glorious and Most Illustrious Grand Duke, the Late Lord Loukas Notaras by John Moskhos.* It is not an accident that Moskhos emphasizes the loyalty of Notaras to the emperor, whom, rumors insisted, the grand duke had betrayed during the last stage of the siege, and his personal contributions to the defense of Constantinople. Notaras' efforts on behalf of his homeland are described in a tortuous, highly suspect narration, which would have made the sophists of antiquity proud of Moskhos, as he clearly tries to make the best case out of a bad situation. He cannot show that Notaras contributed his own funds to the defense. His prose and arguments remain unconvincing, especially in regard to the ardent desire that Notaras supposedly displayed in encouraging others to contribute funds to the defense. Posterity has not been kind to the last grand duke and his figure is still surrounded by considerable controversy, as some scholars see in him a traitor and others a hero who sacrificed his life in depressing circumstances and even turn him into a martyr of Neohellenism. The truth surely lies somewhere in the middle. To the chagrin of his daughters, Loukas Notaras had already become the subject of a lively controversy by the second half of the *quattrocento*. Moskhos' work is a rhetorical attempt to check the mounting "bad press," but ultimately this attempt failed and the role of the last grand duke during the siege of 1453 remains controversial.

The first edition of this speech was produced by E. Legrand, *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 2 (1885/1886): 413–424. It was based on the *ms. No. 2731* in the National Library, Paris, $176^{\mathrm{v}}$–$187^{\mathrm{r}}$. The text, with its first English translation, can be found as Appendix V in a forthcoming biography of the last emperor: Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*.

**13. ADAMO DI MONTALDO**. In the 1470s Adamo composed his *De Constantinopolitano excidio ad nobilissimum iuvenem Melladucam Cicadam.* It is a noteworthy account and contains information that is not duplicated in other sources. Adamo, for instance, emphasizes the contribution to the defense of Maurizio Cataneo, who rises to the level of Giovanni Giustiniani in the operations. In addition, he includes a long account of the execution of Loukas Notaras, which, in our opinion, shows some familiarity with the "hagiographic" piece of Moskhos (cf. *supra*, II.B.12), as both include a long speech that Notaras supposedly pronounced before his death, with digressions into philosophy and the immortality of the soul. It was first published by P. A. Déthier, C. Desimoni, and C. Hopf, "Della Conquista di Costantinopoli per Maometto II nel MCCCLIII," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 10 (1874): 289–354; and reprinted in *MHH* 22.1: 35–70. Selections with Italian translation further appear in *TIePN*, pp. 188–209.

## III. The Sixteenth-Century Greek Tradition

It should be observed that there exists in Greek no authentic eyewitness source that discusses the siege and sack of Constantinople. The so-called Greek historians of the fall, Doukas, Khalkokondyles, and Kritoboulos,[129] may have consulted participants in the defense and perhaps even Ottoman officials, soldiers, and engineers who had participated in the siege, but they themselves were not in the city and did not directly observe the events as they unfolded. In fact, the only Greek eyewitness is George Sphrantzes (1401–1477), but his authentic work is extremely laconic on the siege and he provides no narrative whatsoever on the operations. From the few references that the authentic text contains one may conclude that Sphrantzes indeed was on the support staff of Constantine XI. It was to Sphrantzes after all that the emperor entrusted the delicate mission of taking a census of the available defensive resources before the commencement of hostilities. Of this incident Sphrantzes himself makes mention:[130]

> τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως προστάξαντος τοῖς δημάρχοις, ἔγραψεν ἕκαστος τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ δυναμένου σταθῆναι ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ κοσμικοῦ καὶ καλογέρου καὶ τί καὶ τί ἅρμα πρὸς ἄμυναν νὰ ἔχῃ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.... Εἶτα ὁρίζει πρὸς ἐμέ· "αὕτη ἡ δουλεία πρὸς σὲ ἀφορᾷ...καὶ λάβε τὰ κατάστιχα καὶ καθίσας εἰς τὸ ὁσπίτιόν σου λογάριασε ἀκριβῶς πόσοι εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι καὶ πόσα ἅρματα καὶ πόσα κοντάρια καὶ πόσα σκουτάρια καὶ πόσα τοξάρια." καὶ ἐκτελέσας τὸν ὁρισμὸν αὐτοῦ, φέρων δέδωκα τῷ αὐθέντῃ μου καὶ βασιλεῖ τὸ καταστιχόπουλον μετὰ λύπης καὶ σκυθρωπότητος ὅτι πολλῆς, καὶ ἔμεινε μόνον ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἡ ποσότης εἰς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐμέ.

> The emperor ordered the demarches to take a census of their demarches and to record the exact number of men – laity and clergy – able to defend the walls and what weapons each man had for defense.... Then he commanded me: ‘This task is for you…take these lists and compute, in the privacy of your home, the exact figure of available defenders, weapons, shields, spears, and arrows.’ I completed my task and presented the master list to my lord and emperor in the greatest possible sadness and depression. The true figure remained a secret known only to him and to myself.

Again, in his authentic account, Sphrantzes writes of the diplomacy and of the court’s futile efforts to attract major military aid from the west,[131] but he remains silent concerning the period of the siege. In a single entry Sphrantzes addresses the fall of the city, by-passing the entire period of the siege. He makes it clear that his duties had taken him away from the critical area by order of the emperor, who may have wished to protect his friend by directing him to another less dangerous sector of the defenses. Had Sphrantzes been present at the critical sector between the civil gate of St. Romanos and the military, the Pempton, he would not have survived, as apparently none did of those who chose to stay in the area under massive attack between the civil Gate of St. Romanos and the Pempton, the Fifth Military Gate. Further, neither Pusculo nor Leonardo, our only eyewitnesses to have furnished a sort of "catalogue of defenders and their positions," mentions Sphrantzes in the vicinity of the walls. It may be concluded that he did not play an active military role in the defense. It is also possible that Sphrantzes had a nonmilitary role and that he was somewhere with the non-combatant members of the administration within the city. He provides only one reference to the fall and to the death of his friend, the emperor:[132]

> Καὶ τῇ κθ$^{η}$ μαΐου, ἡμέρᾳ γ$^{η}$, ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχῇ, ἀπῆρε τὴν Πόλιν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς· ἐν ᾗ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἁλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης αὐθέντης μου κῦρ Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεὺς ὁ Παλαιολόγος σκοτωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, ἐμοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὑρεθέντος τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ἀλλὰ προστάξει ἐκείνου εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν δῆθεν ἄλλου μέρους τῆς Πόλεως.

> On Tuesday May 29, early in the day, the emir [sultan] took possession of the city. In this time of capture my late master and emperor, Lord Constantine, was killed. I was not at his side at that hour but I had been inspecting another part of the city, according to his orders.

Sphrantzes is sufficiently truthful to admit that he did not know how his hero, the emperor, had died. In fact, his silence and his vague reference that he had been dispatched elsewhere within the city by an imperial order are suspect, and some scholars see in this statement a vague admission of flight.[133]

Sphrantzes has devoted not a single word to the defensive operations. It is indeed a curious omission, which has led some scholars to speculate that the historian may actually have maintained a separate diary. This conjecture seems likely but a further inference that has been made is erroneous, as it presupposes that this hypothetical diary of Sphrantzes somehow fell into the hands of his sixteenth-century elaborator, Makarios Melissenos-Melissourgos, who then enlarged it into the surviving *Maius*.[134] In spite of ingenious arguments, none of which is linguistic or textual, such attempts to elevate the siege section of the *Maius* to respectability as a primary source remain unconvincing. This hypothesis lacks positive evidence, and most of the arguments associated with it are reduced to omissions of events in both the *Maius* and the *Minus*. Most significant, this challenge fails to recognize the importance of Bishop Leonardo in the composition of the siege section of the *Maius*. Makarios utilized, as has now become abundantly clear, other existing and identifiable accounts to compile his narrative. It is possible that Sphrantzes maintained a diary of the siege period. If he did so, we must conjecture, since all traces of it have vanished, that its nature would have been different from the *Giornale* of Barbaro or of the *epistula* by Leonardo. Unlike Barbaro, Pusculo, and Leonardo, Sphrantzes does not seem to have been on the walls. So his diary would have been of a different makeup, perhaps presenting the views of the non-combatant members of the imperial administration.

Sphrantzes was not a professional soldier and he has very little to add about the military aspects concerning the siege of Patras by Constantine that had taken place earlier. As always, he was more interested in diplomatic matters. Of course, it is not known what may have happened to this hypothetical journal. It is possible that it perished early on, perhaps in the early hours of the sack when Sphrantzes fell into the hands of the enemy. However, one would like to note that somehow Sphrantzes was able to consult some of his notes when he compiled his *Minus* years after the sack. Is it possible that he had retained some notes and lost others? Could it be that he had left his notes of the earlier years at Mistra in the Morea when Constantine and he went to Constantinople and that he recovered these notes after his release from captivity? It should be recalled that nowhere in his authentic narrative does he allude to any journal of the siege. There is no hint in the surviving narrative of his activities during the siege. Indeed it amounts to curious silence but allows nothing other than speculation.

Consequently, Greek chronicles that date from the period after the fall necessarily concentrate their attention on the situation that followed the sack, and, specifically, on the affairs of the patriarchate and the patriarchs, with a passing reference to the siege. Again the chronicle of Sphrantzes plays a part in this situation, but the elaborator of Sphrantzes, Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, has penned the pertinent sections of the *Maius*.

The first patriarch under the sultans was George Scholarios-Gennadios II.[135] Before the conquest of 1453 there had been no reigning patriarch in Greek Constantinople. The last holder of the title, Gregory III Mammas (1443–1450), had fled from the Greek capital in 1451 to Rome, in face of popular opposition to his religious policies that favored union with the papacy. The emperor afterward appointed no successor during that turbulent period.[136] Mehmed II, presumably with the approval of and after some consultation with the surviving bishops, elevated Gennadios II to be the first head of the Greek *millet* on January 6, 1454.[137]

The elevation of Gennadios to the patriarchal throne, with the accompanying elaborate narration of the state of affairs, although depressing given the circumstances, has been described in detail in the *Chronicon Maius.*[138] As long as the authenticity of his *Maius* had not been questioned, this narrative was taken to be, if not an eyewitness account of the ceremony, certainly a well-informed description of a historical event. As modern scholarship has demonstrated repeatedly in the past decades, the *Maius* represents a late "composition," penned by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos in Italy, most likely in Naples, *ca.* 1580.[139]

Thus the important passages that deal with this subject have not been penned by the authoritative hand of Sphrantzes, who could not have had any affection for Scholarios-Gennadios, the most vocal opponent of the emperor's religious policies before the siege of 1453 and a leader of the anti-union faction fiercely objecting to the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches that had been agreed upon during the monumental Council of Florence in 1438/1439. During the siege of 1453 Scholarios had advocated a policy of passive resistance to the Turks and had recommended prayers and all-night vigils instead of active duty on the walls.[140] In the days before the siege his activities had earned him the scorn of the court,[141] where he had become a *persona non grata*. In fact, the very same activities that had alienated him from the Greek court, especially his anti-Catholic and anti-western policies, must have recommended him to the sultan.

The forger of the *Maius*, Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, however, was a cleric in Ottoman Greece before he made his way to Italy and the west. He displayed a lively interest in ecclesiastical affairs and it is he who has supplied us with a detailed account of the enthronement of Scholarios as Gennadios II, which took place on January 6, 1454. In addition, the concluding sections of Book III of the *Maius* enumerate the powers that the sultan bestowed upon his patriarch on that momentous occasion. In fact, the statements of Melissourgos-Melissenos have long been accepted as fact, since the days when scholars were under the impression that Sphrantzes himself had authored the *Maius*. If indeed it can be demonstrated that this section of the *Maius* was authentic, or, at the very least, based on an authoritative source and not on the imagination of the forger, it would be of the utmost significance for the history of the Orthodox Church and the Greek *millet* under the Osmanli sultans, as the authority, duties, and responsibilities of the patriarch to the Porte are clearly delineated. One particular passage of the *Maius* has given rise to a controversy that has found no resolution thus far and deserves to be quoted at length:[142]

> ἔδωκε δὲ προστάγματα ἐγγράφως τῷ πατριάρχῃ [*sc.* Gennadios II] μετ᾽ ἐξουσίας βασιλικῆς ὑπογεγραμμένης κάτωθεν ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐνοχλήσῃ ἢ ἀντιτείνῃ, ἀλλὰ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀναίτητον καὶ ἀφορολόγητον καὶ ἀδιάσειστόν τε ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐναντίου, καὶ τέλους καὶ δώσεως ἐλεύθερος ἔσται αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν πατριάρχαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ὁμοίως καὶ πάντες οἱ ὑποτεταγμένοι αὐτῷ ἀρχιερεῖς.

> [The sultan] gave written decrees with royal authority and undersigned by him to the patriarch [*sc.* Gennadios II], which ensured that no man would hinder or annoy him; moreover, the patriarch was absolved of all taxation and tribute. The sultan further declared that all future patriarchs and their high clerics would enjoy the same privileges and similarly would be immune from taxation and tribute forever.

Based on this statement of Melissenos, scholarship has inferred a complete system of relations between the patriarchate and the Porte. Of particular significance seem to be the “written decrees” (προστάγματα ἐγγράφως), presumably a *firman* of some sort, with which Mehmed conferred these “privileges” to the patriarch.[143] As no other contemporary evidence on this crucial point has survived, acceptance or rejection of this *firman* depends directly on the reliability of Melissourgos-Melissenos or on that of his immediate source.

Patriarch Theoleptos was confronted with the question of the conversion to Islam of the existing churches of Constantinople by the grandson of Mehmed II, Sultan Selim I Yavuz, *ca.* 1520. The patriarch, therefore, was forced to argue that the churches had been assigned to the Greek *millet* by the Conqueror himself following the sack of 1453, and he added the testimony of the three aged janissaries to substantiate his case:[144]

> … Ὁ Θεόληπτος ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι, " Ἂν ἦναι ἄδεια, θὰ ἐνθυμίσω τὴν Βασιλείαν Σου τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Πόλεως· οἱ πρόγονοί μας ἔδωσαν ἀναιμωτὶ τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος τῆς Πόλεως τῷ σουλτὰν Μεχμὲτ μὲ τοιαύτας συμφωνίας α΄, ὅτι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν Χριστιανῶν νὰ μὴ γενοῦν τζαμία, β΄ ὅτι οἱ γάμοι, αἱ ταφαί, καὶ ἄλλα ἔθιμα τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ νὰ γίνωνται ἀνεμποδίστως, γ΄ ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ Πάσχα μὲ ἐλευθερίαν νὰ πανηγυρίζεται…." Τότε ὁ μουφτὴς ἠρώτησε τὸν πατριάρχην ἂν ἔχῃ τὸ ἔγγραφον ταύτης τῆς συμφωνίας· ἀπεκρίθη ὁ πατριάρχης ὅτι νὰ κατεκάη ἀπὸ πυρκαϊᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἠμπορεῖ νὰ φέρῃ μάρτυρας τρεῖς γιαννιτζάρους αὐτόπτας τῆς τοιαύτης συμφωνίας. Ἦλθον οὗτοι καὶ οἱ τρεῖς, ἄγοντες ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας πλησίον τῶν ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐμαρτυρήσαντο ὅτι ἦσαν παρόντες εἰς τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Πόλεως, καὶ ἐνθυμοῦνται ὅτι οἱ εὐγενεῖς αὐτῆς ὑπετάγησαν ἑκουσίως τῷ σουλτὰν Μεχμέτ, ἐλθόντες καὶ εὑρόντες αὐτὸν ἔξω εἰς τὴν σκηνήν του, καὶ ἀγαγόντες καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῆς Πόλεως ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ πινακίου, καὶ ζητήσαντες παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τινα ἄρθρα ἅτινα ἐδέχθη ὁ σουλτὰν Μεχμέτης.

> Theoleptos responded: ‘If it were permitted, I will remind your

> Majesty of the fall of the City. Our ancestors surrendered, without a fight, half of the City to Sultan Mehmed under an agreement that (i.) the churches of the Christians would not become mosques, (ii.) weddings, funerals, and other Christian customs will continue unobstructed, and (iii.) the holiday of Easter will be celebrated freely….' The *mufti* asked the patriarch if he had the written document of this agreement. The patriarch responded that it had perished in a fire but that he could produce, however, three janissaries who were eyewitnesses to this pact. The three men, close to one hundred years old, came and testified that they were present at the fall of the City. They remembered that the noblemen of the City willingly submitted to Sultan Mehmed, that they came outside his tent, that they brought the keys of the City on a golden plate, and that they presented a number of petitions, which the Sultan Mehmed granted.

The essential point here is that Theoleptos could produce no legal document from his archives to substantiate his claim.

Yet Melissourgos-Melissenos, who wrote about sixty years after the event, must have employed in the pertinent section of his "composition" of the *Maius* a source that did mention this legal document, or was it an invented *firman* of some sort whose existence had been taken for fact by this time? Clearly, a document could not antedate the reign of Selim I, for the need to prove its existence did not arise before the beginning of the sixteenth century. Neither Mehmed II nor his successor Bayezid II threatened conversion of the handful of churches that had been left to the Greeks after the sack of 1453. Our knowledge for the incident *ca.* 1520 derives solely from the *Patriarchal History*, which Crusius embedded and translated into Latin in his *Turcograecia* in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The author of the Greek text was reputed to be Manuel Malaxos. Our knowledge of Malaxos is at best scanty. What does seem certain is that Malaxos was a member of the immediate circle of the patriarch.[145] The sources of Malaxos have not been identified thus far, but his importance as an early historian of the patriarchate becomes obvious in the absence of other documentary evidence and in view of the fact that his work has influenced western historiography concerning ecclesiastical affairs of the Levant. Crusius, who held the chair of Greek language at Tübingen from *ca.* 1555, was one of the few individuals in the west to display a lively interest in contemporary Greece under the sultans. Through the offices of Stephen Gerlach, the energetic Lutheran chaplain in Constantinople, Crusius began a regular correspondence with Greek officials at the patriarchate and even became involved in a badly conceived and ill-fated attempt to bring the Lutheran and Greek Churches together.[146] Crusius' lasting achievement was the direct result of his correspondence: the compilation of his famous *Turcograecia*,[147] the main source in the west for the history of Constantinople and the Greeks under the sultans. Fruitful was Crusius' correspondence with Theodosios Zygomalas (b. 1545),[148] a πρωτονοτάριος, "a first notary" of the patriarchate,[149] who furnished most of the material that found its way into the *Turcograecia*. It was Zygomalas who brought to the attention of Crusius the *Historia Patriarchica* of Manuel Malaxos.[150] In fact, before Malaxos' material was shipped to Crusius, it was copied and personally corrected by Zygomalas. The manuscript was completed in April 1577, and was dispatched to Crusius in 1581. In 1584 it appeared embedded, with Crusius' Latin translation, in the *Turcograecia*.

The *Historia Patriarchica* has proved to be a treasure of information for the history of the patriarchs after the fall of Constantinople. Given the deplorable state created by the lack of other archival documentation, by necessity it has been our basic source for this period, not only for the history of the patriarchate but also for that of Ottoman Greece in general. Thus, it is because of Manuel Malaxos, through Crusius, that the western world learned some particulars about Gennadios II's reign and of his immediate successors. However, there are persistent rumors in our sources to suggest that Manuel Malaxos was not, after all, the actual author of the *Historia Patriarchica*. Stephen Gerlach himself believed that Manuel Malaxos was only the copyist of the manuscript that was sent to Crusius and not its author.[151] Further, Malaxos himself simply states in the text: μεταγλώτισσεν εἰς κοινὴν φράσιν, "he translated into the common idiom," which implies that he merely changed the linguistic form and literary style of another extant and accessible work.[152]

What then was this source, or the original composition, that proved so influential on the early patriarchate? Damaskenos the Studite as a literary figure has been neglected by modern scholarship.[153] Reared in Thessaloniki, he served as the metropolitan of Naupaktos (Lepanto) and Arta and was active during this period.[154] Damaskenos composed a *History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople* from the time of Constantine the Great to *ca.* 1570. He completed his work about 1572. From the linguistic evidence that will be presently examined, it will become clear that our ultimate source for the history of the patriarchate is this work by Damaskenos. His text was copied, elaborated slightly, and, in some cases, even supplemented by Manuel Malaxos and Theodosios Zygomalas. In this corrected form it was sent to Crusius and eventually appeared in the *Turcograecia*.

The story, however, does not end here. We have already seen that the ceremony for the elevation of Gennadios II by Mehmed II and the "privileges" that the Conqueror granted the Greek patriarch were described by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos in his *Chronicon Maius*. Melissourgos-Melissenos must have employed, in the composition of Book III of the *Maius*, a source that mentions this (invented?) *firman* of Mehmed, whose existence was so crucial in the incident involving Patriarch Theoleptos and Sultan Selim Yavuz. A close reading of the relevant passage in Melissourgos-Melissenos reveals that indeed he derived most of his information on the enthronement of Gennadios II from the *Historia Patriarchica*, which is attributed to Malaxos or more likely directly copied from a manuscript, if not the actual autograph of Damaskenos, the source of Malaxos' *Historia*.

That Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos was also familiar with a form of this text is not surprising. He had an extended stay in Constantinople, in close proximity to the patriarchate, while he was involved in a dispute with regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the city of Androusa in the Morea.[155] During his sojourn Makarios must have become familiar, as is evident in Book III, with Constantinopolitan topography. He has for instance attempted to improve on topographical details that he encountered in western sources, and specifically in his primary source that he read and paraphrased into Greek, the Latin *epistula* of Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani.[156] Makarios elaborated upon, "improved," and occasionally even corrected the Latin account. It is not quite clear as yet whether Makarios worked directly from the Latin text, from an Italian version, or even from a Greek vernacular paraphrase that has not come down to us.[157] The fact that he dedicated time to "research" demonstrates that he was already acquiring materials for his elaboration of the *Minus*, which he completed in Italy after he fled from the Levant, probably by 1577, since the earliest *codices* of the *Maius* date to 1577 and 1578.[158] He eventually was buried in Naples. His family tomb bore an inscription in Greek. The monument has disappeared but a Latin translation of its inscription had been preserved and includes the following information:[159]

> *Macarius Archiepisc<opus> Epidauren(sis)…ex praeclarissima Melissenorum et Comnenorum familia et D<ominus> Theodorus germanus frater…Neapoli…ceciderunt…Macarius pridie Idus Septemb<ris> anno sal. human. MDLXXXV.*

> Makarios, Archbishop of Epidauros [that is, Monembasia in the Morea]…from the most illustrious family of Melissenoi and Komnenoi and [his] own brother D<ominos> Theodoros…in

> Naples…departed… Makarios on the day before the Ides of September, the year of human healthfulness, 1585.

The equivalent text in a surviving Greek version, though probably not the original inscription on the tomb but a translation or rendition from the Latin version of the inscription, reads as follows:

> Μακάριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ᾿Επιδαύρου…ἐκ τῆς περιφανεστάτης οἰκογενείας Μελισσηνῶν καὶ Κομνηνῶν οἰκίας καὶ Θεόδωρος αὐτάδελφος…ἐν Νεαπόλει …κατέπεσον…Μακάριος δωδεκάτη Σεπτεμβρίου, ἔτει σωτηρίῳ ,αφπε΄.

> Makarios, the Archbishop of Epidauros…from the most illustrious family of the Melissenoi and Komnenoi and his brother Theodoros.in Naples.succumbed .Makarios on September 12 in A.D. 1585.

This date is further confirmed by a note written and dated August 21, 1608, by a priest of the Greek community in Naples. But even that testimony is a copy of a previous note and does not bear the original signature or a seal that would have accompanied the original confirmation.[160] Long before the completion of the *Maius*, Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, it appears, took great care to follow authoritative sources in his "historical fiction," although invented details are indeed present.[161]

The ultimate source of both Malaxos and Makarios is Damaskenos' text and prototype. Damaskenos' manuscript, perhaps the autograph of the *History of the Patriarchs*, has never been edited or printed and still awaits an *editio princeps.* The manuscript itself, no. 569, was at first catalogued in the Metoechia of the Holy Sepulcher of Constantinople and then was transferred to the Patriarchal Library. It is currently housed in the National Library in Athens. To the extent that we know, C. N. Sathas transcribed, edited, and printed over a century ago the short extracts that we will presently scrutinize.[162] Sathas realized that there was a certain correspondence between Damaskenos' text and Malaxos' narrative, but he drew no conclusions and failed to detect any connection with Makarios' *Maius*, for at that time the authenticity of the *Maius* had not been questioned and it was universally held that it had originated with Sphrantzes. In fact, if a correspondence had been noted, the erroneous conclusion would have been drawn that Damaskenos and Malaxos had used the text attributed to Sphrantzes.

Most contemporary research on the sources of the *Maius* has concentrated on Book III, for the obvious reasons that it contains the exciting narrative that includes the 1453 siege section and pre-dates the sack. The immediate aftermath has failed to attract attention. Yet it is precisely this section of Makarios that has given rise to a controversy involving the patriarchate and the Porte. Accordingly, it deserves close examination and scrutiny to reveal previously unknown sources with regard to Mehmed II Fatih and the events that surrounded the creation and the reconstitution of the patriarchate. While Manuel Malaxos has followed Damaskenos' text closely, both in his choice of lexical items and in sentence structure, Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos has allowed himself greater freedom by substituting words with archaic flavor and by "improving" the simple paratactic style of Damaskenos/Malaxos with his periodic style. Further, all three texts reproduce, in Greek, a phonetic approximation of the Turkish term *sürgün* (banish[ed]) in their conclusions. The linguistic correspondences and dependence of Malaxos and Makarios on Damaskenos can be illustrated by the following passage. For the purposes of analysis lexical variants and differences in sentence structure have been underlined and emphasis has been placed on words that have been added to each text. Variations and paraphrases are indicated by slight changes in the accompanying translation:

> **DAMASKENOS**: ἔδωκε [*sc.* Mehmed II] δὲ αὐτοῦ [*sc.* Gennadios II] καὶ τὸν περίφημον ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καὶ ἔκαμεν αὐτὸν πατριαρχεῖον· καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ ἐκαθέζετον ὁ πατριάρχης, μία νύκτα εὑρέθη ἕνας σφαμένος **μέσα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ πατριαρχείου· ὡς εἶδεν ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ ἡ συνοδεία αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφαγμένον ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν**, ἵνα μὴ σφάξουν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ· διότι ὅλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος τὸ γῦρον τοῦ πατριαρχείου ἦτον ἔρημος, ἔσοντας ὁποῦ τελείως ἄνθρωποι δὲν ἐκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν γειτονίαν ἐκείνην, ὅτι ἐσφάγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. ὅμως ἐν τῷ ἅμα ὁ πατριάρχης εὐγῆκεν ἀπ᾽ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀφῆκεν τὸν ναὸν ἐκεῖνον σφαλισμένον καὶ ὑπῆγε εἰς τὸν σουλτάνον καὶ ἀνέφερε τὰ γενόμενα· καὶ ἐζήτησεν αὐτοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὴν μονὴν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου νὰ τὴν ἐκάμῃ πατριαρχεῖον. καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ σουλτάνος τοῦτο, τῆς ὥρας ἔδωκε αὐτοῦ ὁρισμόν, καὶ ἔλαβε αὐτὸν τὸν ναόν, καὶ πατριαρχεῖον τὸν ἔκαμεν...καὶ τοῦτος ὁ ναὸς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου ἦτον ὅλος ἔξωθεν τὸ γῦρον κάτοικος, ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὀσπίτια γεμάτη ὅλη ἡ γειτονία καὶ ἐπάνω καὶ κάτω, διότι ἤφεραν σεργούνιδες ἀπὸ ἄλλα κάστρα καὶ τοὺς ἐκατοίκησαν ἐκεῖ.
>
> And he [*sc.* Mehmed II] also gave to him [*sc.* Gennadios II] the renowned Church of the Holy Apostles and he turned it into the patriarchate. And while the patriarch was making it his residence, one night they found a slaughtered corpse **inside the courtyard of the patriarchate. When the patriarch and his retinue saw the slaughtered man, they conceived great fear**, in case they also slaughtered them there, as the entire area around the patriarchate was deserted in this neighborhood, with no human beings whatsoever living in the neighborhood, because they had been slaughtered in the war [that is, the sack of 1453]. And so the patriarch left his residence, locked up the church, and went to the sultan to report what had occurred. And he asked for the convent of

> Pammakaristos so he could turn it into the patriarchate. The sultan heard this and he issued the order within the same hour, and he took over this church, and turned it into his patriarchate…and this church of Pammakaristos was surrounded by many local inhabitants, as the entire neighborhood was bristling with people and homes all over, because they [sc. the Turks] had imported *sürgün* populations from other cities and had settled them there.

> **MANUEL MALAXOS**: ἔδωκέ [*sc.* Mehmed II] του [*sc.* Gennadios II] de δε και τον περίφημον ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καὶ ἔκαμεν πατριαρχεῖον· καὶ ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ ἐκαθέζετον ὁ πατριάρχης, μιᾷ νύκτα εὑρέθη ἕνας **ἄνθρωπος** σφαμένος. καὶ ἐφοβήθη φόβον μέγαν, ἵνα μὴ σφάξουν **αὐτὸν ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν συνοδείαν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ**· διότι ὅλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος γύρωθεν τοῦ πατριαρχείου ἦτον ἔρημος· ἔσοντας, ὁποῦ ἄνθρωποι δὲν ἐκατοίκουν ἐκεῖ, ὅτι ἐσφάγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. ὅμως ἐν τῷ ἅμα ὁ πατριάρχης εὐγῆκεν ἀπ᾽ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄφηκε τὸν ναὸν σφαλισμένον καὶ ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὸν σουλτάνον καὶ ἀνήφερε τὰ γινόμενα· καὶ ἐζήτησεν αὐτοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὴν μονὴν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου νὰ τὴν ἐκάμῃ πατριαρχεῖον. καὶ ὁ σουλτάνος ὡς ἤκουσεν τοῦτο, τῆς ὥρας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῦ ὁρισμόν, καὶ ἔλαβε τὸν ναὸν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου **τῆς ὑπεράγνου Θεοτόκου** καὶ ἔκαμεν αὐτὸν πατριαρχεῖον…καὶ τοῦτος ὁ ναὸς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου ἦτον ὅλος ἔξωθεν τὸ γῦρον κάτοικος, ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὀσπήτια γεμάτη ὅλη ἡ γειτονία καὶ ἐπάνω καὶ κάτω, διότι ἤφεραν σεργούνιδες ἀπὸ ἄλλα κάστρη καὶ τοὺς ἐκατοίκησαν ἐκεῖ.

> And he [*sc.* Mehmed II] also gave him [*sc.* Gennadios II] the renowned Church of the Holy Apostles and he established the patriarchate. And while the patriarch was making it his residence, one night they found a **man** slaughtered. And he conceived great fear, for fear that they would also slaughter him **or some member of his retinue** there, as the entire area **all** around the patriarchate was deserted there, with no human beings living there, because they had been slaughtered in the war [that is, the sack of 1453]. And so the patriarch left his residence, locked up the church, and went to the sultan to report what had happened. And he asked for the convent of Pammakaristos, so he could turn it into the patriarchate. When the sultan heard this, he issued the order within the same hour, and he took over this church of Pammakaristos, **the all-pure Mother of God**, and made it into his patriarchate … and this church of Pammakaristos was surrounded by many local inhabitants, as the entire neighborhood was bristling with people and houses all over, because they [sc. the Turks] had imported *sürgün* populations from other towns and had settled them there.

For purposes of comparison Crusius’ own translation of this passage into Latin should be quoted and translated:[163]

> *Concessit quoque eidem celeberrimum Sanctorum Apostolorum templum,*

> *in quo hic Patriarchicam sedem locavit. In eo loco dein, ubi Patriarcha residebat, nocte quadam inuentus est homo quispiam occisus. Vnde ingens metus animum Patriarchae incssit, ne vel sibi, veil aliqui alicui suorum familiarium, idem ibi accideret; eo quod totus ille locus, qui circa Patriarcheium erat, incultus et desertus esset uicinibus, qui ibi habitauerant, in ea expugnatione urbis interfecti, nec dum aliis in locum eorum deductis. Confestim itaque Patriarcha inde excessit, relicto illo Templo obserato; cumque Sultanum conuenisset, retulit, quid factum esset, ac rogauit eum, daret sibi Monasterium Deiparae Pammacaristae, vt Patriarcheium verteret. Sultanus, hoc audito, eadem mox hora de eo mandatum dedit…. Erat id Templum foris totum circumcirca habitatum hominibus, vicinia tota, domorum plena, supra et infra, a colonis aliunde ex oppidis eo deductis, ibique habitare iussis*.

> He [Mehmed II] also granted to him [Patriarch Gennadios II] the renowned Church of Holy Apostles, in which he placed this seat of the Patriarchate. Afterward in this place where the Patriarch resided, on a certain night they came upon a murdered man, someone unfortunate. Whence an enormous fear attacked the soul of the Patriarch. Not only himself, it even happened to his entire household. The same happened there because the entire area that was about the Patriarchate was surrounded by neglect and desertion. The murder was in this captive city. Not all was yet brought to this locality. And so without delay the Patriarch departed from there, leaving the Church bolted. Whereupon, he met with the Sultan [Mehmed II]. Being subdued, [the Patriarch related] to him what the facts were, and inquired of him to give him the Monastery of the Mother of God Pammakaristos, in order to turn it into a Patriarchate. The Sultan, hearing this, thereupon in the same hour issued an order concerning this [matter]. This same Church was surrounded on all sides with human inhabitants and the neighborhood was full of homes, above and below. Colonists from different directions and from towns were brought there. He [the Sultan] commanded them to dwell there.

It should be noted that in the Greek texts we encounter variants in spelling, in phraseology, and in lexical items: τὸ γῦρον - γύρωθεν, ἀφῆκεν - ἄφηκε, ἀνέφερε - ἀνήφερε, γενόμενα - γινόμενα, ὁσπίτια - ὁσπήτια, or κάστρα - κάστρη. The same situation may be observed in sentence structure: ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῦ - ἔδωκέ του, and in different word order: καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ σουλτάνος τοῦτο - καὶ ὁ σουλτάνος ὡς ἤκουσεν τοῦτο.Striking correspondences include the cognate accusative, ἐφοβήθη<σαν> φόβον μέγαν, a phonetic approximation, in

Greek, of the Turkish term *sürgün*, σεργούνιδες, and unusual phrases such as ὅμως ἐν τῷ ἅμα, τῆς ὥρας, or τὸ γῦρον. Malaxos' text clearly is very close to Damaskenos'.

When we examine the equivalent passage in Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, which has been reworked more meticulously, the passage is slightly different. We encounter an actual paraphrase and not a word-for-word copy:

> **MAKARIOS**:
>
> καὶ οὕτως ἄχρι τοῦ σεπτοῦ ᾿Αποστολείου συνώδευσαν αὐτόν [*sc.* τὸν πατριάρχην, Γεννάδιον Β΄]...αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ἀποστόλων τέμενος δέδωκεν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς εἰς πατριαρχεῖον. ποιήσας ὁ πατριάρχης τῷ σεπτῷ ᾿Αποστολείῳ καιρὸν ὀλίγον, ἔπειτα θεωρῶν ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς ταλαίπωρος Χριστιανὸς ἐναπέμεινε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μή τι ἐναντίον συμβῇ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν, διότι ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν εὑρέθη τις ᾿Αγαρηνὸς πεφονευμένος ἐν τῷ τοῦ ναοῦ περιαυλείῳ, καὶ διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ὁ πατριάρχης ᾔτησε τὴν μονὴν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου. καὶ ἐδωρήθη αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι εἰς κατοίκησιν· ἐκείνοις γὰρ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐναπέμειναν τινες ὀλίγοι Χριστιανοί...καί τινες Χριστιανοὶ συνήχθησαν. μετ᾿ ὀλίγον δὲ καί τινας ἀποίκους εἰσήνεγκε, κατ᾿ ἐκείνην τὴν διάλεκτον λεγόμενους σουργούνιδες, ἐκ τε τοῦ Καφᾶ Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ Σινωπίου καὶ ᾿Ασπροκάστρου. καὶ οὕτως τὴν πόλιν ἐκατῴκησε.
>
> And so they escorted him [*sc.* Patriarch Gennadios II] as far as the sacred Apostoleion.for this Church of the [Holy] Apostles the emir [= sultan] assigned as the patriarchate. The patriarch did not stay in the scarred Apostoleion for long. He realized that in these parts of the city there was no wretched Christian left and also conceived fear in case something untoward should happen to him on account of the desolation. In fact, one day a Hagarene [= Muslim/Turk] was found murdered inside the church's yard, and for such reason the patriarch requested the convent of Pammakaristos. It was granted to him as his residence. In those parts a few Christians were left.some other Christians gathered. After a while they even imported some colonists, which in their [Turkish] dialect are called *sürgün*, from Caffa, from Trebizond, from Sinope, and from Asprokastron. And so he repopulated the city.

Makarios has extracted lexical items and phrases from his ultimate source, which, nevertheless, he recast into a more formal Greek, but he also managed to keep close to his prototype's choice of words. Thus τὸ γῦρον/γύρωθεν (cf. Crusius' happy rendering, *circumcirca*) appears in prepositional form as ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι, while the adjective ἔρημος (cf. Crusius' *desertus*) has become a noun within a prepositional phrase, διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν. While the prototypes claim that a corpse was discovered at night, μία νύκτα/μιᾷ νύκτα (cf. Crusius' *nocte quadam*), Makarios simply states that the discovery was made "one day," ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν. Similarly, Makarios has transformed the participle ἔσοντας, into a prepositional phrase, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας.

Of particular interest is the Greek dress that Makarios has given to the Turkish term *sürgün*, σουργούνιδες, which is phonetically closer than the prototypes' σεργούνιδες, a term that Crusius does not reproduce phonetically and sticks to the familiar Greek for his translation, *colonis*. Moreover, Makarios felt compelled to translate the Turkish term and selected the ancient Greek term for "colonist" or "settler," ἄποικος. Perhaps Makarios was reminded of this term by the appearance of the word κάτοικος in his sources. No explanation is given in his sources, whose authors assume the reader's familiarity with this term, as it represented an everyday depressing reality of forced mass resettlement in sixteenth-century Constantinople. Makarios becomes more specific with respect to the settlers' origins and perhaps his Ασπρόκαστρον reflects the sources' κάστρα/κάστρη.

The correspondences do not stop with Damaskenos, Malaxos, or Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos. There are additional texts that testify to an existing tradition, which may have been oral in its earliest form before it was transformed into a frozen literary text. There is another narrative of the sixteenth century that treats the same events in similar language. While this is not the proper place to discuss its exact relationship to Damaskenos or to Malaxos, it should be noted that this text has come down to us in multiple versions. The manuscripts containing this work, *codices: Vaticanus 1159, Oxoniensis-Lincolnensis 10*, and a manuscript from Athos, currently housed in the library of Constantine Amantos in Athens, date from the sixteenth century but each codex ends its narrative at different reigns of patriarchs. Some manuscripts conclude with the year 1517 and others carry the narrative to 1543. Clearly there must have been an original text for this chronicle, to which additions were made as time passed.[164] As its anonymous compiler preceded both the written work of Damaskenos and Malaxos, this popular chronicle, written in the vernacular, represents one of the earliest works still surviving from the period after the sack of 1453 and further represents one of our vital sources of information for the relations between the early patriarchate and Porte. The title of this work is *Ἔκθεσις Χρονική*, or *Annal Compilation*. The following passage from this account treats the same events as Malaxos and Damaskenos and its language betrays a close connection to both narratives:

> δέδωκε [*sc.* ὁ αὐθέντης] δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν [*sc.* Γεννάδιον] καὶ τὸν περιώνυμον ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων εἰς πατριαρχεῖον. Ὄντος δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ πατριάρχου εὑρέθη τις πεφονευμένος μέσον τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ναοῦ· ὅθεν φοβηθεὶς ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ οἱ μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ μήπως πάθωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖθεν καταλείψαντες τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον ναόν· ἦν γὰρ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ὁ τόπος ὁ πέριξ τοῦ ναοῦ ἄοικος· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν πλησίον οἱ γειτονοῦντες τινές.... Παρῃτήσαντο γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖσε καὶ αἰτήσαντες τὴν μονὴν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου ὅπως ἔχωσιν αὐτὴν εἰς πατριαρχεῖον, δέδωκεν αὐτὴν ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ· ᾐτήσαντο δὲ τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ εἶναι οἰκούμενον τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο ἐκ τῶν ὧνπερ ἔφερον χριστιανῶν σεργούνιδων ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων.

> He [*sc.* 'the sovereign,' that is, Mehmed II] gave him [sc. Gennadios II] the famous church of the Holy Apostles for his patriarchate. While the patriarch was there, a murdered man was found in the middle of the church's courtyard. Thus the patriarch and his staff began to fear in case they, too, would suffer a similar fate. They departed from the famous church. At that time the area around the church had no houses and there were no neighbors in the vicinity.... They left that region and asked for the Convent of Pammakaristos to become the patriarchate. He [Mehmed II] granted it in one word. They asked for this church because the Christians who had been brought as *sürgün* from all cities inhabited its neighborhood.

One further matter deserves consideration. While it seems difficult to decide whether Makarios employed directly Damaskenos' text or its rework by Malaxos, or even a lost ancestor of the Ἔκθεσις Χρονική, an observation seems in order. As regards the information, what is presented in the three texts is identical, with one apparent innovation. The ultimate source, Damaskenos' text or his source, states that the patriarch and his retinue discovered the corpse of a murdered man "within the courtyard," μέσα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν, of the church, the Holy Apostles, that had been assigned to them by the sultan. Malaxos has omitted the reference to the courtyard, which, however, is reproduced, in a slightly different phrase, ἐν τῷ τοῦ ναοῦ περιαυλείῳ, "inside the church's yard," in Makarios' text. This correspondence indicates that Makarios was utilizing directly Damaskenos' text and not Malaxos' "version" that found its way to Crusius. Since the manuscript, perhaps the actual autograph of Damaskenos' narrative, was in Constantinople, it most likely never traveled far from the patriarchate; Makarios may have consulted an early version of the text or its source when he resided in the vicinity sometime after 1570, indicating, as we have already observed, that he was by now "researching" his elaboration of the *Maius*. Further, it is believed that Malaxos did not finish his "version" before 1580. Thus Makarios almost certainly consulted Damaskenos' work. Further, the *Turcograecia* of Crusius was published in 1584, after the appearance in manuscript form of the *Maius ca.* 1577. Makarios, therefore, could not have consulted directly Malaxos, whose manuscript had not been completed as yet in Constantinople or the *Turcograecia*, which would not be published for some years. Makarios died in 1585, one year after the appearance of the *Turcograecia*, which, in all likelihood, he had never consulted. Be that as it may, the manuscript of Damaskenos bears the following explication of the work's title:

> περὶ τῶν ὅσων ἐπατριάρχευαν εἰς αὐτὴν [*sc.* Κωνσταντινούπολιν], ἀφοῦ τὴν ἔστησε ὁ Μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος, ἕως τὴν σήμερον, ὁποῦ εἶναι χρόνοι ͵ζπ΄, ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε΄, μηνὶ Μαΐῳ, καὶ πόσους χρόνους ἔκαμε καθένας εἰς τὸν ὑψηλότατον πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον, καὶ ποῖοι ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου.
>
> About those who were its [*sc.* Constantinople's] patriarchs, since its foundation by Constantine the Great up to this day, year 7080 [*anno mundi* = A.D. 1572], 15th indiction, month of May, and the number of years that each individual occupied the highest patriarchal throne, and those who were expelled from the throne.

Since Makarios had left Constantinople by 1572, when this note was written, he must have consulted Damaskenos' autograph before its completion, which, if the quoted note is accurate, occurred after the completion of the earliest manuscripts of the *Maius*. The linguistic correspondences suggest that when Makarios consulted and paraphrased this work for his own purposes, the passage we have examined had reached its final stage. Alternatively, both Makarios and Damaskenos were consulting another earlier work.

Returning to the original passage of Melissenos that relates to the powers that Mehmed II conferred upon Patriarch Gennadios II (quoted above with n. 142), we should observe that we do not have Damaskenos' original text, which still survives in manuscript form and remains unedited. We do possess Malaxos' version and it has been amply demonstrated that Malaxos faithfully follows Damaskenos. If there is a correspondence between Melissenos and Malaxos, we can confidently assume that their source is none other than Damaskenos' text. A linguistic parallelism is indeed evident. Malaxos[165] states that ὁ σουλτάνος...ὁρισμὸν ἔδωκε, καὶ ἔκαμε καὶ μεγάλας φοβέρας εἰς ἐκείνους ὁποῦ νὰ πηράζουν, ἢ διαβάλλουν τινὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, νὰ παιδεύωνται βαρέως, "the sultan gave an order and pronounced great threats against those who disturb or slander any Christians, with heavy penalties." This passage is also echoed in Melissenos:[166] ἔδωκε δὲ προστάγματα ἐγγράφως τῷ πατριάρχῃ μετ᾽ ἐξουσίας βασιλικῆς ὑπογεγραμμένης κάτωθεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐνοχλήσῃ ἢ ἀντιτείνῃ, “[the sultan] gave written decrees with royal authority and undersigned by him to the patriarch which ensured that no man would hinder or annoy him.” It should be noted that in this crucial passage, Melissenos has departed considerably from his source. It remains obvious, nevertheless, that Melissenos had in mind some version of Malaxos’ text or Malaxos’ source, which may be Damaskenos or some other yet unidentified chronicle. Malaxos does not speak of “written decrees,” by which, evidently, Melissenos is pointing to the existence of a *firman*. Malaxos reports general privileges but fails to cite a specific *firman*. Melissenos has indeed amplified the original passage and has perhaps understood ὁρισμὸς as a “written decree,” a *firman*. Melissenos was never hesitant in taking a step beyond the statements of his sources and it is quite likely that he inserted the “written decree” on purpose, perhaps because he was aware of the controversy associated with the incident that had occurred *ca.* 1520.

Malaxos could not have derived his information from the *Maius*, which attained its final form in Italy after 1570 and the earliest surviving manuscripts of it date from 1577 and 1578. The *Turcograecia* was published in 1584. Melissenos was in Constantinople in 1570, while Malaxos was already working on his chronicle. Thus Melissenos must have consulted an early draft of Malaxos or both authors were familiar with the history of Damaskenos or its prototype.

# IV. Patriarchal and Ottoman Archival Documents

Greek official documents of any sort that may assist in the study of the fall of Constantinople and in the early history of the patriarchate under the sultans after the fall are not plentiful, in any sense of the word, and most of them are recent discoveries.[167] In addition, we have very few Ottoman documents of the early years following the conquest of 1453. Yet this transitional period is crucial for the proper understanding of the events of the fall, of the historiography of the fall, and, in general, of the history of the Greek Church and the Greek minority that was constituted as a religious *millet*,[168] using the traditional term, under the Ottoman sultans.

From the Greek viewpoint a number of surviving documents were preserved in the so-called "*Hieros*/Sacred *Codex* of the Great Church," as this official document is formally known. Its purpose was to record *in perpetuam rei memoriam* the formal decisions and deliberations of the patriarchate.[169] From the patriarchate before the fall, encompassing the period of 1315–1404, a number of folios from this collection generally entitled "*Codex* A of the Patriarchal Archives" have been known since the nineteenth century. In addition, entries from 1564 and thereafter also survive. More important, a number of additional "new" folios from this *codex* were identified recently: folios 193–209 from a manuscript that has been housed in the Archiepiscopal Library on the island of Samos since the mid-nineteenth century. They embrace the crucial period from 1474 to 1498 and also include a document from *ca.* 1531, as a recent study with the publication of the texts has convincingly demonstrated.[170] The collection contains nine documents that ultimately derive from the patriarchate itself and provide significant "new" information with important implications for the history of the Greek Church under the Ottomans, but, unfortunately for our purposes, the documents shed little direct light on the relations between the patriarchate and the Porte. Their main focus is on internal problems within the church:

I. A decision of October 10, 1474, confirming the innocence of Patriarch Symeon I, which, significantly for our purposes, mentions some financial obligations of the patriarchate to the Porte. This is by far the most important of the documents.

II. An encyclical of Patriarch Symeon I, December 1474, concerning his upcoming journey, which sheds some light on the difficulties that the patriarch faced in collecting funds that had to be paid to the Porte.

III. A decision of 1475 concerning the formal discharge of patriarchal officials. It clarifies certain matters concerning officials and various factions struggling to control the patriarch and the institution.

IV. The formal rejection, September 1483-August 1484, of the earlier union of the Greek and Catholic Churches declared by the Council of Florence, 1438/1439.

V. A confirmation of the general condemnation of simony, May 1484.

VI. The restoration of Patriarch Dionysios I to the throne, June 1488.

VII. A second condemnation of simony, June 1497.

VIII. Relations between Mount Athos and the patriarchate, December 5, 1498.

IX. Invalidation of the financial reform of 1497, *ca.* 1531.

In addition to this important source, another publication has also made available: the contents of ten Porte documents, including *berat*s and *firmans*, that complement and enhance the information that has become available with the discovery of the folios of the patriarchal *codex*:[171]

1. A *berat* of Bayezid II from April 9–18, 1483, which delineates the powers of Patriarch Symeon I over his *millet* and his financial obligations to the Porte.
2. A document of Bayezid II from Thessaloniki, January 8, 1489, which recognizes, in the form of a receipt to the patriarch, that taxes were owed to the Porte since April 1487, and were paid by the metropolitan of Thessaloniki.
3. A *berat* of Bayezid II from August 31, 1494, concerning a petition of Patriarch Maximos for assistance to collect from his subordinates ecclesiastical taxes that apparently they were paying infrequently and with great reluctance.
4. A *berat* of Selim I Yavuz from February 13, 1516, concerning the fact that the patriarch's own Christian tax-collectors had been unjustly accused by Muslims of converting to Islam and then of reverting to Christianity and have thus been unable to fulfill their appointed task.
5. A judicial decision from July 7–15, 1550, concerning the resignation of the priest Gregory from the island of Patmos.
6. An order of Suleiman the Magnificent from January 10, 1525, ordering official cooperation by the authorities during the upcoming journey of the patriarch to collect taxes.
7. A *berat* of Suleiman the Magnificent from October 17, 1525,

confirming the dismissal of Patriarch Ioannikios and the enthronement of Jeremiah, who has paid his traditional gift, in cash, at the Porte’s treasury.

8. A *berat* of Suleiman the Magnificent from June 30, 1551, confirming the elevation of a priest to the status of bishop on the island of Karpathos.
9. A *berat* of Suleiman the Magnificent from March 26, 1564, confirming the elevation of the monk Pakhomios to the status of bishop, through the intercession of Patriarch Ioasaph II, replacing the former bishop David.
10. A *berat* of Selim II from March 24, 1567, reconfirming a previous *berat* from December 27, 1558, for which ten florins had been paid as “the traditional gift” in the reign of Suleiman upon the appointment of Kallistos as the legal bishop of his see.

These documents span a lengthy period, but even the late ones are of singular significance, for they occasionally refer to previous documents and to previous laws in effect, thus indicating some of the conditions of the early period for which very few documents survive. It is sufficient to point out, at the very least, that a number of Ottoman terms indicating Greek posts are thus recovered: *Berat* 10 includes the terms *medrepolitik* for “metropolitan/μητροπολίτης” and *piskopoluk* for “bishop/επίσκοπος.” While *Berat* 1 demonstrates that the Convent of Pammakaristos/Παμμακάριστος was called *Barmakaristi*, there seems to be little distinction between a see and a church, as both are designated *kilise*, with the occasional appearance of “monastery,” *manastir*. Constantinople itself is called *Konstantiniyye, Istanbul*, or even by its more vulgar equivalent *Islambol*, whose origins are to be sought in folk etymology.[172] Patriarch/πατριάρχης receives the phonetic approximation of *batriyah*, which apparently preceded the later and more familiar *patrik*.[173]

For the last century scholars have underscored our lack of surviving documents that shed light on the relations between the patriarchate and the Porte. Before the discovery of the *codex* and the publications of the ten documents, the situation was simply deplorable. As far as official Porte archival material was concerned, the only direct evidence came from whatever information one could distill from the scanty published materials that were available.[174] The curious circumstance that such documents are also absent from the patriarchal archives has been attributed to several factors, the most important of which seems to be the occasional fires, individual acts of destruction, and the frequent displacement of the patriarchal seat in the years following the sack of Constantinople. It is clear, nevertheless, that the need for written documents was felt acutely by the patriarchs of the early sixteenth century.[175] The most spectacular incident occurred *ca.* 1520, when Sultan Selim I Yavuz attempted to convert the few churches of Constantinople that had been left in Greek hands after the conquest in 1453. Patriarch Theoleptos (1513–1522) argued that these churches had been granted to the Greek *millet* by the Conqueror himself. Theoleptos could not substantiate his claim, however, because, he maintained, a fire at the patriarchate had destroyed the document and he could only produce, as witnesses, three aged janissaries who had participated in the sack. Thus he could not conclusively prove seventy-five years after the sack that Sultan Mehmed II had endowed the Greek Church with a number of privileges. Mehmed II had formally annexed only the Church of Hagia Sophia. He eventually gave the second largest church of Constantinople, the Holy Apostles, to George Scholarios, whom the sultan elevated to the patriarchal throne under the name Gennadios II. In his terms as patriarch, Scholarios-Gennadios (1454–1456, 1463, 1464–1465) witnessed the conversion of twelve more churches. In time Holy Apostles was demolished and on the very site the Greek architect of the sultan, Khristodoulos, known after his conversion to Islam as Sinan, erected Fethiye Camii.[176] The second seat of the patriarchate was the Pammakaristos, but it was annexed and converted to a mosque in 1573. The patriarchate was then relocated to the rebuilt Church of Saint George in the Phanar district.[177]

Although we do hear of the existence of some documents in the form of a *berat* or *firman* in the few Greek chronicles that survive from the sixteenth century, the oldest and most complete surviving *berat* before, of course, the publication of the "new" documents that we have reviewed, comes from a later period and in its surviving form reproduces only its Greek vernacular translation without the original Ottoman Turkish official text.[178] The new discovery brings us back to the reign of Bayezid II in the fifteenth century and further demonstrates that indeed there were such documents in existence in the early period. Much work remains to be done in their identification and publication.[179] Earlier than this document is the so-called *Decree of Sinan Pasha*, which dates to *ca.* 1430, and outlines the privileges of the population of Ioannina in the *sancak* of Albania.[180] In fact, the oldest known surviving patriarchal *berat*[181] before the discovery of the "new" Ottoman documents was issued to Patriarch Dionysios III in 1662, more than two centuries after the fall. Unless more documents of this nature are uncovered, relations between the patriarchate and the Porte in the early period can be reconstructed only in general terms. Necessarily, scholars have assumed that the oldest *berats* in existence reproduce, more or less, formulas, tone, and material of earlier documents that have not survived. Indeed, generally speaking, before such documents become elaborate in terminology and rhetorical hyperbole, they show a predilection for formulas. Perhaps one may assume that there was some duplication,[182] since *berats* seem to have been issued to individual patriarchs with regularity, as they succeeded one another with remarkable frequency. From 1623 to 1700, for instance, there were no fewer than fifty changes in the patriarchal throne.[183]

In many ways such notions can now be demonstrated to be close to the truth, especially in relation to a *berat*. As is well known,[184] *berat* is the Ottoman form of an earlier Arabic word. In turn the same word was reproduced in Greek as either μπεράτιον or μπαράτιον. In literary texts, *berat* is translated as simply ὁρισμὸς ("order, command"), sometimes specified as αὐθεντικὸς ὁρισμὸς ("command/order of the lord/ruler"). Thus the Greek Document I from October 10, 1474, seems to refer to such a document when it states[185] that ὁρισμῷ δὲ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἐνταῦθα συνήγαγον, "by command of the ruler [= Bayezid II] they gathered all of us, the high priests here." In this example, the ὁρισμὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος may be a *berat*, that is, an equivalent phrase of αὐθεντικὸς ὁρισμὸς, or, less likely, it may refer to an oral command of the sultan. In the same document the identical term is repeated, but in this case, we believe, it is a regular order and not an actual *berat*:[186] ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμᾶς ὁρισμὸς φρικώδης τοῦ κρατοῦντος, "a horrible order of the ruler [sultan, that is, Bayezid II] came to us." There are other instances in these documents to indicate that ὁρισμὸς does not always indicate a *berat* but amounts to an authoritative command from the Porte.[187] So unless the context of a text specifies a *berat* by its Greek equivalent form through transliteration, we may not be certain as to its actual nature. However, these texts indicate that the early patriarchate was frequently the recipient of various "orders," sometimes because of its internal chaotic situation, sometimes because of its failure to pay taxes, and sometimes because of the patriarch's inability to meet his own financial obligations to the Porte. Αὐθεντικὸς ὁρισμὸς is also used when the Porte indicates its final decision in the appointment of an ecclesiastic, with the assumption that this person has paid the traditional, "customary gift," the notorious *peşkeş*.[188]

These available documents make clear that the subject that seems to have been of the greatest concern between the Porte and the early patriarchate consisted of financial obligations, that is, Greek Documents I and II, both of 1474, Ottoman Documents 1 and 3 (both *berats* of Bayezid II), and 4 (a *berat* of Selim I); and even later: Document 6 of Suleiman and Document 10, a *berat* of Selim II. The acute problems presented by these documents may be subdivided into the taxes that were owed by the patriarchate to the Porte and the personal "dues" that were assessed to each patriarch upon his appointment to the throne. What complicates these matters further seems to be the apparent reluctance of the patriarch's Greek flock to contribute and pay the assessment that the patriarch himself has imposed in order to discharge his own and the patriarchate's financial obligations. In addition, apparently members of the upper class of the Greek *millet* occasionally attempted to compensate officials at the Porte in order to control the appointments of new patriarchs and to depose others who were not to their own liking.[189] Further, regional differences seem to have played a part in this unattractive situation. While there appears to have been a tacit agreement among the Constantinopolitan Greeks to accept only Greeks to the throne, as the tradition regarding the tenure of Raphael (1475–1476), a monk from Serbia, demonstrates,[190] at the same time there was sharp competition among the Greek communities in Constantinople to appoint a compatriot of their own. The competition was particularly bitter after the Greeks from Trebizond were forced, in large numbers, to settle in Constantinople. Some of the courtiers of the Greek emperor of Trebizond came to exercise immense influence at the Porte and had managed to befriend the Conqueror himself. Well-known and notorious is the case of George Amoiroutzes,[191] a former Trebizondian courtier who had scholarly interests, had facilitated the surrender of Trebizond to Mehmed II, and had even proposed a syncretism of Islam and Christianity. His two sons converted to Islam and were renamed Skender and Mehmed. Mehmed produced for the sultan a translation of the Bible into Arabic. The sultan became fond of Amoiroutzes' erudition. It was perhaps under the guidance of Amoiroutzes that Mehmed II may have studied geography from manuscripts of Ptolemy. Amoiroutzes was even reputed to have produced a map of the world for his master. On the dark side of his personality, Amoiroutzes may have had a hand in the shady affair that led to the executions of his former emperor and his family in 1463. Amoiroutzes died in 1475, to the delight of many Greeks of Constantinople, who were under the impression that he too had converted to Islam; at least the anonymous author of the *Ekthesis* believed so:

> ἡ γὰρ ἀδικία οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτὸν εἰς μακράν· ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων παίζων ζάρια ἁπλώσας τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ῥῖψαι αὐτά, ἀπέψυξε καὶ ἀώρως παραπεμφθεὶς τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρί.

The injustice did not allow him [*sc*. Amoiroutzes] to live long. One

> day, while he was playing dice with the noblemen and was stretching his hand to take them for a cast, he froze and died untimely. He was sent to the eternal fire.

Amoiroutzes is a perfect example of the breed of “new men” who decided to cooperate with the Porte after the conquest. They also proved useful to the authorities, as they came to exercise influence in the reconstitution of the Greek Church under the sultan and even mediated between the Porte and the patriarchate. Their actions were at times applauded but often the Greeks, who envied and hated such individuals, condemned them. Their role nevertheless was prominent in the early period after the conquest.

# V. Personal Influence and an Early Literary Circle

Among the notable individuals who influenced the Porte in regard to patriarchs and ecclesiastical affairs, in general, mention must be made of certain personalities who advanced to important posts in the administration of Mehmed II. These were generally known in the west as *renegati*/“renegades” and ἀρνησίθρησκοι in Greek, who had converted to Islam, had advanced in the secular administrative hierarchy of the government, often to the displeasure and dismay of the old Ottoman families, and by virtue of their status were able to interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the patriarchate.[192] On the other hand, if we consider the cases of some well-known figures who became functionaries in the administration of Mehmed, an interesting fact will emerge: often we are not encountering actual converts to Islam but Greek Christians who remained true to their ancestral faith, in spite of their positions at the Porte.

The first such example is known from a letter that was sent[193] after the sack of Constantinople by the Greek clergy of Kallipolis (Gallipoli), which had been under Ottoman control long before the siege of 1453. It is addressed[194] to τῷ ἐνδοξωτάτῳ καὶ περιφανεστάτῳ ἡμῶν δὲ λίαν αὐθέντῃ καὶ εὐγεργέτῃ τῷ ἄρχοντι κῦρ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ κριτῇ καὶ μ<εγά>λῳ ἐμμίνῃ τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθεντός, “our most glorious and most illustrious great master and benefactor, Lord Isidore, the judge and great *emin* of the great lord [= Mehmed II].” The clergymen express their admiration for his efforts in assisting Greeks who had been enslaved in the sack of Constantinople: πολλοὺς…ἐλευθέρους ἐποίησας καὶ ἀπήλλαξας τῆς ὀδυνηρᾶς δουλείας, “you have liberated many and delivered them from painful slavery.” They praise him for his good works in this matter, ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς ἀθλίας πόλεως καὶ θαυμαστὸς καὶ περίδοξος ἐγένου καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ λιμὴν γαλήνιος τῶν καταδίκων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων χριστιανῶν, ἱερέων τε καὶ μοναχῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν, “at the sack of the wretched city [= Constantinople] you became famous, admirable, and charitable, a serene haven for the condemned and captive Christians, priests, monks, and laymen.” They further seek, in pathetic terms, to enroll his assistance in the case of one particular slave, a former functionary in the Greek court, who had been experiencing serious difficulties with his Turkish master.[195] The correspondence[196] of this Nikolaos Isidore demonstrates that he was indeed associated with numerous Greeks and that for a time he was also looking after Scholarios-Gennadios, who became the first patriarch under Mehmed II. He is given the title *emin* in this letter, to explain further the Greek title “judge/ “judge/κριτής.” *Emin* indicates an official in charge of handling state finances such as income from taxes.[197] Moreover, the Greek title does not necessarily indicate a judge; nor could Isidore have been a judge, for he was a Christian in the Ottoman state. As has been observed,[198] this term was already in use during the Greek period before the sack, and had acquired the additional meaning of “tax collector,” which was retained in the subsequent years. The important implication here is that Isidore had remained a Christian, even though he worked for the Porte. This fact is also underscored in the letter under consideration. The clergymen addressed him as a practicing Christian, ὅπως τε σπουδάζεις εἶναι σε οἰκεῖος τοῦ K<υρί>ου καὶ ἐκπληροῖς τὰς ἐντολὰς Αὐτοῦ προθύμως, “you ensure that you are close to our Lord and that you fulfill His commandments gladly.” They further praised him for his efforts on behalf of the enslaved Greeks and promised that he would receive his just reward in a Christian afterlife: τοῦτο δὲ κέκτησαι ἀενάως ἵνα…τὰ μέλλοντα ἀπολαύσῃς ἕνεκα τῶν πν<ευματι>κῶν σου πλεονεκτημ<ά>των, “and this you have gained for all eternity so that you may enjoy the afterlife because of you superior spiritual qualities.” More explicit is the following praise:

> ἄρτι γὰρ ἐφάνης ἀνδρεῖος ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχικά, ἵνα ἀπολαύσῃς τοὺς μισθοὺς αἰωνίως καὶ πλοῦτον ἄσυλον καὶ θησαυρὸν ἑτοιμάσῃς τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἁγίαν ψυχὴν τὴν εὐγνώμονα καὶ προθυμοτάτην εἰς ἄλεκτον εὐφροσύνην.
>
> You recently demonstrated your virtue in acts of pity[199] so that you may enjoy an eternal reward and an inalienable treasure in preparing your saintly, kindly, and most willing soul for endless enjoyment.

Isidore’s wealth seems to derive from his position, as he was involved in managing the profitable saltpans, a state monopoly.[200]

Another important Greek, probably a great deal closer to Mehmed II than Isidore, was Demetrios Apokaukos, who was also known as “Kyritzes.” He had been a personal secretary to Mehmed and was entrusted with important diplomatic missions.[201] The term “Kyritzes” is probably a title, perhaps a translation into Greek of the common Turkish title *çelebi*. In connection with the activities of Apokaukos

Kyritzes after the sack, mention should be made of the correspondence of the well-known Italian humanist Francesco Filelfo,[202] whose Greek wife was a distant relative of Manuel Chrysoloras, a towering personality from the beginning of the *quattrocento*.[203] Filelfo's mother-in-law and two of her daughters had been enslaved in the sack and the humanist made every effort to ransom them. He wrote a flattering letter to Mehmed II, dated Μεδιολανόθεν, τῇ ε´ πρὸ Μαρτίου εἰδῶν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως χιλιοστῷ τετρακοσιοστῷ πεντηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ, "from Milan, on the fifth [day] before the Ides of March in the 1455th year since the birth of Christ." In it he addresses the sultan in an attempt to win freedom for his mother-in-law, whose circumstances he describes:[204]

> ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πενθερὰ Μανφρεδίνα Χρυσολωρῖνα γυνὴ σώφρων καὶ ἁγία, μετὰ δύο θυγατέρων ἀρίστων, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἥμαρτεν, ὡς λόγον εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα· ὅμως καὶ αὐτή, εὐγενεστάτη οὖσα, δουλεύει...τὴν ἐμὴν αἰτῶ πενθερὰ καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς θυγατέρας, τὰ λύτρα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποδώσων...ὅσα τὸ πρέπον καὶ τὸ ἐμοὶ δυνατόν.

> My mother-in-law, Manfredina Chrysolorina, a wise and saintly woman, together with her two excellent daughters, has committed no sin toward God or, in one word, toward your Magnificence. And in spite of her high nobility she is now a slave. I ask that my mother-in-law and her daughters be released and I will pay a reasonable ransom for them, an amount that I can afford.

Filelfo wrote a number of letters explaining his attempts to ransom his Greek relatives. In an earlier letter, January/February, 1454, addressed to his friend, the physician Petro Tommasi, he also laments the fate of his relatives:[205]

> *...non solum quod et socrum mihi carissimam Manfredinam Auriam, nobilissimam et prudentissimam feminam, ac duas eius et socri mei Johannios Chrysolorae, praestantissimi equitis aurati et erudissimi viri, filias, meorum quatuor filiorum materteras, in obscuram servitutem a barbaris te teterrimis Turcis actas audio*.

> ...I hear that the barbaric and most foul Turks abducted into dark slavery not only my mother-in-law, the dearest Manfredina Auria, a most noble and very wise woman, but also her two daughters by my father-in-law John Chrysoloras, a distinguished decorated knight and a scholar, who are the aunts of my four sons.

Francesco makes another reference to other Greek relatives in a letter dated τῇ πρὸ νωνῶν ἰουνίου, ἔτει φυνδ´ (June 4, 1454), and addressed to his own son, Giovanni Mario:[206]

> Ὁ ταύτην σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀποδοὺς Δρομοκάτης ὁ Χρυσολωρᾶς ἐν κηδείας νόμῳ ἡμῖν ὦν τυγχάνει, ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς μητρὸς γένους. Ἔστι δὲ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ, λυπηρὸν μέρος τῆς ἄρτι γενομένης κατὰ τὴν Νέαν Ῥώμην δυστυχίαν. Δέξον οὖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συγγενεῖ.
>
> The man who will bear this letter to you, Dromokates Chrysoloras, is in our care, as a maternal relative. He is a gentleman, a survivor from the misfortune that recently overtook New Rome [= Constantinople]. So do receive this dear friend and relative.

Filelfo tried to win liberty for his mother-in-law and her daughters by flattering Mehmed in his letter of March 5, 1455. In it, he praises the sultan in fawning language:[207]

> ἐγινόμην γὰρ ἐραστὴς τῆς σῆς εὐτυχίας, ἧν παρέχει σοι ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὴν σὴν ἐσθλότητα...ἀσμένως ἀσπασάμενος τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν σήν...μέγιστε ἀμηρᾶ, ὃν ἕνα πέμπει Θεὸς τοῖς μὴ εὖ πάσχουσι εὐεργέτην...θεία κεφαλή, καὶ σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἄσκει.
>
> I became an ardent admirer of your good fortune, which God has granted you because of your excellence...with rapture I received news of your happiness...greatest emir [= sultan], as only one such person does God send to alleviate the suffering of the unfortunates...divine man: continue to practice your magnificence.

For our purposes, what is important is that this letter was sent to Mehmed II through the Porte secretary, Kyritzes, a man that Filelfo must have personally known and on whose good will he clearly counted to win liberty for his relatives:[208] περὶ δὲ τούτου, ὁ σὸς γραμματεὺς Κυρίζις κατὰ μέρος ἀνοίσει παρών, “about this matter, your secretary Kyritzes will inform you in person.”

Déthier, the editor of this letter, includes the following remark, in Greek, in his commentary, relative to this person:[209] Τίς ἄλλος οὗτος εἰ μὴ ὁ πολυθρύλητος Κυριακὸς ὁ Ἀγκωνιτανός, ὃς κατὰ τὸν Ζόρζιν Δόλφιν ἀεὶ συνῆν τῷ ἀμηρᾷ, “can this person be anyone else but the renowned Kyriakos of Ankona, who, according to Zorzi Dolfin, was always with the sultan?” Déthier is alluding to a passage in Languschi-Dolfin, which describes Mehmed as follows:[210]

> *El signor Maumetho gran Turco, e zouene d anni 26, ben complexionato, et de corpo piu presto grande, che mediocre de statura, nobile in le arme, de aspetto piu presto horrendo, che verendo, de poco riso, solerte de prudentia, et predito de magnanima liberalita, obstinato nel proposito, audacissimo in ogni cosa, aspirante a gloria quanto Alexandro*

> *Macedonico, ogni di se far lezer historie Romane, et de altri da uno compagno d.° Chiriaco d Ancona, et da uno altro Italo, da questi se fa lezer Laertio, Herodoto, Liuio, Quinto Curtio, Cronice de i papi, de imperatori, de re di Franza, de Longobardi.*
>
> The Grand Turk, Lord Mehmed, is a young man twenty-six years old. His constitution is fair. He is heavy with an average stature. He is glorious in arms. His appearance elicits fear rather than respect. He seldom laughs. He is cunning. He is endowed with magnificent generosity. He is persistent in achieving his goals. He is most daring in all undertakings. He hopes to become as glorious as Alexander of Macedon. Every day he has Roman history read to him by some, by a companion of Cyriacus of Ancona and by another Italian. They read to him [Diogenes] Laertius, Herodotus, Livy, Quintus Curtius, the papal chronicles, the chronicles of emperors, of the kings of France, and of the Lombards.[211]

Déthier identified Cyriacus, or Kyriakos in Greek, with Kyritzes, and further assumed that Cyriacus was at the Porte of Mehmed after the sack, a notion that even created the myth that Cyriacus was a member of Mehmed's retinue when the latter entered the conquered capital of the Greeks during the sack. This is an error, the understandable result of a confusion of two distinct personalities. Further, Kyriakos of Ancona could not have been in the Porte at the time, even though Languschi-Dolfin's manuscript appears to make this claim. Cyriacus had died earlier, in 1452, at Cremona in Italy, as the *Trotti ms. 373*, fol. 41, of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, makes it clear: *Kiriacus Anconitanus Cremone moritur anno Domini McCCCL secundo*, "Cyriacus from Ancona died at Cremona in A.D. 1452." The confusion occurs because of a misreading in the Languschi-Dolfin manuscript. The manuscript abbreviation *d* was incorrectly read as *detto*, while the true reading has recently been shown to be *di*.[212] Even before it was realized that the manuscript had been misread, some scholars had realized that there was something amiss and had already, on prosopographical grounds, attempted to divorce Cyriacus from Kyritzes.[213]

The identification of Kyritzes with Cyriacus perhaps has been also reinforced and assisted by comments that Cyriacus made in his own diary. In the summer of 1447 Cyriacus was informed of the extensive raid that Murad II had conducted into the Morea and of the scores of local inhabitants that the Turks had led from the peninsula. The Greek captives themselves who were being taken away to the slave markets in Asia Minor and the Orient conveyed this information to him. Perhaps his lamentation over the fate of these wretched captives indicates that in a later period he would not remain unmoved by the fate of the inhabitants of Constantinople. On this occasion he could do no more than merely note the depressing incident in his diary and express his personal sorrow over the incident.[214] If so, it would have appeared normal to scholars of a later period for Filelfo to appeal to Cyriacus, especially if these scholars were under the impression that Kyriakos/Cyriacus and Kyritzes were the same person.

Surviving literary testimonies indicate that the actual “Kyritzes,” that is, Demetrios Apokaukos, had been active after the sack in aiding and perhaps even ransoming captives. At the time of the sack Kyritzes’ home was Adrianople, and many captives from Constantinople were brought there in the months following the sack. Some he may have known personally. Others he may have helped for his “soul,” as Nikolaos Isidore did, if we are to believe the pathetic letter of the clergymen from Kallipolis. The Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ records the following incident in regard to Patriarch Dionysios I (1466–1471, 1488–1490):[215]

> Ὁ δὲ κῦρ Διονύσιος…ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει…ὕστερον δὲ γεναμένης τῆς ἁλώσεως ἔλαβον αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον· ἠγόρασε δὲ αὐτόν τις ἄρχων ὀνόματι Κυρίτζης ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει.

> Lord Dionysios…had come to Constantinople…later he was taken prisoner [in the sack] and was bought by a nobleman called Kyritzes in Adrianople.

Slightly different is the version published in the *Turcograecia*:[216]

> Καὶ ὅταν ἐπολέμησεν ταύτην τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν αὐτὸς ὁ σουλτάνος, ὁποῦ τὴν ἐπῆρε, εὑρέθη τότε καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύρις Διονύσιος ἐδῶ καὶ ἐπῆραν αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν χριστιανῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ παιδίων. Ἀγόρασε δὲ αὐτόν, τὸν κύριον Διονύσιον, εἰς τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν… ἄρχων, ὀνόματι Κυρίτζης καὶ τὸν ἐλευθέρωσε.

> And when this sultan [Mehmed II] attacked and took Constantinople, this Lord Dionysios was found there and was captured together with many other Christians, men, women, and children. And a lord, by the name of Kyritzes, bought and liberated him, Lord Dionysios, in Adrianople.

Dionysios provides a link with another important Christian personality active in the Porte and in the patriarchate. Dionysios, ransomed by Kyritzes, somehow[217] then earned the friendship of the widow of Murad II, the Greco-Serbian Mara (d. 1487),[218] who was fiercely Orthodox and, in time, became involved in the affairs of the patriarchate. Doukas,[219] the historian of the fall, who mentions the circumstances of her return to Serbia after the death of Murad, observed her devotion to Orthodoxy:[220]

> Τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν αὐτοῦ μητρυιάν, τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ δεσπότου Σερβίας, χριστιανικωτάτην οὖσαν...στείλας...πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς μετὰ μεγάλης δόξης τε καὶ τιμῆς, εὐεργεσίας τε πλείστας καὶ χώρας ἀπονείμας αὐτῇ.

> His [Mehmed’s] other stepmother [Mara], the daughter of the despot of Serbia, who was a very devout Christian, ...he sent...to her father with great honor and glory and he even gave her many gifts and regions.

This Serbian lady played an important role in the Greek court before the fall, as the last emperor of Constantinople sought to marry her when he was searching for a bride who would bring a substantial dowry to enrich his depleted treasury. Mara became available when her husband, Sultan Murad II, died and she returned to her father, George Branković (1427–1456) and to her stepmother Eirene Kantakouzene, in Serbia. Her own mother, a Greek princess from Trebizond and the sister of Emperor John IV, had been the first wife of George Branković. The negotiations with Constantinople in regard to Mara came to nothing, for the widow herself seems to have effectively halted the diplomatic plans for this union:[221]

> ᾿Αλλ᾿ εὑρέθη, ὅτι ἡ ἀμήρισσα ἐδεήθη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔταξεν, ἵνα εἰ διά τινος τρόπου ἐλευθερώσῃ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τὸ ὁσπίτιον τοῦ τάχα ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ἄνδρα ἕτερον εἰς ὅλην αὐτῆς τὴν ζωὴν νὰ μηδὲ ἐπάρῃ, ἀλλὰ νὰ μένῃ ἐλευθέρα καὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν θεραπεύουσα τὸν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῇ δεδωκότα.

> But then it was discovered that the emir’s [= sultan’s] wife had prayed to God and had made a vow that, if He should liberate her, in any way, from the house of her husband, she would never marry again as long as she lived and she would remain free to worship, as much as she could, Him who granted her freedom.

Mara and her family were horrified at the sack and fall of Constantinople in 1453, in spite of the presence and the obligatory contribution of Serbian troops and professional miners to the Ottoman forces during the siege.[222] In time the ruling family of Serbia, including Mara, ransomed one hundred nuns who had been enslaved in the sack and, by the express order of Branković himself and of his wife, the Greek Eirene Kantakouzene, a number of notable prisoners were then sent to Smederevo in Serbia.[223] Mara’s position was ideal for mediation in the complicated situation that followed the fall of 1453. While she was the widow of Sultan Murad II, she commanded respect at the Porte, and was always treated with deference by Mehmed II himself.[224] He must have appreciated her staunch

Orthodox position and anti-Catholic views.

Mara was instrumental in securing the elevation of Dionysios to the patriarchal throne. As we have seen, Dionysios had been acquired by Kyritzes after the sack and apparently managed to form a bond with Mara, who became impressed with his abilities, as the *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ* reports:[225] κῦρ Διονύσιος ἔχων φιλίαν ἄκραν μετὰ τῆς κυρᾶς Μάρως…ἥτις καὶ ἐτίμα καὶ ἠγάπα αὐτὸν ὡς πνευματικὸν πατέρα, "Lord Dionysios was a very close friend of Lady Mara…she loved him and honored him like a spiritual father." Moreover, the language that is used in this text, in direct speech, implies that there was a bond between Mara and Dionysios:[226] ἔστι μοι εἷς καλόγηρος, "I have a monk," repeated in less formal Greek, with the verb "to have" and without the dative of possession but with an emphatic possessive pronoun, in the text that Crusius included in his *Turcograecia*,[227] ἔχω ἕναν καλόγηρον ἰδικόν μου, "I have this monk of mine."

The events that describe the selection of Dionysios I are discussed by the *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ*, which emphasizes the role that Mara played:[228]

> τῆς κυρᾶς Μάρως, μητρυιᾶς οὔσης τοῦ αὐθέντος…μαθοῦσα γὰρ αὕτη τὰ σκάνδαλα…ἔκρινεν ὅπως ποιήσῃ τὸν κῦριν Διονύσιον πατριάρχην…βαλὼν γὰρ ἡ κυρία αὕτη εἰς ἓν ταψίον ἀργυροῦν φλωρία δύο χιλιάδες ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν αὐθέντην. Ἐρωτήσας οὖν αὐτήν, τί ἐστι ταῦτα, ὦ μῆτερ, ἡ δὲ ἔφη, ἔστι μοι εἷς καλόγηρος καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν αὐθεντίαν σου ὅπως ποιήσω αὐτὸν πατριάρχην. Ἄρας τὰ φλωρία καὶ εὐχαριστήσας αὐτὴν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν, ποίησον, μῆτερ ὃ βούλει.

> Lady Mara, the stepmother of the lord [= Mehmed II]…heard of the scandals…and decided to appoint Lord Dionysios patriarch…this lady placed two thousand florins on a silver tray and went to the lord. When he asked her 'what are these for, mother?,' she replied, 'I have a monk and I ask your lordship to appoint him patriarch.' He took the florins, thanked her, and said, 'mother, do as you wish.'

The same information, with a few linguistic changes that betray a prototype composed in the spoken idiom, and with a slightly different emphasis, is repeated by Crusius:[229]

> ἡ δὲ κυρία Μάρω, ὡς ἠθέλησε νὰ κάμῃ τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον Διονύσιον, ἐτελείωσε καὶ τὸ ἔργον. Καὶ ἔβαλε μέσα εἰς ἕνα ταψὶν ἀργυρὸν φλωρία χιλιάδας δύο καὶ τὰ ἐπῆρε καὶ ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησε τὸν αὐτὸν σουλτάνον, βαστόντα καὶ αὐτά. Καὶ ὡς τὴν εἶδεν ὁ σουλτάνος τὴν ἐρώτησεν, ὅτι τί εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ φλωρία μὲ τὸ ἀργυρὸν ταψίν, ὦ μητέρα· αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν· ὅτι ἔχω ἕναν καλόγηρον ἐδικόν μου καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν βασιλείαν σου νὰ τὸν κάμω πατριάρχην. Ἐπῆρε γὰρ ὁ σουλτάνος τὰ φλωρία καὶ εὐχαρίστησε πολλὰ τῆς μητρυιᾶς του ὁποὺ τοῦ ἔκαμε ταύτην τὴν αὔξησιν. Τότε τῆς λέγει· κάμε, μητέρα μου, ἐκεῖνο, ὁποῦ θέλεις.
>
> Lady Mara conceived the desire to appoint the same Lord Dionysios, and completed her task. She placed two thousand florins on a silver tray and, holding the coins, went to pay her respects to the sultan. When the sultan saw her, he asked: ‘Mother, what are these florins on the silver tray?’ She replied: ‘I have this monk of mine and I ask your Majesty to appoint him patriarch.’ The sultan took the florins, thanked his stepmother profusely, who had just granted him this raise. He said: ‘Mother, do as you wish.’

The choice of Dionysios does not seem to have agreed with the wishes of the Trebizondian nobles, who probably resented the influence that the Serbian Mara exercised in the Porte and over the sultan in particular. While actual details and the actual personalities involved remain shrouded in mystery, certain individuals accused Dionysios of having converted to Islam during his captivity, before Kyritzes ransomed him. In front of an assembly of clerics, Dionysios had to provide visible proof that he was not circumcised. This travesty of injustice forced him to retire to the monastery that was patronized by Mara:[230]

> ...συκοφαντήσαντες αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐστι περιτετμημένος ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ὧν περ εἶχον αὐτὸν δοῦλον...Συνόδου συγκροτηθείσης καὶ συνάξεως οὐκ ὀλίγης γεναμένης, ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἐπισκόπων τῶν τῆς Πόλεως ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ πλῆθος.... Ἐγερθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἄρας τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἔδειξε πᾶσι τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ...καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξεπλάγησαν... οὐ γὰρ ἦν σαρκὸς σημεῖον, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἄκρον δέρματος...εὐθέως ἐξῆλθε τῆς Πόλεως...καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Κοσινίτζου.
>
> [They] charged that he had been circumcised by the Ishmaelites [Turks] when he had been their slave. Then a synod was convened and was attended by a large gathering of hierarchs, bishops, priests, and archons of the City, and the common people.... So he rose and stood in the middle...he lifted his robes by the edges and displayed his flesh to all...they were amazed at the sight: he bore no marks. There was nothing but foreskin.... Without delay he left the City... and went to the Kosinitzos Monastery.

Perhaps the rude treatment of Dionysios by the Greek clerics and his flock was a warning to Mara to stay out of the affairs of the church. The Trebizondian noblemen then went on the offensive to appoint their own candidate:[231] Ἀνεβίβασαν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον τὸν κῦριν Συμεῶνα μετὰ πεσκεσίου φλωρία χιλιάδας δύο, "[they] raised again Lord Symeon to the patriarchal throne with a *peşkeş* of two thousand florins." In 1474 Mara reasserted her authority and managed to elevate her own candidate. She now selected one of her compatriots, a Serbian monk, Raphael. All surviving Greek sources demonstrate contempt and bias against Raphael.[232] The literary tradition preserves the same bias against Raphael. The *Ἔκθεσις Χρονική*[233] singles out his inordinate fondness for alcohol, his foreign accent, and his inability to learn Greek:

> Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ ἐνεφάνη τις ἱερομόναχος ὀνόματι Ῥαφαὴλ ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Σερβίας, μέθυσος καὶ οἰνοπότης.... Ἦν γὰρ τοσοῦτον μέθυσος ὡς καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ ἐν τοῖς τροπαρίοις οὐκ ἠδύνατο στῆναι ἐκ τῆς μέθης, ἀλλ᾽ ἔπιπτε τὸ δεκανίκιον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. Ἐμίσουν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ πάντες, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς μέθης τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀλλογλωτίας.
>
> At that time there came to prominence a hieromonk named Raphael from Serbia. He had a tendency to drink and he loved wine.... He was so addicted to drinking that even on Holy and Good Friday he was unable to stand during chanting on account of his condition. His crook kept falling to the ground. Everybody hated him, some because of his drinking and others because of his foreign speech.

The same document continues to state that the "magnates" secured this position for him. Presumably, they must have comprised the faction that was friendly to Mara.[234] He was unable to meet his financial obligations to the Porte, as he received no assistance whatsoever from his Greek clerics or from lay officials at the patriarchate. He was then taken to prison, where he subsequently died while still wearing irons:[235]

> Περαιωθέντος δὲ οὖν τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δοῦναι τὸ χαράτιον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τις ὁ βοηθῶν αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν κληρικῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν λαϊκῶν. Ἀφέντες γὰρ ἔβαλον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ περιπατῶν μετὰ τῆς ἁλύσου ἐτελεύτησε κακῶς.
>
> When the deadline came, he was unable to pay the *harac*, for no one from among the officials or the laymen helped him. He was deserted and was imprisoned. He walked around carrying his chains before he suffered an evil death.

All of this information comes down to one essential point. In the years following the sack, as the Greek patriarchate was being organized as "a department in charge of an infidel community" within the Ottoman Islamic state, in such a way as to re-emphasize its

Orthodox heritage and intransigent policies against the Catholic Church with the obvious political aim of distancing the conquered Greeks from Europe, there rose one important person among the Orthodox-conquered Greeks: Mara of Serbia, the widow of Murad II and the respected stepmother of Mehmed II. Mara was in a position to establish and to maintain a bond with the past and to remind many of the sultan's conquered and humbled subjects of the lost glories of the past. As time passed, she played an important role in the Levant. Taking advantage of her relationship with the sultan, Mara was able to become an undisputed patron of Orthodox culture and, at the same time, she was able to maintain, in style, a sort of court[236] within the realm of the sultan.

In time Mara severed all ties with her relatives in Serbia[237] and came to live within the sultan's realm under her stepson's protection. Mehmed himself granted her large territories[238] and she was able to live out the remainder of her life in comfort and in style. Her important position in the politics of the Levant has often been noted and scholars have often remarked upon her role as a mediator between east and west, as a buffer between the Porte and Venice.[239] Mara's activities, encouragement, and patronage of literature in those dark days certainly need further scholarly investigation and scrutiny, and have not been adequately examined by historians. Because of her influential position, there is no doubt that the intellectuals of the period flocked to her. She forged very important ties with the patriarchate and with particular patriarchs, some of whom she had championed. These individuals gravitated around her and often lived under her care in the territories granted to her by her stepson. It is not an accident that she had friendly ties with Gennadios II, and that Dionysios I, after his ejection from the patriarchal throne, returned to her, became her confessor, and spent the balance of his life in the proximity of her court.

Mara had numerous ties in every court and important family in the Levant, and belonged to an international family whose members had been widely scattered as a consequence of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. She boasted of her Greek ancestry and heritage, maintained close ties to the families of the Komnenoi of Trebizond and the Palaiologoi of Greece, was acknowledged as the revered stepmother of Mehmed II, the reigning sultan, and as the widow of Sultan Murad II, and was celebrated as a noble Serbian lady with influential relatives residing in Italy, while her sister Catherine had married Ulrich II, the count of Cilly. After her husband's assassination in 1453, Catherine joined Mara and lived on her estates. It was only natural that Mara would play this consequential role at a critical time for the diverse cultures in the Balkans. We know of one author, Theodore Spandounes or Spandugnino, a Greco-Venetian of Byzantine noble heritage, who resided for some time at Mara's court and absorbed a great amount of information that he would eventually incorporate into his book. He spent his formative years close to Mara, who was his great-aunt; his father had sent him to her after his mother's death, *ca.* 1490.[240] Spandounes gained much knowledge about the Turks and their culture while he lived with Mara, and when he returned to the west he was able to produce a synthesis and pass on to the European world his knowledge of the Turks and of the last years of medieval Greece, even adding incidents in his history that must have reached him through oral tales told to him by his aunts.[241] In some ways Spandounes has preserved in his narrative the recollections of numerous family members that were linked to some of the important kinsmen on every side, defender and besieger, and were involved in the monumental event.

It would not come as a surprise to discover that Mara maintained a literary circle and it was through her circle that early histories after the fall were composed. As matters now stand, the existence of this literary circle must remain hypothetical. However, its existence is more than likely, given the role that Mara played among the Orthodox peoples of the time. And it would not come as a surprise if we were to posit, but with a cautionary note, that Mara had played a role in the revival of learning after the fall and that some of authors of texts that we have encountered, such as the Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ or some (if not all) of the Greek sources of Crusius, had been forged in some way through members of Mara's coterie.[242]

# VI. A Note on Turkish Accounts of the Siege

Little has been said about the Turkish sources thus far for the main reason that they represent meager narratives,[243] with such an overwhelming poetic imagery that they become difficult, if not impossible, for the historian seeking facts about the siege. Further, they are not readily available because of the frustrating lack of translations. Also, the texts have never been transliterated into the modern Turkish script, nor have they been widely disseminated.[244] A note nevertheless on four important texts is in order.

I. There exists a letter by Mehmed Şems el-Mille ve'd Din (= sufi Şeyh Aq-Şemseddin), who had been born in Damascus but had spent some years at the Porte and was present during the siege and sack of Constantinople. He was associated in some way with Baltoğlu, the Ottoman admiral until the naval defeat by Christian relief ships on April 20, 1453.[245] This letter survives in a lone manuscript[246] and H. İnalcik, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkiklev ve Vesikalar* [The Conqueror Cycle, With Regard to Investigations and Documentation], Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara, 1954), pp. 217–218, first published the text. There exists no published English translation but the Italian rendition without the original text is included in *CC* 1: 301–303, which was accomplished from an unpublished English translation by R. Murphy.[247] A biography of the *sufi* termed *gesta et vita* by İnalcik[248] survives in numerous manuscripts. It is entitled *Manakib-i Aq Şemseddin* [*shams al-Din*] by Seyyid Husayn Enisi. The text remains to be translated, edited, and published.[249]

II. Probably the most important eyewitness account of the fall of Constantinople in various manuscript forms in Turkish was composed by Tursun Beg, who authored a narrative titled: *Tarih-i Abu'l Fath* [also rendered as *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*], A History by Abu'l Fath.[250] Tursun Beg was a courtier in the entourage of Mahmud Pasha, a vizier of Mehmed II, whose service he had entered after the conquest of Constantinople, probably in 1456. He remained loyal to him, even after Mahmud had been discredited. In fact, most of the narrative is devoted to the purpose of vindicating Mahmud's policies.[251] Tursun Beg completed his work after 1488, during his retirement. His account is more important for the years following the siege, because in those years Tursun Beg had access to the most important councils that took place at the Porte. Since he was present during the siege, he has devoted a few sections of his narrative to the operations and provides some valuable observations on the phases of the last battle. Additionally, his narrative presents a different explanation concerning the death of Constantine XI, who, according to Tursun Beg, fled with members of his retinue when, by chance, the entourage encountered a group of *azab* soldiers in a neighborhood within Constantinople. During the skirmish that followed, Constantine XI lost his mount and his life but other members of the emperor's retinue were captured. It is unfortunate that Tursun Beg does not mention the names of the individuals involved and does not identify the neighborhood where the skirmish had occurred. The Turkish text of his account in the old Ottoman Arabic script has been published in a facsimile edition of the *Aya Sofya* manuscript,[252] with a summary (unfortunately not a complete) translation in English: H. İnalcik and R. Murphy, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, Bibliotheca Islamica (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1978). An Italian translation of selections dealing with siege, by M. Grinaschi, without the original text, can be found in *CC* 1: 306–331.

III. Although scholars have questioned the accuracy of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyāḥatnāme* [Travel Book],[253] known also as *Taʾrīh-i seyyāḥ* [The Traveller's Book],[254] the work merits attention because it contains historical information and elements of Ottoman folklore concerning the fall of Constantinople in 1453 not found in any other sources. Evilya Çelebi, a pen name, the son of the *dervish* Meḥmed Ẓillī who was a master goldsmith or chief jeweler in the Ottoman court, was born in the Unkapan quarter of Constantinople on 10 Muḥaram 1020 [25 March 1611].[255] He died 1095 H. [1684]. The *Seyāḥatnāme* is important because it records his travels and observations, including obvious exaggerations, for a period of approximately forty-two years. Of concern for this present study is Book 1, ch. 11, of the *Pertev Paşa ms*., nrs. 458–462, Topkapi Saray,[256] dating to 1742 (bound as *Bagdat Köşkü 304*), of which 458a is of particular concern to us and provides invaluable vignettes on the fall of Constantinople and specifically Gül Camii, the former Church of Hagia Theodosia. We will address the events and mythology associated with the Church of Hagia Theodosia in ch. IV, "Myths, Legends, and Tales: Folk History," part IV: "The Last Imperial Tomb: Hagia Theodosia?" His historical information may be based on an ancestral tradition, of a participant in the siege and pillaging of Constantinople by Ottoman seamen and land forces based in the Golden Horn. While this portion of the book does contain family legends, Evliya was much interested in the geography and architecture of the city, tales of prophets and local saints, and religious practices, among other interests.

IV. Finally, it should be mentioned that a valuable work from the Ottoman period has been recently published in a scholarly translation.

While it is not a contemporaneous account of the siege, it does contain substantial amounts of valuable information about the fate of the churches of Constantinople and the circumstances that led to their conversion to mosques over the passage of centuries. Some scholars, who could read the Ottoman script, have made use of this work in their accounts of the siege.[257] Nevertheless, this valuable document, which was first composed in the eighteenth century but was not published until the nineteenth, had been inaccessible to western scholars, in general. This important source was finally published in English translation with valuable and extensive notes: *The Garden of the Mosques*, translated and annotated by Crane.

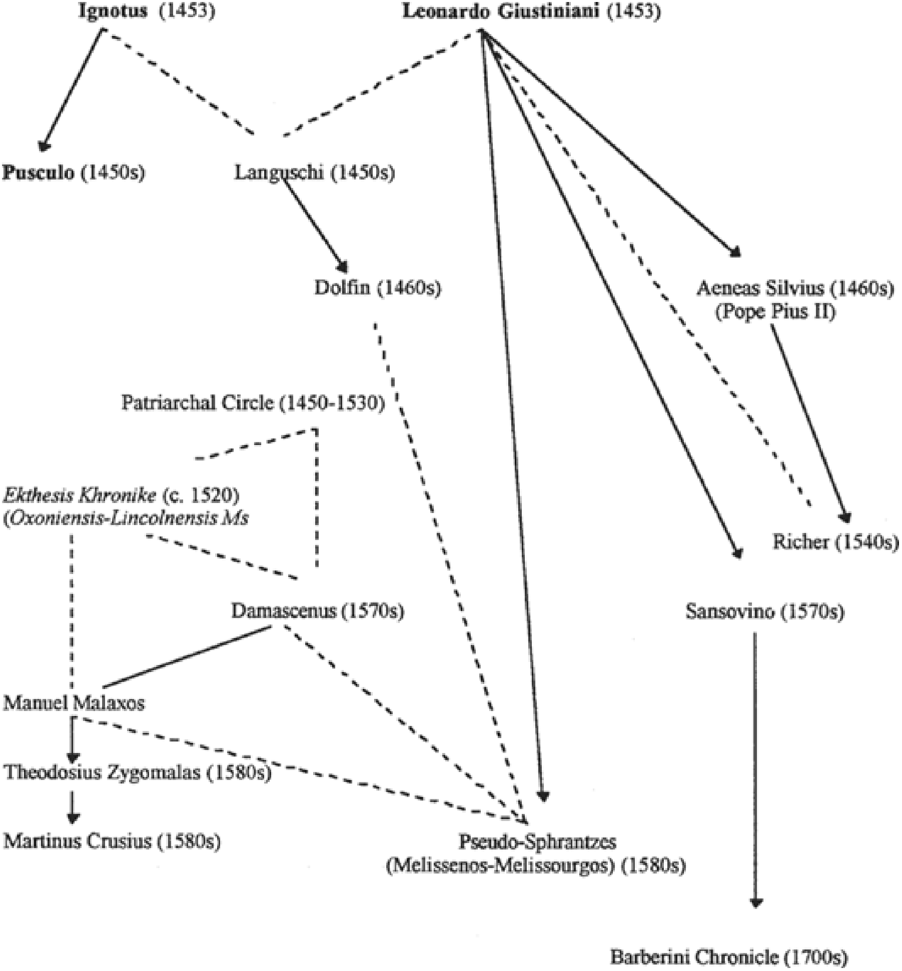
Ignotus (1453)
Leonardo Giustiniani (1453)
Pusculo (1450s)
Languschi (1450s)
Dolfin (1460s)
Aeneas Silvius (1460s)
(Pope Pius II)
Patriarchal Circle (1450-1530)
Ekthesis Khronike (c. 1520)
(Oxoniensis-Lincolnensis Ms
Richer (1540s)
Damascenus (1570s)
Sansovino (1570s)
Manuel Malaxos
Theodosius Zygomalas (1580s)
Martinus Crusius (1580s)
Pseudo-Sphrantzes
(Melissenos-Melissourgos) (1580s)
Barberini Chronicle (1700s)

Figure 1

Proximity and Dependence of Some Influential Texts

# Notes

[1] S. de Sacy, ed., “Pièces diplomatiques tirées des Archives République de Gênes,” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 11 (1827): 74–79; L. T. Belgrano, ed., “Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera,” *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria 13 (1877): no. 149, pp. 229–233; N. Iorga, ed., “Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV$^{e}$ siècle,” Revue de l'Orient latin 8 (1900/1901)*: 105–108; English translation: J. R. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts* (Jericho, 1972), pp. 131–135; and improved text with Italian translation in *CC* 1: 42–51.

[2] Edited by E. Cornet, *Giornale dell' assedio di Costantinopoli 1453 di Nicolò Barbaro P.V. correddato di note e documenti* (Vienna, 1856). This edition remains the only complete, printed form of the Diary. It has been translated into English by J. R. [Melville] Jones, *Nicolò Barbaro: Diary of the Siege of Constantinople* (Jericho, 1969); selections with improved text in *CC* 1: 8–38. There exists a Modern Greek translation by V. A. Lappa. *Η Πόλις Εάλω: Το Χρονικό της Πολιορκίας και της ᾿Αλωσης της Πόλης* (Athens, 1991), pp. 93–213. Cf. A. Sagredo, *Sul Giornale dell'assedio di Costantinopoli di Nicolò Barbaro* (Venice, 1856). Katherine E. Fleming, “Constantinople: From Christianity to Islam,” *Classical World* 97 (2003): 73, identifies Nicolò Barbaro as “a Venetian medical student serving as ship's doctor on a Venetian merchant galley at anchor in the Bosphorous, just off Constantinople's shores.” Her assertion is questionable, since Barbaro was much older, having been born about 1400, and thus he was in his fifties at the time of his medical service aboard Venetian ships.

[3] Its colorful mixture of sixteenth-century Venetian vernacular and Latin was edited by G. M. Thomas, “Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453 auf einer venetianischen Chronik,” *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse*, Band 2 (Munich, 1866): 1–38; Thomas neglected to mention the title of Dolfin's work; selections are also printed in *TIePN*, pp. 169–180. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople*, pp. 125–131 has translated a short extract from this account into English; it has never been translated in its entirety. Languschi-Dolfin's text and its relation to the narrative of Leonardo and its followers will be discussed in due course; cf. *infra*, II.4.i.

[4] It was edited by P. A. Déthier, C. Desimoni, and C. Hopf, “Della Conquista di Costantinopoli per Maometto II nel MCCCLIII,” *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 10 (1874): 289–350; and reprinted in *MHH* 22.1: 35–70; selections with Italian translation in *TIePN*, pp. 188–209. There exists no translation of the complete work into any modern language.

[5] This detailed history of the period by Kritoboulos was first edited by P. A. Déthier, *Κριτόβουλος Βίος τοῦ Μωάμεϑ Β΄*, in *MHH* 21.1 (*sine loco* [Galata/Pera? or Budapest?], *sine anno* [1872?/1875?]): 1–346; other editions followed: C. Müller, *De rebus gestis Muhammetis II*, in *FHG* 5 (Paris, 1883): 52–164; V. Grecu, ed., *Critobul din Imbros din domnia lui Mahomed al II-lea anii 1451–1467*, Scriptores Byzantini 4 (Bucharest, 1963), with a Romanian translation; the only translation into English is that of C. T. Riggs, *A History of Mehmed the Conqueror* (Princeton, 1954; repr. 1970). Selections with Italian translation in *CC* 2: 230–251. The latest authoritative edition, with *apparatus criticus* and an informative and a thorough introduction, is that of D. R. Reinsch, ed., *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*,

CFHB 22 (Berlin and New York, 1983).

[6] For editions, translations, discussion, and evaluation of this important source, cf. *infra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” sec. IV.

[7] For a preliminary study, cf. W. K. Hanak, “Byzantine, Latin, and Muscovite Sources on the Fall of Constantinople (1453) and Its Conqueror, Mehmed II,” *Eastern Churches Journal* 3/2 (1996): 53–68. A further word concerning a misleading and suspect article: Fleming, p. 73, writes of “eyewitness accounts, both Greek and Turkish, paint[ing] an astounding graphic and moving picture of the months-long siege….” Unfortunately, she does not identify or discuss these eyewitness sources.

Two recent and broader works merit scholarly consideration: Růžena Dostálova, “Zu den Vorworten der ältesten Ausgaben der spätbyzantinischen Historiker,” in S. Kolditz and R. C. Müller, eds., *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke* (Leipzig, 2005), pp. 479–489; and P. G. Antonopoulos and P. K. Magkafas, “Αυτόπτες μάρτυρες της αλώσεως του 1453: Τέσσαρες αντιπροσωπευτικές περιπτώσεις,” in E. Motos Guirao and M. Morfakidis Filactós, eds., *Constantinopla. 550 años de su caída. Κωνσταντινούπολη. 550 χρόνια από άλωση. 2: La Caida. Η ΄Αλωση* (Granada, 2006): 41–51.

[8] His analysis ultimately suffered from the lack of original written material, which still awaited discovery and publication; he presented his results in *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels durch die Türken im Jahre 1453 nach dem originalquellen bearbeitet* (Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1858). Years later, the younger J. H. Mordtmann further summarized his researches into the topography of the immediate vicinity: *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892).

[9] A. G. Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται Τοπογραφικαὶ καὶ Ἱστορικαί*, Βιβλιοθήκη Ἱστορικῶν Μελετῶν 208 (Constantinople, 1877; repr. Athens, 1986); this seminal study was followed by a work that remains useful: *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν ἐν Ἔτει 1453* (Athens, 1890; repr. Athens, 1995).

[10] One of the most popular accounts to appear in English was by A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899; repr., *sine anno* [2004?]). Other works have followed, but the last word, especially in regard to the monuments relating to the siege, has as yet not been written, as we will observe in due course. In the meantime, standard modern works include R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine; Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Archives de l’Orient Chrétien 4A (2nd ed., Paris, 1964); and *idem, La Géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin*, 1: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique* (Paris, 1969). The latest attempt, with limited results and no new information, is provided in M. Balard, “Constantinople vue par les témoins du siège de 1453,” in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, eds. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Ashgate, 1995), pp. 169–177.

[11] E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (New York, 1968 (repr. of 1903 edition), pp. xiii–xiv, lists the sources that were recovered after Gibbon and they include Languschi-Dolfin; Lomellino (whose work has wrongly been attributed to “Ang. Johannis Zacharias” by the time Pears wrote); di Montaldo; “Riccherio” (who turns out not to be a source at all, as we will see in due course; cf. *infra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy”), sec. 1; and Nestor-Iskander. A similar list had appeared earlier (in 1890) in Paspates’ book on the siege,

Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, and it was more inclusive than Pears, as Paspates enumerated all the sources that had been unknown to E. Gibbon in his *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols. (London, 1909–1914), and those that Gibbon had failed to use even though they had been readily available to him.

[12] *Informations envoyées, tant par Francisco de Franc, à très reverend pere en Dieu monseigneur le cardinal d'Avignon, que par Jehan Blanchin & Jacques Edaldy marchant Florentin, de la prise de Constantinople par l'empereur Turc le xxix. jour de May MCCCCLIII, à laquelle ledit Jacques estoit personnellement*, E. Martène and U. Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 1: *Tomus primus complectens regum ac principum aliorumque virorum illustrium epistolas et diplomata benè multa* (Paris, 1717): cols. 1819–1826. The same editors published a Latin version of Tetaldi's narrative twelve years later: *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*, 5 (Paris, 1729): 785–800. The French version alone was also printed in *MHH* 22.1: 891 ff. The French version was translated into English by Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 1–10. For the first modern edition of the Latin version, with English translation and commentary, cf. M. Philippides, ed., trans., and annotated by, *Mehmed II the Conqueror and the Fall of Franco-Byzantine Levant to the Ottoman Turks: Some Western Views and Testimonies*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 302 (Tempe, 2007): 133–217, and for the French text, Appendix I, pp. 341–346. For his life, *ibid.*, pp. 21–26. On Tetaldi, cf. *infra*, II.3; and ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," sec. III.

[13] *Constantinopolis libri IV*, ed. G. Bregantini, *Miscellanea di varie operette*, 1 (Venice, 1740); repr. in A. S. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, 3 (Leipzig, 1857): Appendix, 12–83; and *CC* 1: 124–171. On Pusculo, cf. *infra*, II.A.7.

[14] Gibbon, 7: 197, n. 76: "I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine." For a brief discussion, cf. M. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople: Bishop Leonard and the Greek Accounts," *GRBS* 22 (1981): 289, n. 7.

[15] Echoes of this attitude are still with us. One recalls that Sir Steven Runciman begins his highly popular, if on occasion erratic and idiosyncratic, study, *FC*, with the following memorable statement, p. xi: "In the days when historians were simple folk the Fall of Constantinople, 1453, was held to mark the close of the Middle Ages."

[16] On this incident, cf. E. Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann: Kaufmann und Forscher* (Göttingen, 1969), p. 271; and, in general, D. A. Traill, "Schliemann's Acquisition of the Helios Metope and His Psychopathic Tendencies," in *Myth, Scandal, and History: The Heinrich Schliemann Controversy and a First Edition of the Mycenaean Diary*, eds. W. Calder III and D. A. Traill (Detroit, 1986), pp. 48–81.

[17] *MHH* 21, parts 1–2, and 22, parts 1–2.

[18] *NE* 1–6.

[19] "Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι ἐπὶ τῇ Ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," *NH* 5 (1908): 190–270.

[20] *CC* 1 and *CC* 2 [= *La Caduta di Costantinopoli*, 1: *Le Testimonianze dei Contemporanei*; and 2: *L'Eco nel Mondo* (Verona, 1976)].

[21] *CC* 1: 8–38; on Barbaro's complete edition, cf. *supra*, n. 2.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 124–171.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 200–213.

[24] *Supra*, n. 13.

[25] *CC* 1: 175–189; cf. *supra*, n. 12.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 269–298.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 228–231.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 234–239.

[29] Cf., e.g., *PaL* 2: 110, n. 8.

[30] *CC* 1: 64–80.

[31] On these incidents, cf. A. Papadakis, *ODB* 2: 1016. In spite of the statements in *ODB*, Isidore was never officially a prisoner of the sultan, who would have executed him on the spot the moment his true identity had been authenticated.

[32] The complete text of this letter was published earlier by G. Hofmann, "Ein Brief des Kardinals Isidor von Kiew an Kardinal Bessarion," *OCP* 14 (1948): 405–414. Pertusi, however, correctly reminds us that the text of this letter would have been composed in Greek and that we are facing, in the Latin version, the literary exercise of a minor humanist who attempted to render Isidore's (presumably elegant) Greek prose into Latin. The other letters that also issued from the pen of Isidore, while he was recovering in Crete, must have also been composed in Greek and translated into Latin by others, as Cardinal Isidore, unlike his good friend the Neoplatonist Bessarion, never managed to master Latin. For his futile attempts to learn Latin, for his pathetic struggle to render Latin into the Greek alphabet for easier comprehension, and for his daily exercises, cf. G. Mercatti, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, ST 46 (Vatican City, 1926).

Two misidentifications should be addressed. Fleming, p. 72, perpetuates an error and states: "the pope sent Cardinal Isidore of Russia, a *Polish cardinal* who had formerly been Archbishop of Russia, on a mission to Constantinople…" [*Italics ours*]. Further, Fleming, p. 75, erroneously identifies Loukas Notaras as "a Constantinopolitan intellectual and theologian of the mid-fifteenth century…."

[33] *TIePN*.

[34] A. Pertusi, "The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of Its Consul, Benvenuto, on the Fall of the City," in *Charanis Studies*, pp. 199–218. It was then published with Italian translation in *TIePN*, pp. 4–5. For an English translation: M. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373–1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century (Codex Barberinus Graecus 111)*, Late Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 4 (New Rochelle, 1990): 197–199. Cf. *infra*, II.A.6.

[35] This topic remains largely unexplored territory; historians of the siege so far have simply followed "sources" uncritically, without much evaluation and without investigating the actual value or status of each testimony; most of the time they have followed secondary sources, elaborations, or downright forged texts that pass as primary accounts. More importantly, no scholar has attempted a military analysis of strategy, role of artillery, infantry tactics, etc. A different approach will be followed in due course; cf. *infra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations," and ch. 10: "Some Observations on Strategy."

[36] Barbaro 61 (Cornet); not included in the selections of *CC* 1; Pertusi, however, has noted and discussed this discrepancy, *CC* 1: 366–367, n. 173.

[37] This list appears in Cornet, pp. 63–65, but not in *CC* 1, which consistently omits all of Barbaro's lists.

[38] Barbaro 59 [*CC* 1: 36].

[39] Languschi-Dolfin 36. The Grioni matter is further discussed by M. Manoussakas, "Les derniers défenseurs crétois de Constantinople d'après les documents vénitiens," in *Akten de XI. internationalen Byzantinischen Kongress, München, 1958*, eds. F. Dölger and H.-G. Beck (Munich, 1960), pp. 331–340. Manoussakas published a document that summarizes Grioni's adventures after his liberation from the Turks (p. 334, n. 21): *De mense uero Julij anni elapsi, ipse Zacharias, redemptus a misirabili captiuitate*

*Teucrorum, in Cretam rediret, et Chium peruenisset, ad instantiam ipsius Benedicti fuit de ordine vestro in carcerem positus, et cohactus fideiubere de ducatis ij C quod redibit Chium ad faciendum rationem cum eo et standum iudicio fori vostre de eo quod ipse Benedictus dicit habere debere a dicto Zacharia*. Cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 95.

[40] Complete note: *Dopo presa la città, il Turco fece far cride, che chi avesse case in Costantinopoli gli dicesse, che egli le faria consegnare, et olti grechi et latini andarono a dirli dove erano le sue case, fra quali fu il nostro Bailo, e il Consolo Taragonense, et in vece delle case, il Turco feceli tagliar la testa, a esso Consolo, et a doi altri de' suoi, et al Bailo nostro et suo fiol, et a doi altri nostri nobeli*. Girolamo had two sons who participated in the defense. P<a>olo was killed in action; Zorzi and his father were executed soon afterwards, as Lomellino, the *podestà* of Pera noted (*CC* 1: 46: *Decapitari fecit* [*Mehmed*] *suis* [?] *diebus bailum Venetorum cum eius filio et aliis septem Venetis; et similiter consulem Catalanorum cum aliis quinque vel sex Catalanis*. The news reached Venice in the guise of rumors, and attempts were made to ransom Zorzi, who, it was thought as late as the beginning of August, was still alive as a prisoner of the sultan. In addition, no one could discover what happened to the wife of Girolamo Minotto in the sack; she seems to have vanished. Cf. *Archivo di Stato, Senato Mar, R.4*, fol. 202: *Cum omnibus notus sit miserabilis casus nobilis viri, ser Jeronimi Minotto, qui erat Baiulus Constantinopolis, qui sic ut habetur ductus est captivus in Turchia cum uxore et uno filio et perdidit omnem facultatem suam*. On the fate of the Minotti, cf. *PaL* 2: 133–134, n. 87; and *CC* 1: 369–370, n. 182. The most accurate information as to the fate of the Minotti was brought to Venice by Catarino Contarini, another defender and prisoner of the Turks who was ransomed and finally reached Venice by August 16, 1453; cf. *Cronaca Magno* [Stefano Magno], (*NE* 3: 300): *Adì 16 agosto* [1453], *el venne con un grippo Cattarin Contarini da Constantinopoli, il quale se haveva scosso; per lo quale fù inteso della morte dada al bailo et suo fiolo et recuperation de i altri nostri Venetiani, et hebbe notitia del muodo del perder della cittade*.

[41] *CC* 1: 269, n. 182.

[42] Barbaro 35 [*CC* 1: 33].

[43] *CC* 1: 362, n. 140.

[44] Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 28.

[45] Cf. for full citations of these sources, *supra*, n. 2.

[46] Book IV, 585–588 (Ellissen, p. 72; *CC* 1 has not printed this passage in its selections).

[47] Book IV, 610–611 (Ellissen, p. 72; *CC* 1 has not printed this passage in its selections).

[48] *CC* 1: 50.

[49] *NE* 2: 493: *Et, perchè ne sappiate il tucto, come noi, vi mando la copia de capituli che hà facto il Turcho co Genovesi et la copia d'una lettera venuta da Scio, da huomo valente et di grande discretione, che si vorrebbono mandare al Sancto Padre et in Corte di Roma. Et questo di c'è rinfrescato peggio per la via di Vinegia, che dicono…che uno Agnolo Lomellino, ch'era podestà in Pera, huomo valente et di grandi riputatione, lo fà carregiare priete* (*sic*), *et uno suo nipote di xx anni hà rinnegato, et hallo facto un gran maestro*.

[50] There has been little research on this interesting personality; cf. E. Dallegio d'Alessio, "Listes des potestats de la colonie génoise de Péra (Galata), des prieurs et sous-prieurs de la Magnifica Communità," *REB* 27 (1969): 151–157 (with the complaint of *CC* 1: 41); and, more recently, G. Olgiati, "Angelo Giovanni Lomellino: Attività politica e mercantile dell'ultimo podestà de Pera," *Storia dei Genovesi* 9 (1989): 139–196.

[51] For full citations of these sources, cf. *supra*, n. 1.

[52] Cf. *supra*, n. 12, and *infra*, ch. 2: "Four Accounts: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant,

and a Boy," sec. III.

[53] Biographies of Leonardo were written long ago and contain inaccuracies; the oldest examples include M. Iustiniani, "Vita Leonardi," in *Caroli Pogii de nobilitate liber disceptatorius et Leonardi Chiensis de vera nobilitate contra Poggium tractactus apologeticus* (Abelini, 1657), cols. 43–48; and J. Quétif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1 (Paris, 1729): cols. 816–818. In the previous century, the few facts known about the archbishop have been summarized by R.-J. Loenertz, *La Société des Frères Pérègrinants. Étude sur l'Orient Dominicain*, 1 [= Inst. Hist. FF. Praed., Diss. hist. 7] (Rome, 1937).

[54] *PG* 159: 923 [*CC* 1: 124].

[55] *PG* 159: 927 [*CC* 1: 130].

[56] *PG* 159: 923. *CC* 1: 124–126 presents a slightly different text and punctuation: *cum igitur reverendissimus pater, dominus cardinalis Sabinensis, pro unione Graecorum legatus, in eius famulatum me ex Chio vocasset, egi summa cum animi mea diligentia ut… defensarem.*

[57] *PG* 159: 935 [*CC* 1: 150].

[58] *CC* 1: 84; cf. *infra*, II.A.5.iii. The letter is dated July 8.

[59] *CC* 1: 66; cf. *infra*, II.A.5.ii.

[60] *PG* 159: 925 [*CC* 1: 128].

[61] Reg. 401, fol. 47b, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Pope Nicholas V, 10/18/53 [= L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages Drawn from Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*, trans. and ed. F. I. Antrobus, 2 (7th ed., London, 1949): app. 22.524–525]. The loss of manuscripts, presumably containing ancient works unknown in the west, was a lamentable point in the humanistic literature of the period. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II) made mention of the irreparable loss a number of times in his correspondence; cf., e.g., his letter to Pope Nicholas V (dated July 12, 1453), *CC* 2: 46: *Quid de libris dicam, qui illic erant innumerabiles, nondum Latinis cogniti? Heu, quot nunc magnorum nomina virorum peribunt? Secunda mors ista Homero est, secundus Platoni obitus. Ubi nunc philosophorum aut poetarum ingenia requiremus? Extinctus est fons Musarum*. He returns to the same lamentation in his letter dated September 25, 1453, to the pope [R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini* 3, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum 68 (Vienna, 1918): 189; not in *CC* 2]: *Mansit usque in hanc diem vetustae sapientiae apud Constantinopolim monumentum, ac velut ibi domicilium litterarum esset, nemo Latinorum satis videri doctus poterat, nisi Constantinopoli per tempus studuisset. Quodque florente Roma doctrinarum nomen habuerunt Athenae, id nostra tempestate videbatur Constantinopolis obtinere. Inde nobis Plato redditus, inde Aristotelis, Demosthenis, Xenophontis, Thuchididis, Basilii, Origenis et aliorum multa Latinis opera diebus nostris manifestata sunt, multa quoque manifestanda sperabamus. At nunc vincentibus Turchis et omnia possidentibus, quae Graeca potentia tenuit, actum esse de litteris Graecis arbitror*.

[62] Cf. *infra*, ch. 8: "Naval Maneuvers: Subordinate Operations," n. 93.

[63] The Latin text of this work was edited and published under the erroneous title: *Leonardi Chiensis De Lesbo a Turcis capta epistola Pio papae II missa ex. cod. ms. Ticinensis*, by C. Hopf (Regimonti, 1866), who then reprinted it in his *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes Inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables génealogiques* (Paris, 1873; repr. Brussels, 1966), doc. 21, pp. 359–366. No English translation of this work exists.

[64] *SOC*, esp. ch. 1.

[65] The copy of Caoursin's work in the Gennadeios Library at Athens bears the title *Guglielmi Caorsici* [*sic*] *Rhodiorum vicecancellarii obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*. While this early printed work at the Gennadeios states neither place nor year of publication, it is clear that we are encountering a copy of the 1480–1481 edition

printed in Rome; cf. the evidence cited in *PaL* 2: 346, n. 2. For color photographs of the miniatures accompanying Caoursin's text in various manuscripts, cf. E. Kollias, *The Knights of Rhodes: The Palace and the City* (Athens, 1988), plates 2, 27, 28, 30, 34, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46. Also, cf. the discussion in *SOC*, pp. 121–143; and E. Brockman, *The Two Sieges of Rhodes, 1480–1522* (London, 1969). For a new edition of Caoursin's text, with English translation and commentary, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 261–313.

[66] The popularity of this work, in manuscript form, continued in the sixteenth century; for manuscripts of this period, cf. *CC* 1: 121. Also, cf. the observations of Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 28 and an unnumbered note at the bottom of same page. As well, K.-P. Matschke, "Leonhard von Chios, Gennadios Scholarios, und die 'Collegae' Thomas Pyropulos und Johannes Basilikos vor, während und nach der Eroberung von Konstantinopel durch die Türken," *Byzantina* 21 (2000): 227–236.

[67] It now appears that Languschi could not have composed this account, as he seems to have died in 1453. The account can only be attributed to an unknown scribe. Cf. M. C. Davies, "An Enigma and a Phantom: Giovanni Aretino and Giacomo Languschi," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 37 (1988): 1–29, esp. 16 ff. In addition, cf. Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2008), p. 273, n. 70. To avoid confusion with other source writers and for elucidation, we choose to retain the artificial compound "Languschi-Dolfin" throughout this study to indicate the author of this fascinating account.

[68] On this work and its relationship to Leonardo's narrative, as well as to other texts of the period, cf. M. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani and His Italian Followers," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 29 (1998): 189–227, esp. 204–209.

[69] A. Pertusi, "La lettera di Filippo da Rimini, cancelliere di Corfù, a Francesco Barbaro e i primi documenti occidentali sulla caduta di Costantinopoli (1453)," *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδη,* *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδη,* 6 (Venice, 1974): 120–157, esp. 121.

[70] Such was the conclusion of Pertusi (*supra*, n. 69), who did not realize, however, that the problem is more complicated. Pertusi cites only one correspondence (121: *ad esempio*) and fails to look for this narrative's additional sources, 121: …*una traduzione in volgare della Epistola di Leonardo Giustiniani, spogliata dei referimenti teologici e degli indirizzi rivolti al papa Nicolò V*. Some further connections are cited by T. Ganchou, "Sur quelques erreurs relatives aux derniers défenseurs Grecs de Constantinople en 1453," *Θησαυρίσματα: Περιοδικὸν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Βενετίας* 25 (1995): 61–82, esp. 62–63. 71 For the historicity of the text, cf. M. Philippides, "[Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων] 'Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans,'" in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. C. Kafadar, H. Karateke, and C. Fleischer, Harvard University, Center for Middle Eastern Studies (Cambridge, MA, 2008), electronic article, 7 pp.

[71] For a discussion of this text and its problems, cf. D. Sakel, "A Probable Solution to the Problem of the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*," in *Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*, ed. J. Burke, *et al.*, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies. Byzantina Australiensia 16 (Melbourne, 2006): 204 ff. Further, relative to this text, Sakel, pp. 210–211, n. 21, relying heavily and almost exclusively upon the work of Elizabeth A. Zachariadou that in fact is quite significant and merits scholarly attention, makes the questionable observation that Philippides has

followed a “pre-Zachariadou view of the sources.” It has been his and our approach in all of our studies to view all extant works, both primary and secondary, both ancient and modern, and to try to make some sense of the plethora of materials and interpretations that have been rendered to the events and personages of 1453.

One additional observation should be made regarding the authorship of *Barberini gr. 111*. In his *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373–1513*, Philippides, p. 118, n. 48, Sakel misinterprets Philippides’ annotation that reads: “… The translator of this Chronicle into German expresses his doubt that the author was Greek.” He may have been a westerner who knew everyday business Greek. Cf. F. Kreutel, *Leben und Taten der turkischen Kaiser. Die anonyme vulgargriechische Chronik Cod. Barb. 111 (Anonymous Zoras)*, Osmanische Geschichtschreier 6 (Graz, 1971), 16–17. It is also possible that the author was one of the numerous spies who were employed by powers in the west and who spent time in the eastern Mediterranean gathering intelligence information; our author could have been employed in this way before [he] composed his chronicle, as he is aware of Ottoman administration and terminology. Sakel states: “Its author is a Greek, not a Greek-speaking Italian, as has been suggested, and indeed not an Italian spy.”

[72] Both Greek and Italian texts were published by S. P. Lampros, “Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ὡς Ἐπίσημος Γλῶσσα τῶν Σουλτάνων,” *NH* 5 (1908): 40–79, esp. 66–72. The Greek text was published once more (based on the *ms. 2817* of the *Eggerton Collection* in the British Museum): E. Dallegio d’Alesio, “Le texte grec du traité conclu par les génois de Galata avec Mehmet II le Ier Juin 1453,” *Hellenika* 11 (1939): 115–124, and has been translated into English by Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople*, Appendix, pp. 136–137. For the Greek and Italian versions, “The *Aman-name* of Mehmed II, Granted to Pera (1453),” cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, Appendix II, pp. 347–350. The authenticity of the Greek document was challenged in the nineteenth century by Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, but Lampros argued in favor of its authenticity in 1908. The publication of the document in the British Museum finally dispelled any doubts as to the authenticity of the *aman-name* and further demonstrated the veracity of Languschi-Dolfin’s text.

[73] The following documents pertain to Diedo’s activities: Leonardo, *PG* 159: 934 [= Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 20]; Barbaro 8 [*CC* 1: 12], 14–15, 22, 28–29 [*CC* 1: 19], 33, 38–39, and 57–58 [*CC* 1: 35]; Stefano Magno, *Cronaca Magno* (in *NE* 3: 298); and Sphrantzes, *Chronicon Minus*, 36.4 (Maisano, p. 138). In addition, cf. the following archival material: *Archivio di Stato, Sen. Secr.* 19, fol. $203^{v}$ [*TIePN*, p. 9] of July 5, 1453; *Archivio di Stato, Sen. Mar R4*, fols. $198^{v}$–$199^{r}$ [*TIePN*, pp. 6–9] of July 23, 1453; *NE* 3: 301; and *RdD* 3: 108 (no. 2931). Furthermore, we should take into consideration the inscriptional evidence and the iconography offered by Diedo’s monumental tomb that still survives; cf. *infra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” esp. n. 41 and n. 42. For the relevant texts, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non- Combatants,” no. 55.

[74] Barbaro 38 [in *CC* 1: 36]: *…galìe et altri fusti de più comunitade…e azochè nui cristiani possiamo aver vitoria e onor in questo mondo contra questo turco, e però l’andarà parte per autorità de questo conseio, che el nobel homo misser Aluvixe Diedo capetanio de le galìe de la Tana, sia fato capetanio zeneral del mar, zoè de l’armada che se atruova a esser al prexente in questo porto, e che el dito capetanio abia piena libertà da far e desfar de tuti i fusti de questo porto*. Elsewhere, Barbaro places Diedo in charge of the harbor only, 22 [not in *CC* 1]: *…subito queli si vegnià a referir a misser lo capetanio da la Tana, perché lui si iera fato capetanio del porto….*

[75] Cf. *supra*, n. 73.

[76] Barbaro 58–59 [*CC* 1: 36–37].

[77] *Archivio di Stato, Sen. Mar R4*, fol. $199^{r}$ [*TIePN*, p. 8].

[78] *TIePN*, p. 7.

[79] Fol. 323 (37), a section entitled: *Come fu lo excidio de Constantinopoli et a che modo*.

[80] Fol. 313 (5).

[81] Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453,” p. 209.

[82] Cf. *infra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” sec. II.

[83] For the Latin text and English translation, cf. Philippides, ed., *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 55–91.

[84] I. P. Medvedev, “Падение Константинополя в Греко-Итальянской гуманистической публицистике XV b. [The Fall of Constantinople in Greco-Italian Humanistic Publistics in the Fifteenth Century],” in G. G. Litavrin, ed., *Византия между Западом и Востоком. Опыт исторической характеристики* [Byzantium between West and East. A Characteristic Historical Essay] (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 293–332. Medvedev’s work contains an analysis of humanistic and apocalyptic issues (pp. 293–312) in the immediate decades after the fall. He further provides in Russian translation from the Latin three letters of Piccolomini (pp. 312–320), respectively to Pope Nicholas V, 12 July 1453; to Nicolaus Cusanus, 21 July 453; and to Leonardo Benvoglienti, 23 September 1453.

[85] Cf. *infra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” sec. I.

[86] On this publication and its importance in the historiography of the siege, cf. Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453”; and *idem*, “*Urbs Capta*: Early ‘Sources’ on the Fall of Constantinople,” in *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, eds. T. S. Miller and J. Nesbitt (Washington, 1995), pp. 209–225.

[87] This “forgery” will be discussed separately, *infra*, ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle’ and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes.”

[88] Cf. for full citation, *supra*, n. 71.

[89] On this chronicle, cf. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων (τοῦ Βαρβερινοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κώδικα 111) καὶ τὸ Ἰταλικό του Πρότυπο* (Thessaloniki, 1960); and Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople.”

[90] S. P. Lampros, “Περί Τινων Βαρβερινῶν Κωδίκων,” *NH* 5 (1908): 454 f.

[91] G. Moravcsik, “Ἄγνωστον Ἑλληνικὸν Χρονικὸν περὶ τῆς Ἱστορίας τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν Σουλτάνων,” *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 5 (1930): 447–449; and *idem*, “Bericht des Leonardus Chiensis über den Fall von Konstantinopel in einer vulg?riechischen Quelle,” *BZ* 44 (1951): 428–436.

[92] Zachariadou, *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων*.

[93] G. T. Zoras, “Τὸ Χρονικὸν τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων (Προσθέσεις καὶ Παρατηρήσεις),” *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 16 (1965/1966): 597–604.

[94] M. I. Manoussakas. “Ἡ πρώτη ἄδεια (1456) τῆς Βενετικῆς Γερουσίας γιὰ τὸ Ναὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας καὶ ὁ Καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος,” *Θησαυρίσματα: Περιοδικὸν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Βενετίας* 1

(1962): 109–118; L. P. Pierling, S.J., *La Russie et le Saint Siège. Etudes diplomatiques*, 1 (Paris, 1896), 60–105; Mercatti, *Scritti d'Isidoro il Cardinale Ruteno*; A. W. Ziegler, "Isidore de Kiev, ap?? de l'union Florentine," *Irenikon* 13 (1936): 393–410; G. Hofmann, "Papst Kallixt III und die Frage der Kircheneinheit im Osten," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercatti* 3, ST 123 (Vatican City, 1946): 209–237; A. M. Ammann, "Isidoro," in *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 7 (1951): 251; J. Krajcar, "Metropolitan Isidore's Journey to the Council of Florence. Some Remarks," *OCP* 38 (1972): 367–378; and P. Schreiner, "I teologi bizantini del XIV e XV secolo e i padri della chiesa, con particolare riguardo all bibliotheca di Isidoro di Kiev," in M. Cortesi, *Padri greci e latini a confronto (secoli XIII–XV).* Atti del Convegno di studi della Società Internationale per lo studio del Medioevo Latino (SISMEL). Certos del Galluzo Firenze 19–20 oktobre 2001 (Florence, 2004), pp. 133–141.

[95] A summary of the evidence and a discussion of the various problems are included in D. A. Zakythinos, "Μανουὴλ Β´ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ Καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ," in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier à l'occasion du 25$^{e}$ anniversaire de leur arrivée en Grèce*, Collection de l'Institut Fran?s d'Athènes 94 (Athens, 1957): 45–69; Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno*; *idem*, "Lettere di un Isidoro, arcivescovo di Monembasia e non di Kiew," *Bessarione* 32 (1916): 200–207; and V. Laurent, "Isidore de Kiev et la métropole de Monembasie," *REB* 17 (1959): 150–157. In addition, cf. *PLP* 4, no. 8300 (130–131). Also cf. J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), Appendix 22, pp. 525–528.

[96] Haris A. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources* (Monemvasia, 1990), pp. 169–170, and n. 98.

[97] *Supra*, nn. 58 and 59.

[98] His adventures are summarized (undoubtedly with a great deal of editorial freedom) in the report of the Franciscan brothers of Pera (cf. *infra*, II.A.12) in two versions; Version A: *Et fu presso el cardinale de Rusia et venduto pre schiavo, ma per mazanitade de alchune bone persone se ne venne a Vinexia poveramente et stetili alquanti zorni; possa venne a Bologna et andò a Roma da papa Nicolò quinto…et venne novelle a Bologna adì 4 luglio.* Version B presents an almost identical text with one alteration in its concluding sentence: …*alquanti zurni; posa vene a Bologna et andò a Roma dal papa Nicolò quinto.* A much more detailed and more accurate account of Isidore's adventures is provided by Henry of Soemmern; cf. *infra*, II.A.5.viii.b.

[99] The complete Latin text of this note is published in *CC* 1: 53.

[100] Cf. *supra*, text with n. 32.

[101] *Quattrocento*: 1. *Mediol. Bibl. Braid. lat. AE XII 40*, fols. 53$^{r}$–54$^{r}$;

2. *Paris. Nouv. Acquis., lat. 546*, fols. 167$^{r}$–169$^{r}$;
3. *Mediol. Trivult. lat.* 27$^{v}$–31$^{v}$;
4. *Monac. lat. Clm. 4689*, fols. 142$^{r}$–143$^{v}$;
5. *Haegens Bibl. Reg. lat. 71 E. 62*, fols.3$^{v}$–6$^{v}$;
6. *Paris. Bibl. Nat. lat. 3127*, fols. 192$^{v}$–194$^{v}$;
7. *Monac. lat. Clm. 4149*, fols. 309$^{v}$–312$^{r}$; and
8. *Vat. Barb. lat. 2682* [xxxiii, 202], 58$^{r}$–59$^{r}$.

The ninth manuscript, *Monac. lat. Clm 4143*, fols. 91$^{r}$–94$^{r}$, dates from the seventeenth century.

[102] *NE* 3: 314.

[103] The name "Deplorantz" in the German text is probably a corruption of "Diplovatzes." Indeed the two Greek forms of this name can be restored as Joseph Diplovatatzes. As J. Harris notes in his meticulous study, *Greek Émigrés in the West 1400–1520* (Camberley, Surrey, 1995), p. 23, n. 57 [restated and re-examined in his

"Publicising the Crusade: English Bishops and the Jubilee Indulgence of 1455," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50 (1999): 35–37], a George Diplovatatzes and a Thomas Eparkhos reached England in 1455. Eparkhos was attempting to raise funds to ransom his wife and children, who had been enslaved by the Turks in the sack of Constantinople. There is, however, a problem concerning Diplovatatzes' given name George. Is George Diplovatatzes of the English documents the same as "Josu Deplorantz" of the German document? The proximity of Diplovatatzes to Eparkhos argues in favor of the view that both refugees may have worked as a team. Eparkhos' given name of Thomas is identical in the German and the English documents. Is it possible that Eparkhos was associated with a number of refugees from the Diplovatatzes family and that George is to be differentiated from "Josu/Joseph"? If indeed George and Josu are the same person, the George/Josu had an interesting subsequent career: in 1456 he handed over the island of Lemnos to a papal expeditionary fleet and then fled to Italy. He spent time in Crete and, according to one tradition, died fighting against the Moors in Spain.

[104] For modern scholarship, cf. *infra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," sec. IV, as well as M. Philippides, "Some Prosopographical Considerations in Nestor-Iskander's Text," *Macedonian Studies* 6 (1989): 35–50; and W. K. Hanak, "Some Historiographical Observations on the Sources of Nestor Iskander's Tale of Constantinople," in *The Making of Byzantine History*, eds. Beaton and Roueché, pp. 35–46. Cf. W. K. Hanak, "Nestor-İskender," in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Kafadar, Karateke, and Fleischer, electronic article, 8 pp.

[105] We are particularly grateful to the monks of Hilandar Monastery and Dr. Predrag Matejić, the curator of the Hilandar Research Library, The Ohio State University, who graciously furnished us a copy of the original manuscript. *The Tale of Constantinople* is part, leaves 257ʳ–289ᵛ, of the ms. *Књига Јосифа Флавија* (The Book of Josephus Flavius). A critical edition is titled: *The Tale of Constantinople. Hilandar Slavic Ms. 280, folia 257ʳ–289ᵛ*, transcription, trans., and commentary by W. K. Hanak and M. Philippides, forthcoming. For a discussion of the text, cf. D. Bogdanović, *Каталог ћрилских рукописа Манастира Хиландара* [A Catalog of Cyrillic Manuscripts of the Chilandar Monastery] (Belgrade, 1978), no. 280 (pp. 124–125); and *Catalog. Manuscripts on Microfilm of the Hilandar Research Library (The Ohio State University)*, comps. P. Matejić and Hannah Thomas (Columbus, 1992), p. 442. For a good textual analysis of this manuscript, cf. A.-E. N. Tachiaos, "Ἡ Διήγησις περὶ Ἁλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς τὸν Σλαβικὸν Κώδικα Χελανδαρίου 280," Κληρονομία 3 (1971): 355–366; repr. in *idem*, *Greeks and Slavs: Cultural, Ecclesiastical and Literary Relations* (Thessaloniki, 1997), pp. 155–165. For a comparison with the *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra ms. No. 773*, cf. W. K. Hanak, "One Source, Two Renditions: 'The Tale of Constantinople' and Its Fall in 1453," *BS* 62 (2004): 239–250. For a linguistic analysis of the *Књига Јосифа Флавија* and parallel manuscripts, cf. D. E. Collins, "Lost Times and Lost Empires: Ulterior Motives in the Hilandar Josephus Codices," forthcoming. And for a literary analysis, cf. M. De Dobbeleer, "The End of the Byzantine Empire through Slavic Eyes: Nestor-Iskander's *Tale of Constantinople*," unpublished paper read at the 42nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 10–13, 2007, Kalamazoo, MI, 5 pp.; and *idem*, "Ideology within Three Russian Capture Stories. A Matter of Plot and Localization," *Studia Slavica* 7 (2007): 21–30, esp. 25–26.

There also exist in the Romanian archives in manuscript form other renditions of this source, which were unavailable to us. Extensive descriptions of their contents demonstrate that they are almost identical in content, but not terminology and phraseology, to the *Troitse-Sergeva Lavra* and the *Hilandar* texts. Cf. N. Iorga, "Une source négligée de la prise de Constantinople," in *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique* 13 (Bucharest, 1927): 59–68, who (p. 59), does not specifically identify the language of the text, but notes that it "emploie un langage archaïque…." For a discussion and description of the manuscripts in the Romanian archives, one Old Slavic and three Romanian that date to the seventeenth century, cf. V. Grecu, "La chute de Constantinople dans la littérature populaire roumaine," *BS* 14 (1953): 57–59; and I. Bianu, *Biblioteca Academiei Române. Catalogul manuscriptelor româneşçti*, 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1907 and 1913), 1: 104–107, 109–115, and 348–349; 2: 250–252. For late South Slavic texts based on the *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra ms.*, cf. F. J. Juez G?ez, "La caída de Constantinopla y los eslavos meridionales," in P. Binas de la Peña and Inmaculada Pérez Martin, eds., *Constantinopla 1453. Mitos y realidades*, Nueva Roma, Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina Aevi Posterioris, 19 (Madrid, 2003): esp. 400.

[106] Relying extensively, if not solely, upon Folco's partial Italian translation of *Nestor-Iskander, The Tale of Constantinople…*, F. Martelli, "La conquista di Costantinopoli nelle pagine del Cronografo russo. Riflessioni sull'origine delle tradizioni imperiali in Russa nella prima metà del XVI secolo," *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 2nd series, 3 (2001): 357–381, draws upon her mistranslation of *Russi* which in *CC* 1: 297, reads: "La stirpe russa…," and states in his article (p. 359): "Nestor-Iskinder, nell'immediatezza della conquista turca della *čargrad*, concludeva il suo racconta profetizzando la 'riconquista' di Costantinopoli da parte dei russie…." Martelli takes the position that Nestor-Iskander laid the foundation for the notion of Moscow as the Third Rome. His hypothesis is not supported by a correct rendition of this passage. In Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 86 (pp. 94–95), the text reads: Пишетъ бо: «Русии же родъ съ прежде создательными всего Измаилта побѣдятъ и Сед[ь]мохолмаго пріимуть съ прежде законными его, и въ немъ въцарятся и судрьжатъ Сед[ь]мохолмаго Русы…», "for it is written: 'The fair [ones] are a race who, with former creations, will vanquish all of the Ishmaelites and will inherit Seven Hills with its former laws. The fair [ones] will rise to the throne of Seven Hills and will hold it firmly….'" The medieval term *Rusii* properly translated means not Russians, but "fair ones," and in the context of the passage speaks of the reconquest of Constantinople and the resumption of rule under them, whatever race or nation that might be. Throughout Nestor-Iskander's diary account, there is no evidence that he viewed Moscow as the Third Rome; rather, this is a supposition of sixteenth-century and later Russian writers who interpolated the passage for their own political-religious ends.

[107] Cf. Medvedev, pp. 320–325.

[108] Barbaro 55 [*CC* 1: 34].

[109] *TIePN*, pp. 138; this is an early story; it is also included in Eparkhos' account (*supra*, II.A.8); cf. *infra*, ch. 4: "Myths, Legends, and Tales: Folk History."

[110] Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 321 (p. 31).

[111] *TIePN*, p. 163, n. 24.

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[113] On the Minotti, cf. *supra*, n. 40. On Girolamo Minotto, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 132. The heroism of Girolamo has been noted by historians, cf., e.g., Chrysa Maltezou, Ὁ Θεσμὸς τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετοῦ Βαΐλου

*(1268–1453).* Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαριπόλου 6 (Athens, 1970): 51–52: Οὐδεὶς ὅμως ἔδειξε τὸ θάρρος τοῦ Gerolamo Minotto…[ὁ Minotto] [ἐ]νόμιζεν ὅτι ἡ Βενετία θὰ ἐνίσχυε παντοιοτρόπως τὸν ἀγῶνά του…ἄνευ δὲ ἀναμονῆς ἀπαντήσεως, …ἀπηγόρευσε τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν βενετικῶν πλοίων καὶ ἐτάχθη εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος…. Θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀναμείνη τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως, θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ βοηθήση τοὺς ἀποίκους νὰ διαφύγουν τοῦ κλοιοῦ τῶν Τούρκων, θὰ ἠδύνατο τέλος ὁ ἴδιος νὰ λιποψυχήση. Ὅμως δὲν ἔπραξεν τοῦτο. … Ὁ βάιλος προσέφερε τὴν βοήθειάν του, ὅτε ἡ χώρα του ἠρνήθη νὰ προσφέρη τὴν ἰδικήν της, ὁ βάιλος διὰ τῆς αὐτοθυσίας του ἔδειξεν εἰς τὴν Δύσιν, ὅτι ὤφειλεν αὔτη νὰ εἶχε πράξει. .

[114] *CC* 1: 46.

[115] The basic bibliography on Sekoundinos includes: P. D. Mastrodemetres, Νικόλαος *Σεκουνδινὸς (1402-1464) Βίος καὶ Ἔργον: Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Μελέτην τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς* Διασπορᾶς, Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαριπόλου 9 (Athens, 1970); *idem*, “Nicolaos Secundinòs a Napoli dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli,” Ἰταλοελληνικά: *Rivista di cultura greco-moderna* 2 (1989): 21–38; F. Babinger, “Nikolaos Sagountinos, ein griechisch-venedischer Humanist des 15. Jhdts,” *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Ὀρλάνδον*, 1 (Athens, 1965): 198–212; Alice-Mary Talbot, “Sekoundinos, Nicholas,” *ODB* 3: 1865; and J. Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *DOP* 49 [*Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th-15th Centuries*] (1995): 137.

[116] T. Ganchou, “Le rachat des Notaras après la chute de Constantinople ou les relations ‘étrangères’ de l’élite byzantine au XV$^{e}$ siècle,” in *Migrations et Diasporas Méditerrannéenes (X$^{e}$–XVI$^{e}$ siècles) Actes du colloque de Conques (octobre 1999)*, Série Byzantina Sorbonensia 19, eds. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 2002), pp. 179–184.

[117] *CC* 2: 136.

[118] See also Medvedev, pp. 325–329. For a new edition of the speech, cf. now C. Capizzi, “L’*Oratio ad Alphonsum Regem Aragonum* (1454) di Nicola Sagundino, riedita secondo un ms. Finora ignoto,” *OCP* 64 (1998): 329–357.

[119] For her business and other activities in Venice in the subsequent decades following the fall of Constantinople, as well as those of her sisters, and later brother upon his arrival, cf. the substantive article of Ganchou, “Le rachat des Notaras,” 152 ff., and *passim*.

[120] A pro-Unionist, Doukas 37.10 was among the first after the fall of the imperial city to raise a charge against the anti-Unionist Loukas Notaras. He attributes to him a statement that reads: “Κρειττότερόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν [It would be better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in the center of the city than the Latin miter].” Most recently, for a discussion of this statement, cf. D. R. Reinsch, “Lieber den Turban als was? Bemerkungen zum Dichtum des Lukas Notaras,” in ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. *Studies in Honor of Robert Browning* (Venice, 1996), pp. 377–389, esp. pp. 378–380; and Ganchou, “Le rachat des Notaras,” pp. 151 f. and 167 ff., and *passim*.

[121] Di Montaldo 22 (337) [not included in the selections of *TIePN*].

[122] *Ibid.*, 28 (339) [not included in the selections of *TIePN*].

[123] *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13.2 (Geneva, 1877), document no. CLIV (p. 269).

[124] K.-P. Matschke, “The Notaras Family and Its Italian Connections,” *DOP* 49 [= *Symposium of Byzantium and the Italians, 13$^{th}$–15$^{th}$ Centuries*] (1995): 59–72; *idem*,

“Personengeschichte, Familiengeschichte, Socialgeschichte: Die Notaras im späten Byzanz,” in *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo et Età Moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, ed. Laura Balleto, 2 (Geneva, 1997): 787–812, wherein he identifies the Notaras family as a provincial aristocracy; and Ganchou, “Le rachat des Notaras,” esp. pp. 151 ff. To understand how in the time of Loukas Notaras the family came to be associated with an urban aristocracy, cf. A. Ducellier and T. Ganchou, “Les élites urbaines dans l’empire d’Orient à la fin du Moyen Age: Noblesse de service ou groups de passion?,” in *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1997), pp. 39–54.

[125] “Della conquista di Constantinopoli per Maometto II,” eds. Déthier, *et al.*, pp. 299–300.

[126] The will of Anna Notaras has been published in its Greek form from Venetian archives; cf. K. Mertzios, “Ἡ Διαθήκη τῆς Ἄννας Παλαιολογίνας Νοταρᾶ,” *Ἀθηνᾶ* 53 (1953): 17–21. For an edition of the complete text, with English translation and commentary, cf. Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, Appendix VI.

[127] On Anna Notaras and her will, cf. S. A. Koutibas, *Οἱ Νοταράδες στὴν Ὑπηρεσία τοῦ Ἔθνους* (Athens, 1968), pp. 59–61; S. P. Lampros, “Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος ὡς Σύζυγος ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τοῖς Θρύλοις,” *NH* 4 (1907): 417–466; *idem*, “Ἡ Ἄννα Νοταρᾶ ὡς Κυρία Κώδικος,” *NH* 5 (1908): 485–486; Manoussakas, “Ἡ Πρώτη Ἄδεια (1456),” pp. 109–118; Matschke, “The Notaras Family”; D. M. Nicol, “Anna Notaras Palaiologina,” in *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits 1250–1500* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 96–109; and K. Sathas, “Ἡ Πρώτη ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἑλληνικὴ Τυπογραφία, 1489–1899,” *Ἡ Μελέτη* 2 (1907): 470–485. It is our understanding that T. Ganchou is preparing a monograph on Anna Notaras; cf. Maltezou, *Ἡ Βενετία τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, p. 36. Most recentlv. cf. the brief study of Chrvsa Maltezou. *Ἄννα Παλαιολογίνα Νοταρᾶ: Μιὰ Τραγικὴ Μορφὴ ἀνάμεσα στὸν Βυζαντινὸ καὶ τὸν Νέο Ἑλληνικὸ Κόσμο.* Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν Βενετίας, 23 (Venice, 2004), *passim*. Of note concerning the financial investments of Anna, cf. K. Sp. Staikos, “The Printing Shop of Nikolaos Vlastos and Zacharias Kallierges. 500 Years from the Establishment of the First Greek Printing Press,” *La Bibliofilia* 102 (2000): 11–32. For archival documentation, nine documents dating between June 15, 1474 and September 28, 1496, of Anna Notaras, cf. Maltezou, *Ἄννα Παλαιολογίνα Νοταρᾶ*, pp. 63–114.

[128] Moskhos as a scholar and humanist has not attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. For the earlier literature on this figure and for a modern assessment of his career, cf. S. Mergiali-Falangas, “Ἕνας Ἰταλὸς Οὐμανιστὴς καὶ Ἕνας Πελοποννήσιος Δάσκαλος: Σχέσεις Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀντιμάχου καὶ Ἰωάννου Μόσχου,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 10/11 (1994–1995): 579–584. As Mergiali-Falangas points out, pp. 583–584, n. 7, a succinct biography of Moskhos was given by one of his students and is quoted in E. Legrand, *Biographie hellénique ou description raisonée des ouvrages publiés en grec par les Grecs au XV*$^{e}$ *et XVI*$^{e}$ *siècles*, 1 (Paris, 1885): lxxxviii: *Ioannes Moschus, praceptor meus, Lacedaemonius, vir sane in omni et virtutum et scientiarum genere, non solum meo iudicio, sed totius Graeciae, excellentissimus, sub cuius disciplina quinquennium moratus sum, cuius studium in me singularem extitit ut non praeceptorem, sed parentem nactus viderer. Hunc ergo ob singularem eius doctrinam et politum dicendi*

*genus cum soluta oratione scribendi tum…carminibus, cum Thessalonicenses ad civitatem illam amplissimam atque opulentissimam erudiendam publica pecunia conduxissent, dum itineri maturando sese accingeret, et go quoque eum sequi statuissem, qui multa adhuc ediscerem ac celebratissimas bibliothecas illas quae in Atho monte sunt, aliquando conspicerem, acutissimo morbo correptus, quinto quo aegrotate coeperat die, maximo omnium moerore decessit.* Moskhos had been a student of George Gemistos Plethon and may have been initiated into Plethon's revival of pagan cults. Mergiali-Falangas points out that Moskhos, a member of the inner circle of Plethon, may even had access to some of Plethon's poems and writings that have since disappeared. On Moskhos, see also Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Τὰ Λόγια καὶ ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Λουκᾶ Νοταρᾶ," in *Ροδωνιά: Τιμὴ στὸν Μ. Ι. Μανούσσακα* (Rethymno, 1996), pp. 135–146.

[129] For a brief but cogent analysis of these historians, including Sphrantzes, cf. J. O. Rosenqvist, *Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453* (Berlin and New York, 2007), pp. 177–183. For another interpretative analysis of Doukas and Kritoboulos, cf. D. R. Reinsch, "Il Conquistatore di Costantinopoli nel 1453: Erede legittimo dell'imperatore di Bizanzio o temporaneo usurpatore? Alle origini della questione: Appartiene la Turchia all'Europa?," *Medioevo greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina* 3 (2003): 213–223; and *idem*, "Kritoboulos of Imbros. Learned Historian, Ottoman raya and Byzantine Patriot," *ZRVI* 40 (2003): 297–311.

[130] *Minus* 35.8. The translation is quoted from Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 70.

[131] *Minus* 36.1–14.

[132] *Minus* 35.9. The translation is quoted from Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 70. The elaborator of the *Maius* has recast this paragraph, changing its style by introducing a genitive absolute construction in the beginning and adding a verb at the end. 3.10.9: ἐμοῦ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ μὴ εὑρεθέντος πλησίον τοῦ αὐθεντός μου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ προστάξει ἐκείνου εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν δῆθεν ἐν ἄλλῳ μέρει τῆς πόλεως ἤμην.

[133] This is the reasonable conclusion reached by Siderides in a penetrating study, which, however, is not widely known and we will discuss this article in due course. Cf. X. A. Siderides, "Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου Θάνατος, Τάφος, καὶ Σπάθη," *Ἡ Μελέτη* 3 (1908): 66: ὁ δὲ Γ. Φραντζῆς, ὢν ἕως τότε πλησίον τοῦ βασιλέως, προστάξει, λέγει αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἄλλου μέρους τῆς Πόλεως, τοῦ ὁποίου ὅμως τὸ ὄνομα δὲν λέγει· ἐκ τῆς σιωπῆς ταύτης εἰκάζομεν ὅτι ἔφυγεν ἐκεῖθεν χάριν τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας.

[134] This extreme position has been expressed by Margaret G. Carroll (Klopf) in a series of lengthy articles, "Notes on the Authorship of the 'Siege' Section of the Chronicon Maius of Pseudo-Phrantzes, Book III," *Byz* 41 (1971): 28–44; 42 (1972): 5–22; 43 (1973): 30–38; and 44 (1974): 17–22. Cf. the criticism of this position in Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople," pp. 289–290. It is regrettable that this assumption has accordingly colored her translation and her commentary of the siege section of the *Maius*: Carroll, *A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of Constantinople, 1453*. Cf. M. Philippides, "Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos (d. 1585)," in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, electronic article, 7 pp.

[135] Cf., among others, Germanos, metropolitan of Sardis, "Sumbolh; "Συμβολὴ εἰς τοὺς Πατριαρχικοὺς Καταλόγους Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ Ἁλώσεως καὶ ἑξῆς," *Ὀρθοδοξία* 8 (1933): 279–285; A. Decei, "Patrik II. Gennadios Skolarios'un Fatih Sultan Mehmet icin yazdigi ortodoks i'tikadnamesinin türkce metni [Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios II and Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror Concerning the Texts of the Fate of the

Orthodox and Turkish Faiths],” *Fatih ve Istanbul* 1 (1953): 98–116; C. J. G. Turner, “Pages from the Late Byzantine Philosophy of History,” *BZ* 57 (1964): 346–372; *idem*, “The Career of Gennadius-Scholarius,” *Byz* 39 (1969): 420–455; A. Papadakis, “Gennadios II and Mehmet II the Conqueror,” *Byz* 42 (1972): 88–106; N. M. Vaporis, *Codex Gamma of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople* (Brookline, 1974), pp. 22–24; F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 410–411. Most recently there has appeared an interesting authoritative study on this personality, which however includes factual errors: M. G. Serges, *Γεώργιος Σχολάριος-Γεννάδιος Β΄: Ὁ Πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωση Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης*. Μελέτες γιὰ τὴ Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία 3 (Athens, 1996). The most recent biography of Scholarios-Gennadios II is by T. Zeses, *Γεννάδιος Β΄ Σχολάριος. Βίος-Συγγράμματα-Διδασκαλία*. Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 30 (Thessaloniki, 1980); this is a curious and extremely superficial work, whose avowed aim is to claim sainthood for Scholarios-Gennadios and to diminish the contribution of Bessarion to scholarship. It is amazing that after the passage of five centuries the old controversies and animosities between “Greek” and “Latin” should appear again! A true scholarly, book-length biography of Scholarios in English, or in any other language, remains to be written. Much better, although a great deal shorter, than Zeses’ hagiographical work is J. Gill, “George Scholarius,” *Unitas* 12 (1960; Eng. ed.): 99–112 (= *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* [Oxford, 1964], pp. 79–95). Indirectly, one may follow Scholarios’ career through his connection with Plethon; cf. C. M. Woodhouse, *Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford, 1986), *passim*. On Scholarios, cf. *PLP* 11: no. 27304 (156–158). C. Livanos, *Greek Tradition and Latin Influence in the Work of George Scholarios. “Alone against All of Europe”* (Piscataway, 2006), has recently and notably treated his theological positions and interest in the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Livanos, *ibid.*, pp. 102–111, provides an insightful analysis of Scholarios’ *Lament* and the fall of Constantinople. For Scholarios as a patriarch under Mehmed and for some problems with his later career, cf. now Marie-Hélène Blanchet, “Georges Gennadios Scholarios a-t-il été trois fois patriarche de Constantinople?,” *Byz* 71 (2001): 60–72; and *eadem, Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l’empire Byzantin*, Archives de l’Orient Chrétien 20 (Paris, 2008): 124–135, for argumentation and justification of his office.

[136] There had been a school of thought that a patriarch did exist in 1453 (or several years earlier) by the name of Athanasios II, or even Anastasios, but this notion has been shown to be fiction, even though this error is still encountered; cf. Gennadios (Metropolitan of Heliopolis). “Ὑπῆρξεν ἢ ὄχι Πατριάρχης Ἀθανάσιος Ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Ἁλώσεως,” *Ὀρθοδοξία* 18 (1943): 117–123. For a possible alternate explanation, cf. W. K. Hanak, “Pope Nicholas V and the Aborted Crusade of 1452–1453 to Rescue Constantinople from the Turks,” *BS* 65 (2007): 348–352.

[137] On this date, cf. A. N. Diamantopoulos, “Ὁ Γεννάδιος Σχολάριος ὡς Ἱστορικὴ Πηγὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἅλωσιν Χρόνων,” περὶ τὴν Ἅλωσιν Χρόνων,” *Ἑλληνικὰ* 9 (1936): 295–301.

[138] On the problems presented by the two versions of Sphrantzes’ account, cf. *infra*, ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle’ and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes,” and the accompanying bibliography.

[139] On this family of various industrious copyists-forgers who attempted to identify their family with the more illustrious Melissenoi, cf. the fundamental study of I. K.

Khasiotes. *Μακάριος, Θεόδωρος, καὶ Νικηφόρος οἱ Μελισσηνοὶ (Μελισσουργοὶ)* (Thessaloniki, 1966). In addition, cf. now the observations of R. Maisano, “Il manoscritto Napoletano II. E. 25 e la storia della tradizione dello pseudo-Sfranze,” *Ἰταλοελληνικά: Rivista di cultura greco-moderna* 2 (1989): 103–121.

[140] On Scholarios’ personality, cf. Gill, *Personalities*, ch. 7.

[141] For Scholarios’ activities before and during the siege, cf. *OGN*, ch. 14. Concerning his incarceration immediately after the fall of the imperial city and Mehmed’s intervention in his liberation, cf. Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, pp. 68–74.

[142] *Maius* 3.11. The translation is quoted from Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 136.

[143] Discussion with older bibliography in T. H. Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (Brussels, 1952; reissued New York, 1973; 2nd ed. with supplementary material: Aldershot, 1990), ch. 1.

[144] A. K. Komnenos Hypsilantes, *Ἀθανασίου Κομνηνοῦ Ὑψηλάντου Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ Πολιτικῶν τῶν εἰς Δώδεκα, Βιβλίον Η΄ Θ΄ καὶ Ι΄ ἤτοι Τὰ Μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν (Ἐκ Χειρογράφου Ἀνεκδότου τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ)*, ed. A Germanos (Constantinople, 1870); in Book II: 156–163, of his monumental *Turcograecia libri Octo à Martino Crusio, in Academia Tybigensi Graeco & Latino Professore, vtraque lingua edita. Qvibus Graecorum status sub imperio Turcico, in Politia & Ecclesia, Oeconomia, & Scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli, ad haec usque tempora, luculenter describitur* (Basil, *sine anno* [1584]), Martinus Crusius [Martin Kraus] provides additional details about this incident, which is included in the so-called *Historia Patriarchica* embedded in the *Turcograecia*. This passage states that a patriarchal lawyer named Xenakes devised clever tactics that ensured the continuation of the patriarchal privileges. The text Crusius uses states that these events took place in the reigns of Patriarch Jeremiah and Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. This date is, of course, impossible, as there would have been no one alive from the days of the siege to testify in the court proceedings; therefore Crusius must have been referring to the events that took place in the reign of Selim I and somehow the chronology of this event has been garbled. Such incidents undoubtedly gave rise to the early legend that Constantinople had capitulated in 1453 and was not conquered by the sword; cf. S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 189 ff.; and *FC*, Appendix 2; for a collection of Turkish sources on this matter, cf. J. H. Mordtmann, “Die Kapitulation von Konstantinople im Jahre 1453,” *BZ* 21 (1901): 129–144.

[145] On Malaxos, cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1 (2nd ed., Berlin 1958): 414–415; C. A. Papadopoulos, “Περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ ΙΣΤ΄ Αἰῶνος,” *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 9 (1912): 410–454; and F. H. Marshall, “The Chronicle of Manuel Malaxos,” *ByzJ* 16 (1972): 137–190. In addition, cf. now G. De Gregorio, *Il copista Manouel Malaxos. Studio biografico e paleografico-codicologico* (Vatican City, 1991); *idem*, “Studi su copisti greci del tardo Cinquecento: I. Ancora Manuel Malaxos,” *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 37 (1995): 97–144. On the family of the Malaxoi, cf. C. Gastgeber, “Neues zur Familie der Malaxoi,” *Jahrbuch des österreicheischen Byzantinistik* 48 (1998): 273–291. For another scholarly member of this family, cf. now P. Schreiner, “John Malaxos (16th Century) and His

Collection of *Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Nečipoglu, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 33 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2001): 203–214. Crusius notes that Malaxos had been a student of Matthew Kamariotes, one of the last scholars of Constantinople, who was still active in the days after the sack as the head of a small school. On Crusius' life, cf. S. Karouzou, *Μαρτῖνος Κρούσιος: Ὁ Πρῶτος Φιλέλλην* (Athens, 1973). Crusius was born in Bamberg on September 26, 1526, and the inscription on his tomb in Stiftskirche reads as follows, in Greek: Ἐνθάδε παιδευτὴς Μαρτῖνος Κρούσιος εὕδω / Ἑλλάδος ἐν Τυβίγγῃ μούνῳ σοί, Χριστέ, πεποιθώς, and in a Latin paraphrase: *Crusius hic recubo, decui qui graeca utraque latina / diu, Christo spe nixus in uno*.

[146] Gerlach maintained a diary of his stay in Constantinople, which was published long after his death: *Stefan Gerlachs des Aeltern Tagebuch* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1674). On Gerlach, cf. E. Benz, *Die Ostkirche im Licht der protestantischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Freiburg, 1952), pp. 24–29. On the attempt of the Protestants and the Orthodox to come to an understanding through the efforts of Gerlach and Crusius, cf. Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 246–258.

[147] For the negative reaction of one Greek scholar, certainly an exception, from the Levant to the publication of the *Turcograecia*, cf. G. Fedalto, "Ancora su Massimo Margounio," *BollIstStorVenez* 5/6 (1964): 209–213.

[148] Zygomalas on occasion acted as interpreter for Patriarch Jeremiah II during visits by westerners. It was in fact Zygomalas who introduced Gerlach to the patriarch. Zygomalas' erudition was unusual for that dark period and was often praised by scholars. He was Crusius' chief assistant for the compilation of material that found its way into the *Turcograecia*. He was a critical reporter who sometimes correctly doubted the information that he passed on to the professor at Tübingen. A tale circulated in Constantinople at that time that stated that Constantine XI, the last Greek emperor, had put to death his queen and his children before his capital fell to the Turks. Crusius was intrigued with the question of identifying the last empress and asked Zygomalas to investigate the matter. Zygomalas was very cautious in his reply: φέρεται δὲ λόγος ὅτι ὁ πρότερον μεταδοὺς [*sc*. Constantine XI] τῶν θείων μυστηρίων τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ, τῇ βασιλίσσῃ καὶ πολλοῖς συγγενέσι καὶ οἰκείοις ἅπαντας ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι προσέταξε τοῦ μὴ αἰχμαλωσίας τυχεῖν. βασιλίσσης ὄνομα ὑστάτης οὐκ οἶδα. ἠρώτησα πολλοῖς, καὶ οὐδείς μοι εἶχε λέγειν ἀληθείας ῥήματα ἢ γραφὴν δεῖξαι (*Turcograecia* 96). In fact, the last emperor had neither children nor a wife in 1453. If one bases a judgment of the correspondences between Zygomalas' language in his report to Crusius and the verse chronicle entitled *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων Βασιλείας* by Hierax (in C. N. Sathas, ed., *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Bibliotheca graeca medii, 1 [Venice, 1872; repr. Athens, 1972]: 243–268), it becomes clear that Zygomalas knew of this poem, which reports the same legend. In spite of Zygomalas' caution, Crusius remained convinced of the existence of a last empress and even composed a Greek epigram in her honor. Cf. G. T. Zoras, "Αἱ Τελευταῖαι Στιγμαὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ τοῦ Κατακτητοῦ," *Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία* 8 (1951): 202–210 (= G. T. Zoras, *Περὶ τὴν Ἅλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* [Athens, 1959], pp. 125–133). On Zygomalas, cf. G. De Gregorio, "Studi su copisti greci del tardo Cinquecento: II. Ioannes Malaxos e Theodosios Zygomalas," *Römische historische*

*Mitteilungen* 38 (1996): 189–268.

[149] On the administrative offices of the patriarchate, cf. Papadopoullos, *Studies and Documents*, pp. 26–60.

[150] Attention should be directed to a recent article by Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "La chute de Constantinople en 1453 et la mythologie postérieure," in *Turcica et Islamica: Studi in Memoria di Aldo Gallota*, ed. U. Marazzi (Naples, 2003), esp. pp. 1027–1031, wherein she analyzes the role of Malaxos in the creation of a post-fall mythology. Her article was reprinted in *eadem*, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans* (Aldershot, 2007), Essay XXIV.

[151] *Turcograecia* 90; Gerlach, p. 448.

[152] The *Historia Patriarchica* attributed to Malaxos was edited by I. Bekker in *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica* and was published in the Bonn corpus (CSHB [Bonn, 1849], pp. 78–204). In addition, the same text can be found in *PG* 160: 316 ff. Occasionally scholars confuse Manuel Malaxos with his relative Nikolaos Malaxos, who compiled the Greek version of the *Nomocanon*.

[153] The only recent studies of Damaskenos as a literary figure have been provided by, first, L. N. Manou, *Δαμασκηνός ο Στουδίτης: Ο Βίος και το Έργο του* (Athens, 1999), which provides a list of all his known works and even edits some of his unpublished compositions. Unfortunately, Manou is of the opinion that this *History* is not by Damaskenos himself. She assigns the title Κατάλογος Χρονογραφικὸς τῶν Πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ Δαμασκηνοῦ (Στουδίτου) and states, p. 94, that this is an "έργο μη αποδιδόμενο στο Δαμασκηνό." She identifies this manuscript as a "compilation from Romulus to Sultan Murad III, that is, up to 1570." Manou never explains why this work should not be attributed to Damaskenos, but she simply states (p. 95) that "later research has shown that this work is not by Damaskenos." In the accompanying note (p. 95, n. 153), she cites an article by A. Kipritschnikow, "Eine volkstümliche Kaiserchronik," *BZ* 1 (1892): 303–315; and another by C. A. Papadopoulos, "Περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Χρονογραφίας," pp. 414 ff. The case has not been decided. For more recent assessments (apparently unknown to Manou), cf. M. Philippides, "Damaskenos the Stoudite (ca. 1530–1577)," in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Kafadar, Karateke, and Fleischer, electronic article, 6 pp.; and *idem*, "Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century," *GRBS* 25 (1984): 87–94. The precise identification of the author is not important for our purposes here. What is significant is that such a work had been composed by this time; its eventual publication ought to shed further light on the history of the patriarchate of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[154] There is no entry for Damaskenos in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, nor in the *ODB*. Runciman, *The Great Church*, knows of him but erroneously describes his manuscript as an unpublished history of Constantinople. On Damaskenos, cf. M. Gedeon. "Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 3 (1883): 85–91 (649–661).

[155] Khasiotes, Μακάριος, pp. 24–25.

[156] Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople."

[157] Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani," pp. 189–227.

[158] The manuscript tradition of the *Maius* is discussed by Maisano; and by Khasiotes, *Μακάριος*, pp. 175 ff. One manuscript, the *codex Ambros. P 24 sup.*, was copied by Makarios' close associate (and a forger himself), Andreas Darmarios, who was from Monemvasia (at the end of the manuscript he identifies himself and further

notes that he completed the *codex* in Toledo, Spain, on September 17, 1578); on one of his many trips to Italy Darmarios was given the material he needed by Makarios. Under Makarios' direct supervision in Naples the codices *Ambros. P. 123 sup.* and *Hierosol. 38* were both copied by the Cypriot copyist Santamaura, who was closely connected with Makarios in Naples in 1577. One additional *codex*, which was read by Leo Allatius in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Naples, may be the actual autograph of Makarios but it has long since disappeared, although Khasiotes is of the opinion that it may be identified with the existing *Codex II E.25* in the National Library of Naples (Khasiotes. Μακάριος, p. 173, n. 5).

159 Khasiotes, Μακάριος, pp. 64–69, discusses this monument of the Melissenoi and notes that, along with two other tombs, it was demolished in 1634 when the church underwent major renovations. Khasiotes considers the Greek inscription a retranslation (and a "bad translation" at that) of the Latin rendering. We are not convinced that he is correct on this detail. The author of the Greek "translation," Khasiotes believes, was the scholar Nikephoros Sebastos Melissenos, a nephew (not to be confused with his well-known cousin, also called Nikephoros, who was an industrious forger himself). On the other hand, would not Nikephoros Sebastos, out of pride at the very least as he idolized his uncle Makarios, have recorded the inscription on the family tomb in its original form? After all, many others, at that time, had seen and read it before it was destroyed. What purpose would yet another obvious forgery serve?

160 This important note is included in the documents published by Khasiotes, Μακάριος, no. 8 (p. 196): *Faccio fede jo Jona dell' Arta, sacerdote greco et cappellano della ven<erabili> chiesa de S<an>ti Ap<osto>li Pietro et Paolo della natione greca, qualm<en>te nel libro di defunti ritrovo che alli 82 morese D. Theodoro Melisseno, alli 23 di Marzo, et alli 85 l' Arciv(escovo) di Malvasia* [that is, *Makarios*], *alli 14 di Settembre, et in fede ho fatto la p<rese>nte firmata di mia mano et sigillo. Dat<a> in Napoli alli 21 di Agosto 1608. Jo Jona, sac<erdo>to greco, afirmo supra*.

161 One invented detail immediately comes to mind, as it concerns a supposed distant relative of the Greek emperor, Don Francisco de Toledo, who, according to Makarios, died gloriously defending Constantinople next to his Greek imperial kinsman on May 29, 1453. Makarios invented this personality in order to flatter the influential Spanish family de Toledo and its various members in Naples. Moreover, Makarios also spent time in Spain peddling various (forged?) chrysobulls supposedly from Constantinople; cf. Khasiotes, Μακάριος, p. 176. Other invented details include Makarios' own attempt to connect his family with Sphrantzes'; on this subject, cf. M. Philippides, "An 'Unknown' Source for Book III of the Chronicon Maius by Pseudo-Sphrantzes," BSEB 10 (1984): 174–183, esp. 177; J. B. Falier-Papadopoulos, "Über Maius und Minus des Georgios Phrantzes und über die Randnoten des angeblichen Pachomios," BZ 38 (1938): 323–331; in addition, cf. idem, "Ἰωάννης Ζ´ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Φραντζῆ," BZ 32 (1932): 257–262. Other than Leonardo, Makarios seems to have employed the following authors in the "composition" of the Maius. His prologue makes good use of the work of the thirteenth-century historian George Akropolites. More extensively the narrative of Laonikos Khalkokondyles can be detected; there are other possibilities but no firm conclusions have been reached thus far. In general, cf. R.-J. Loenertz, "Autour du Chronicon Maius attribué à Georges Phrantzès," Miscellanea G. Mercatti II, ST 123 (Vatican City, 1946): 273–311.

162 Sathas, ed., Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ιβ´ of the introduction. Sathas is of the opinion that the manuscript in question is the actual autograph of

Damaskenos.

[163] *Turcograecia* 108–109.

[164] The text of the *Oxoniensis-Lincolnensis* was first edited and printed by Sathas, ed., *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*. S. P. Lampros published a critical edition also: *Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum* (London, 1902). More recently, the text of the *Oxoniensis-Lincolnensis* (as it seems to be the oldest of the manuscripts) has been re-edited with the first English translation and commentary: M. Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century* (Brookline, 1990).

[165] *PG* 160: 316C.

[166] *Maius* 3.11; the context of the entire passage is given, with translation, *supra*, p. 51.

[167] In relation to these discoveries, cf. the remarks of Philippides on this subject and on the dearth of documentary material in "Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century," pp. 87–94; and *idem*, "An 'Unknown' Source for Book III of the *Chronicon Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes," pp. 174–183. For the early history of the patriarchate of Constantinople, cf., among others, Runciman, *The Great Church*, pp. 165–186; V. Laurent, "Les Chrétiens sous les sultans," Echos d'Orient 28 (1929): 398–404; G. G. Arnakis, "The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire," Journal of Modern History 24 (1952): 235–250; Papadopoullos; D. A. Zakythinos, The Making of Modern Greece: From Byzantium to Independence (Oxford, 1976); *idem*, *Μεταβυζαντινά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικὰ* (Athens, 1978); and A. E. Vacalopoulos, The Greek Nation, 1453–1669: The Cultural and Economic Background of Modern Greek Society (New Brunswick, 1976). Especially useful is the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους,* 10: *Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς ὑπὸ Ξένη Κυριαρχία* (*Περίοδος 1453–1669*) *Τουρκοκρατία-Λατινοκρατία* (Athens, 1974). For the meager documents surviving from that era, cf. M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοὶ Πίνακες, Εἰδήσεις Ἱστορικαὶ Βιογραφικαὶ περὶ τῶν Πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ Ἀνδρέα τοῦ Πρωτοκλήτου μέχρις Ἰωακεὶμ Γ΄ τοῦ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης, 36–1884* (Constantinople, 1890); *idem*, *Χρονικὰ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Οἴκου καὶ Ναοῦ* (Constantinople, 1304 [= 1894 AD]); Komnenos Hypsilantes; and C.G. Patrinelis, *Ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανὸς Ταυτιζόμενος πρὸς τὸν Θεοφάνην Μηδείας καὶ οἱ Ἀνέκδοτοι Λόγοι του. Μία Νέα Ἱστορικὴ Πηγὴ περὶ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ τοὺς Πρώτους μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν Χρόνους* (Athens, 1966). More recently, other important documents have been cited, mentioned later in infra, nn. 170 and 171. To complement this work with additional documents that give another glimpse to the internal situation of the patriarchate, and to the personalities involved, without supplying any direct documents that involve the Porte, cf. the important "discovery" by M. Paize-Apostolopoulou,' *Ἀνεπίσημα ἀπὸ τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: Παρασχέδια καὶ Μαρτυρίες τοῦ 1476*'. Εθνικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν, Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Ἐρευνῶν 30 (Athens, 1988).

[168] K. Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Estates to Classes, from Millets to Nations* (Princeton, 1973). A *millet*, "according to the Ottoman conception, denotes the classification of peoples according to their religious status." Cf. Papadopoullos, p. 8. In addition, cf. now H. İnalcik, "Ottoman Archival Materials on Millets," in *Christians and Jews in the*

*Ottoman Empire, The Functioning of a Plural Society*, eds. B. Braude and B. Lewis (London and New York, 1982), pp. 231–249; and in the same volume, B. Braude, “Foundation Myths in the Millet System,” pp. 69–88.

[169] H. Hunger and O. Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 1 (Vienna, 1981).

[170] D. G. Apostolopoulos, *Ὁ "Ἱερὸς Κώδιξ" τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως στὸ Β΄ Μισὸ τοῦ ΙΕ΄ Αἰώνα: Τὰ Μόνα Γνωστὰ Σπαράγματα* (Athens, 1992).

[171] Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα γιὰ τὴν Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία (1483–1477)*, Ἰνστιτοῦτο Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Πηγὲς 2 (Athens, 1996). Although we do not consider the *aman-name* of Mehmed II in this chapter, attention should be directed to one granted to Pera in 1453. Cf. the Greek and Italian renditions in Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, Appendix II, pp. 347–350.

[172] H. İnalcik, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” in *idem, Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul, 1998), p. 251. Also, cf. *idem*, “Istanbul,” *EI* 4 (1978): 224.

[173] Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα*, discusses and analyzes the terms encountered in the documents; cf. especially, pp. 155 ff. In regard to the term batriyah, Zachariadou points out, p. 152, its proximity to the term batriyarh, which was already in use among the Mameluks in the fourteenth century.

[174] E.g., the *kanun-name* of Mehmed II Fatih and of Bayezid II: N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, 1 (Paris, 1960), and 2 (The Hague, 1964).

[175] Runciman, The Great Church, pp. 189–191; *FC*, pp. 199–204; and Mordtmann, “Die Kapitulation,” pp. 129–144. In addition, cf. M. Philippides’ forthcoming monograph, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus (1405–1453): A Biography of the Last Greek Emperor*. On the incident involving Theoleptos, cf. *supra*, sec. II.

[176] Cf. the literary information of a Greek document embedded in Crusius’ *Turcograecia* 109: ὁ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ναὸς ποῦ ἐκαθέζετο προτήτερα ὁ πατριάρχης τὸν ἔκαμαν ἰμαρέτιο τοῦ αὐτοῦ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτη. Cf. Crusius’ own translation of this section: *Verum ex templo S. Apostolorum in quo antea sederat Patriarcha eidem Rege Machemetae templum…fecerant*. Similar, if not identical, is the information supplied in the ’ *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ* 40 (p.56): ὑπῆρχε γὰρ ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃς νῦν ἐστι ἡμαρέτιον τοῦ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτη ἐν τῷ νοτιαίῳ μέρει· ἵστανται γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ νῦν.

[177] Bayezid’s surviving *Berat* 1 calls this convent (and patriarchal seat) of Pammakaristos, Barmakaristi. The fate of the churches of Constantinople after the sack of 1453 is briefly discussed by Runciman, *The Great Church*, Appendix 2; in addition, one must consult the older works by S. D.Byzantios, *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις ἢ Περιγραφὴ Τοπογραφική, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ καὶ Ἱστορική*, 3 vols. (Athens 1851; repr. 1993); and Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, ch. 7, esp. pp. 174–199. A great deal of information can be gathered from *The Garden of Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin Al-Ayvansarayî’s Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, trans. and annotated by H. Crane (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2000).

[178] This *berat* was issued in the reign of Sultan Ahmed I and dates back to February 1604. *Berat* is the Turkish version of the Arabic *barat*, designating an honor, a diploma, or a privilege. For the *berat* in question that deals with the metropolitan of

Larissa, Leontios, cf. M. Gedeon, *Ἐπίσημα Γράμματα Τουρκικὰ Ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὰ Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ Ἡμῶν Δίκαια* (Constantinople, 1910), pp. 87–97.

[179] Cf. the comments of Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα,* 26: “Σε διάφορα αρχεία της Ελλάδας, μοναστηριακά και άλλα, σώζονται χιλιάδες τουρκικά έγγραφα. Ανάμεσά τους είναι πιθανότατο πως βρίσκονται πολλά σχετικά με την εκκλησιαστική μας ιστορία....”

[180] Its text was first published by P. Aravantinos, *Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου,* 2 (Athens, 1856): 315; then by F. Miklosich and J. Müller, eds., *Acta et diplomata graeca*, 3 (Vienna, 1865): 282–283; and for a third time by C. Amantos, “Οἱ Προνομιακοὶ Ὁρισμοὶ τοῦ Μουσουλμανισμοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν,” *Ἑλληνικὰ* 9 (1936): 119. For its importance between the Greeks and the Turks, as it set a precedent, cf. OGN, pp. 148–149.

[181] Gedeon, *Χρονικὰ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Οἴκου,* pp. 9–14, for the text.

[182] Arnakis, pp. 242–245.

[183] K. Paparrhegopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους,* 2 (6th ed., Athens, 1932): 75.

[184] H. Inalcik, “The Status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch under the Ottomans,” in *Mélanges offerts à Irène Mélikoff par ses collègues, disciples et amis*. Turcica 21–23 (1991): 407–436.

[185] Apostolopoulos, p. 90 (we have restored the missing iota subscript in line 3 of the text).

[186] *Ibid.*, p. 91 (line 15 of the text). Cf. the similar language that Theodoros Agallianos employs in one of his speeches. *Λόγος Β΄* 2072: ἐλθόντων δὲ τῶν αὐθεντικῶν διαταγμάτων (in *Ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανὸς Ταυτιζόμενὸς πρὸς τὸν Θεοφάνην Μηδείας καὶ οἱ Ἀνέκδοτοι Λόγοι του. Μία Νέα Ἱστορικὴ Πηγὴ περὶ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ τοὺς Πρώτους μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν Χρόνους,* C. G. Patrinelis, ed. [Athens, 1966], p. 69).

[187] E.g., cf. Document VI (from 1488) dealing with the restoration of Dionysios I to the patriarchal throne, in Apostolopoulos, p. 144 (line 4 of the text, to which the missing iota subscript is restored again; it seems to be missing regularly in all documents; it is not certain whether we are encountering an editorial decision or a general tendency of the copyists/scribes of these folia): ὁρισμῷ τοῦ κρατοῦντος.

[188] Cf., e.g., a document published by Khrysanthos (metropolitan) of Trebizond, “Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος,” *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 4/5 (1933): 532–533: πέφθακεν ἡμᾶς… αὐθεντικὸς ὁρισμὸς κελεύων …χειροτονῆσαι….

[189] Document I (Apostolopoulos, fol. 204r (p. 90), alludes to such factions and internecine struggles: …οἱ ἐναντίοι…μύρια ψεύδη καὶ δόλους συρράψαντες καὶ εἰπόντες εἰς τὴν Πόρταν [= Porte] οἵτινες…πρὸς τοὺς δυναμένους ἀναδραμόντες χρήμασι τὴν νίκην ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπειρῶντο. Agallianos also describes the pressures applied to the patriarch to accept a member of the Komnenos family in his administration; cf. Patrinelis, *Ὁ Θεόδωρος,* p. 328.

[190] Cf. *infra*, n. 232.

[191] On this controversial personality, cf. S. P. Lampros, "Ἡ περὶ Ἁλώσεως Τραπεζοῦντος Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἀμηρούτζη," *NH* 12 (1915): 475–478; N. B. Tomadakes, "Ἐτούρκευσε ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀμοιρούτζης;" *EEBΣ* 18 (1948): 99–143; *FC*, pp. 185, 232; *MCT*, pp. 246–247; and Papadakis, pp. 88–106. A Greek humanist, George Trapezountios, commonly known as George of Trebizond, in a letter to Mehmed II, further demonstrates the patronizing role of the educated elements of Trebizond. Cf. A. Kazhdan, "George Trapezountios," *ODB* 2: 839–840; and for the letter, Medvedev, pp. 329–332.

[192] This fascinating topic has not received the scholarly attention it deserves; the careers of certain individuals have been studied in isolation, but as a class these people remain neglected by mainstream scholarship. For the time being, cf. the synthesis of Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 63–67.

[193] A number of letters referring to the sack and to similar cases were originally published by J. Darrouzès, "Lettres de 1453," *REB* 22 (1964): 72–127 (the letter under consideration, with French translation: pp. 80–84; the same letter has been included, with Italian translation, in *CC* 1: 152–159).

[194] Darrouzès, p. 84 (*CC* 1: 158); we have corrected in these quotations his atrocious spelling and accentuation of the original document and further we have added the required iota subscripts that are omitted in the original. These shortcomings have also reappeared in *CC* 1.

[195]

Οὗτος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν…κῦρ Ἰωάννης ὁ μάγιστρος, ἔνας ἄνθρωπος τίμιος καὶ γένους ἐντίμου καὶ κόσμιος…καὶ ἐπιστήμων τῆς ἐκκλη<σίας> φωστήρ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κλήρ<ῳ> τοῦ ἀθλίου παλατίου ὑπῆρχεν ὀφικιάλιος…καὶ ὁ κατέχων αὐτὸν Μουσουλμάνος ἐφάνη ἀνηλεὴς καὶ ἀσυγκατάβατος καὶ πειράζει αὐτὸν καὶ τυραννεῖ….

[196] Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα*, p. 66.

[197] G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, 2: Sprachreste der Turkvölker in der byzantinischen Quellen (2nd ed., Berlin, 1958): 124.

[198] Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα*, p. 65.

[199] Surely *CC* 1: 134 errs in translating ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχικὰ as *ti sei mostrato coraggioro verso i beni dell'anima*. The meaning of ψυχικὰ survives in spoken Greek and still indicates "alms to be given on behalf of someone's (or even the giver's) soul."

[200] Darrouzès, pp. 122 ff. That this profitable post was given to few individuals, probably because they had found favor with the sultan, is further illustrated by the fact that, in a slightly later period, Despot Demetrios Palaiologos of the Morea, after he surrendered Mistra to Mehmed, was given a similar privileged post as a favor from the sultan but he proceeded to mismanage the revenues from the salt pans and even came close to displeasing irreparably the sultan, his patron; cf. *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ* 49 (pp. 64–65): Ὁ δὲ δεσπότης Δημήτριος…δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ αὐθέντης [Mehmed II] τὴν τῆς Αἴνου ἁλικὴν τὴν ἥμισυ…ἔκλεψαν ἄσπρα ἐκ τῆς ἁλικῆς…ἀκούσας ὁ αὐθέντης ἤθελεν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν. Ἐκράτησεν οὖν τὴν ἁλικὴν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο εἰσόδημα …ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν τοῦ μὴ ἱππεῦσαι ὅλως.

[201] Cf. J. Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek *Scriptorium*," *DOP* 37 (1983): 15–34. Among the missions that he had undertaken on behalf of the Porte to negotiate a treaty we must include his journey to Venice in 1446, which clearly demonstrates

that Apokaukos Kyritzes had also served Murad II, the father of Mehmed; cf. Patrinelis, Ὁ Θεόδωρος, p. 75. Agallianos also knew him, or of him, but he records his name as Δημήτριον Ἀπόκαυκιν Κυρίτζην (*ibid.*, p. 76). The author of the Ἔκθεσις Χρονική 56 (pp. 76–77), also knows of him as “Kyritzes”.

[202] On Filelfo, cf. now D. Robin, *Filelfo in Milan: Writings 1451–1477* (Princeton, 1991).

[203] Cf. among others, D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance: Greek Scholars in Venice* (Hamden, 1972; repr. of *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* [Cambridge, MA, 1962]); *idem, Interaction of the “Sibling” Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330–1600)* (New Haven and London, 1976), pp. 226 ff.; Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus, passim*; and Zakythinos, Μεταβυζαντινά, pp. 209–231. In addition, cf. R. Sabbadini, “L’ultimo Ventennio della vita di Manuele Crisolora (1396–1415),” *Giornale Ligustico* 17 (1890): 321–336; A. Mercati, “Una notiziola su Manuele Crisolora,” *Stoudion* 5 (1928): 65–69; I. Thomson, “Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance,” *GRBS* 7 (1966): 76–82; C. S. Staikos, Χάρτα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τυπογραφίας: Ἡ Ἐκδοτικὴ Δραστηριότητα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἡ Συμβολή τους στὴν Πνευματικὴ Ἀναγέννηση τῆς Δύσης, 1: 15ος Αἰώνας (Athens, 1989), ch. 1; and G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell’ umanesimo*, 1: *Manuele Crisolora* (Florence, 1941).

[204] This letter was published by Déthier, ed., in his Κριτόβουλος: Βίος τοῦ Μωάμεθ τοῦ Β΄ (*MHH* 21): 705–708.

[205] *Cent-dix lettres dix lettres grec de François Filelfe publiées intégralement pour la première fois d’après le Codex Trivulzianus* 873, avec traduction, notes et commentaires par E. Legrand (Paris, 1892), Letter 66, pp. 63–68.

[206] *Ibid.*, Letter 69. There has been no scholarly study of Filelfo’s Greek relatives by marriage, who also happen to be distant relatives of Manuel Chrysoloras.

[207] Déthier, Κριτόβουλος: Βίος τοῦ Μωάμεθ τοῦ Β΄, pp. 705–708. In his Latin letters to westerners, Filelfo is less respectful and describes Mehmed in dark colors, cf., e.g., a letter from Milan, dated *3 idus octobres M.CCCC.LV* (Legrand, p. 69): *quique penes Turcorum immanem illum et impium Mahometum quam miserrimam serviunt servitutem*. Furthermore, in a letter of August 1, 1465, to Leodisio Cribelli, Filelfo described the circumstances that forced him to compose his fawning letter and his ode to Mehmed II (Legrand, p. 66): *Nec illud certe vitio damnandum est quod ad Mahommetum, tyrannum amyramque Turcorum, et epistolam olim et carmen dederim, et id quidem non inscio sapientissimo et innocentissimo principe meo Francesco Sfortia qui, cum vellet aliquid explorare de apparatu insidiisque Turcorum in christianos, audiretque honestissimam feminam, socrum meam, Manfredinam, uxorem illius splendissimi Chrysolorae, et ipsam et duas filias ex praeda et direptione Constantinopolitana captivas servire apud illam barbariam, permisit ut, illarum et redimendarum obtentu, duo quidam iuvenes callidi et ad rem strenui, nomine meo et cum meis letteris, proficiscentur ad Mahometum*. In his Latin epistles Filelfo is also very bitter about the circumstances of his mother-in-law; cf., e.g., his letter to the physician Petro Tommasi (January/February 1454) (Legrand, p. 66), quoted *supra*, text with n. 205.

[208] *Ibid.*, pp. 705–708.

[209] *Ibid.*, pp. 706, n. 10.

[210] Thomas, pp. 1–41; *TIePN*, pp. 169–187, has produced few extracts, with some typographical errors that render this account useless to the serious student. Some

extracts have also been translated in Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 125–130. The relation of this chronicle to other contemporary documents is treated in Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani," pp. 189–227. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 126, has translated the passage quoted in our text.

[211] The ability to read, and even the erudition of Mehmed II in Greek and Latin works, has come into question. On this, cf. C. G. Patrinelis, "Mehmed II the Conqueror and His Presumed Knowledge of Greek and Latin," *Viator* 2 (1971): 349–54.

[212] J. Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 242–246; *Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani by Francesco Salamonti*, eds. C. Mitchell and E. W. Bodnar, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 86.4 (Philadelphia, 1996): 19. n. 2: and C. G. Patrinelis. "Κυριακὸς ὁ Ἀγκωνίτης καὶ ἡ Δῆθεν Ὑπηρεσία του εἰς τὴν Αὐλὴν τοῦ Σουλτάνου Μωάμεθ τοῦ Πορθητοῦ καὶ ὁ Χρόνος τοῦ Θανάτου του," *ΕΕΒΣ* 36 (1968): 152–162.

[213] Patrinelis. Ὁ Θεόδωρος, pp. 76–77, pointed out Déthier's error by stating: δὲν πρόκειται περὶ τοῦ Κυριακοῦ ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου Ἀποκαύκου Κυρίζη, γραμματέως τοῦ Σουλτάνου.

[214] His text is quoted in *PaL* 2: 96, n. 57: …*Quibus flebilibus auditis vocibus scis, vir clarissime, quantum non egre molesteve ferre non potui audire trucem et pernitiosum illum Christiane religionis hostem…. Nunc vero ignava quadam nostrarum incuria principum, …Pelopon<n>ensiacum tam nobile et olim potentissimum Grecie regnum invadere licuisse. Proh scelus! et heu prisca nostrorum generosissime gentis nobilitas! Nam et illatam huic genti miserabilem a barbaris cladem, tametsi Grecos in homines et penas quodamodo dare merentes, non sine gravi tamen nostre religionis iactura et magna Latini nominis indignitate, tam lachrymabilem Christicolum calamitatem existimandam puto….* This journey of Cyriacus has been discussed by S. P. Lampros, "Κυριακὸς ὁ ἐξ Ἀγκῶνος ἐν Λακωνικῇ," *ΝΕ* 5 (1908): 414–423. Unfortunately, Lampros was confused by the chaotic state of Cyriacus' manuscript and concluded, with serious reservations, that the incident mentioned by Cyriacus belonged to the earlier visit of 1436. Also cf. D. G. Kampouroglous, *Οἱ Χαλκοκονδύλαι: Μονογραφία* (Athens, 1926; repr. 1996), pp. 122–126; and Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona*, pp. 56–65. Cyriacus' diary has been edited by R. Sabbadini, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la sua descrizione autografa del Peloponneso trasmessa da Leonardo Botta," in *Miscellanea Ceriani. Raccolta di scritti originali per onorare la memoria di A. M. Ceriani* (Milan, 1910), pp. 180–247. For interpolations in the manuscript, cf. E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Collection Latomus 43 (Brussels, 1960): 57, n. 1. Recently the definitive edition with English translation of Cyriacus' correspondence/diary has been published by E. W. Bodnar with C. Foss, eds. and trans., *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 10 (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2003).

[215] *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ* 56 (pp. 76–77).

[216] *Turcograecia* 127. Cf. Crusius' own translation: *Obsessa deinde a Sultano urbe, fuit intus etiam Dionysius hic, et expugnata captus est cum aliis multis Christianis, viris, foeminis, et pueris. Abductum autem Adrianopolin, emit vir quidam primarius, nomine Cyritza, et libertatem vindicauit.*

[217] The literary testimonies praise his capabilities and education; he seems to have been trained by Mark Eugenicus, the metropolitan of Ephesus, the pillar of Orthodoxy and predecessor of Gennadios as the leader of the anti-unionists in

Constantinople: cf., e.g., *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ* 56 (p. ὥρμητο μὲν οὗτος [*sc.* ὁ Διονύσιος] ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει παῖς ὢν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἦν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Μαγκάνων, ὑποτακτικὸς γενόμενος τοῦ Ἐφέσου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τραφεὶς καὶ παιδευθεὶς τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν…ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ…γέγονε καὶ μητροπολίτης…. Crusius, in his *Turcograecia* 127, records a similar, more extensive paraphrase in less formal Greek. Cf. Crusius' own translation of this passage: *Erat patria eius in Peloponneso, quae nunc Moraea dicitur, aetateque puerulus, huc Constantinopolin venerat et in Manganorum monastrio vixerat. Ibi Marco Eugenico Ephesi metropolitae se subdiderat ministrum, qui ei victam praebens, in sacris etiam literis instituerat… Dionysius enituit ut Metropolita… factus sit.…*

[218] On Mara and her family, cf. I. A. Papadrianos, "Τίνες οἱ Δεσμοὶ τοῦ Γεωργίου Βράνκοβιτζ (Branković) πρὸς τὸν Οἶκον τῶν Παλαιολόγων," *ΕΕΒΣ* 12 (1964): 140–142; and D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1400: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 11 (Washington, 1988): no. 92, pp. 210–213; in addition, cf. *PLP* 7: no. 17210, and Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady:* ch. 9 (pp. 110–120). Most recently, cf. M. Popović, "Mara Branković — Leben und Wirken einer Frau an der kulturellen Schnittstelle zwischen Serben, Byzantinern und Osmanen," unpublished doctoral dissertation (Vienna, 2005); and *idem*, *Mara Branković. Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrh*. Peleus. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns 45 (Ruhpolding, 2010), esp. pp. 63–97.

[219] Fleming, p. 70, views Doukas as "an obscure figure," and conjectures without providing any supportive evidence that he "seems to have been in the employ of the Genoese."

[220] Doukas 33.11.

[221] Sphrantzes, *Chronicon Minus*, 31.10–11 (followed verbatim by the sixteenth-century forgery, the *Chronicon Maius*). On this ill-fated attempt to unite the Greek imperial family of the Palaiologoi with the house of Serbia, cf. I. A. Papadrianos, "The Marriage-Arrangement between Constantine XI Palaeologus and the Serbian Mara (1451)," *Balkan Studies* 6 (1965): 131–138, esp. 131–132. There has been no scholarly monograph on Mara, who exercised an important influence in Serbia, in the Porte, and in the patriarchate after the fall; it is unfortunate that Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα,* does not consider Mara's activities in her study.

[222] J. Kalić, "Ἡ Σερβία καὶ ἡ Πτώση τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," *Ἡ Ἅλωση τῆς Πόλης*, ed. E. Khrysos (Athens, 1994), pp. 193–208. Branković was said to have locked himself in a room and to have refused to emerge for three days after he heard the news of the fall. For the contribution of the Serbian contingents in the siege of 1453, cf. M. Philippides, "Urban's Bombard(s), Gunpowder, and the Fall of Constantinople (1453)," *BSEB*, n.s. 4 (1999): 49 ff. The Serbian contingents of Mehmed and the aid that was sent to the sultan were of particular concern to George Sphrantzes; cf. *Minus* 36.7: Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σερβίας δυνατοῦ ὄντος νὰ ἀποστείλῃ χρήματα καὶ κρυφίως ἀπὸ πολλὰ μέρη καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὁμοίως δι᾽ ἄλλου τρόπου, εἶδε τις ἕνα ὀβολόν; Ναί, ἀληθῶς ἔστειλαν πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν ἀμηρᾶν πολιορκοῦντα τὴν Πόλιν. Καὶ ἐθριάμβευσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ ἔδειξαν ὅτι ἰδοὺ καὶ οἱ Σέρβοι καθ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰσι. On this topic, cf. *infra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," sec. I.

[223] Kalić, pp. 200–201.

[224] Her religious interests are further indicated by the fact that she acquired, through Mehmed, the Monastery of Hagia Sophia near Thessaloniki; cf. F. Babinger, "Ein Freibrief Mehmeds II., des Eroberers, für das Kloster Hagia Sophia zu Saloniki, Eigentum der Sultanin Mara (1459)," *BZ* 44 (1951): 11–20; and *MCT*, pp. 161–163. In this document she is addressed by the sultan as "the lady," in Greek and in Turkish: Δέσποινα-*Hatun*. She also had ties with the monastery of Kosinitza at Drama, with which she seems to have forged strong ties. This monastery attracted important personalities from the patriarchate. She eventually retired to Daphni near Serres and near the monastery of Kosinitza (or, more properly, Eikosiphoinissa), where she died and was buried. In the same region, at the Monastery of Timios Prodromos, Gennadios II had also retired. After his death, he was buried there. In 1854, his remains were transferred to Constantinople by order of Patriarch Anthimos VI; cf. Zeses, p. 238, who records the epitaphs that were placed on his tomb in Constantinople. On this monastery, cf. P. Papageorgiou, "Αἱ Σέρραι καὶ τὰ Προάστεια τὰ περὶ τὰς Σέρρας καὶ ἡ Μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου," *BZ* 3 (1894): 225–329.

[225] Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ 55 (pp. 73–74); the text that Crusius published in the *Turcograecia* 126 does not duplicate this sentence.

[226] Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ 55 (pp. 73–74).

[227] *Turcograecia* 126; Crusius' translation: *habeo quendam monachum, mihi proprium.*

[228] Ἔκθεσις Χρονική, 55 (pp. 73–74).

[229] *Turcograecia* 126–127; cf. Crusius' own translation of this passage, which changes "florins" to "ducats": *Interim Regina Maria, quae animo conceperat de Dionysio faciendo, id etiam in opus perduxit. Duo nanque ducatorum millia in lance argenteam coniecit; cum his ad Sultanum accessit, eum adorauit, aurum manibus portans. Quam ut ille videt interrogauit eam: Quid sibi, mea mater, istud auri cum argentea lance.… Respondit haec Habeo quendam monachum, mihi proprium, quem, quaeso, mihi per maiestatem tuam liceat facere Patriarcham. Accepit Sultanus aurum, magnas gratias nouercae suae egit quae tantam ipsi accessionem fecerat. Tunc ei dicit: Face, mea mater, istud quod uis.*

[230] Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ 57–58 (pp. 76–78).

[231] *Ibid.*, 59 (p. 78).

[232] Cf., e.g., the language of Document VI, fol. 193$^r$ (Apostolopoulos, p. 143; once again we have restored the missing iota subscripts): φ<α>ύλου μόνον τῶν τοιούτων Ῥαφαὴλ ἐκείνου τοῦ Τριβαλοῦ [= Serb], ὃς ἀναιδέστατα διὰ τῆς ἔξω καὶ μόνης ἀρχῆς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέβαλε βίᾳ. Further evidence in regard to Greek bias against the Serbian monk is encountered in various contemporary σχέδια from the patriarchate published by Paize-Apostolopoulou. In these writings Raphael is mentioned with particularly loaded descriptions: ὁ κακῶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιβὰς Ῥαφαὴλ (p. 89), adding that he was a σκυθογενὴς καὶ βάρβαρος.

[233] 61 (p. 80).

[234] Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ 61 (p. 80): ἔχων φίλους ἐκ τῶν μεγιστάνων ἐποίησεν ὅπως δώῃ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον χρόνον φλωρία χιλιάδας δύο καὶ πεσκέσιον [= *peşkeş*] φλωρία πεντακόσια.

[235] *Ibid.* Crusius translates these passages, with considerable elaboration from the variant Greek document in his possession, as follows in his *Turcograecia* 130:

*nunquam sobrius erat, sed semper ebrius. Quod ut magis credatur, aio, ipso venerando magnae Parasceues* [= Good Friday] *die, quando sanctissimae passionis D<omini> noster Iesu Christi meditationi inuigilandum erat, ipsum vino oppletum fuisse. Stetisse quidem in throno verum prae ebrietate consistere non potuisse, sed de manu eius sceptrum sacrum cecidisse…. Qua de causa omnibus odio fuit, tum consecratis hominibus, tum laicis; idque partim propter quotidianam temulentiam partim propter lingua ruditatem. Graeca enim non callebat, sed tantum Seruice* [= Serbian] *sciebat; quoniam…e Seruia genus ducebat.* On Raphael, whose tenure on the patriarchal throne needs further attention and research, cf. Zachariadou, *Δέκα Τουρκικὰ Ἔγγραφα*, pp. 73–75.

[236] In some documents of this period she is identified as an *Imperatrix*; cf. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family*, p. 213, n. 8.

[237] In 1456 Mara fled from Serbia with her sister after the death of her father and mother. She first lived in Adrianople and then moved on to Serres. Finally, she settled at Daphni, near Serres, in the vicinity of Mount Athos, whose monasteries she patronized. She even granted annual incomes to these religious foundations. On this, cf. A. Fotić, "Despina Mara Branković and Hilandar. Between the Desired and the Possible," in *Osam vekova Hilandar* [Eight Centuries of Hilandar] (Belgrade, 2000), pp. 93–100.

[238] *Supra*, n. 220.

[239] The Venetians, in particular, courted Mara, whom they had calculated would be of use in their various negotiations with the Porte; cf. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family*, p. 213; and *idem*, *The Byzantine Lady*, pp. 110–119.

[240] His mother was a Kantakouzene and refugee from Constantinople who settled in Venice, where she married the Greek soldier, Matthaios Spandounes. Her name is given as Eudokia; cf. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family*, no. 102, pp. 230–233. Furthermore, Eudokia was related to the Notaras family, as Anna, the daughter of the last grand duke, Loukas Notaras, was her aunt. It was probably in Anna's retinue that Eudokia came to Italy before the siege of 1453.

[241] His account of the last days of the empress of Trebizond, known as "Antigone" of medieval Greece, because of her insistence on burying her dead relatives despite the sultan's prohibition, seems to derive from a family anecdote and tales told in his great-aunt's home. Cf. the first English translation of this work, D. M. Nicol, *Theodore Spandounes. On the Origin of the Ottoman Sultans* (Cambridge, 1997), p. xv; the original Italian text was edited and published by C. N. Sathas, *Theodore Spandugnino, Patritio Constantinopolitano, De la origine deli Imperatori Ottoman, orodoni de la corte, forma del querregiare lore, religione, rito, et costumi de la natione*, in *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Gréce au Moyen Âge* 9 (Paris, 1890; repr. Athens, 1972): 133–261.

[242] For the interrelationships of the texts cited in this chapter, cf. the *stemma*, fig. 1 (p. 92).

[243] Illustrative of the paucity of Ottoman Turkish sources relative to the fall of Constantinople is a contemporaneous fifteenth-century anonymous chronicle, *Tevārīh-i Al-i Osmān*, attributed variously to ʿAshıkpāshāzāde, Rusten Pasha, among others. Only a short chapter of this annal addresses Mehmet II and his conquest in 1453 of the imperial city of Constantine. Emphasis is also placed upon Halīl Pasha and his relationship to Loukas Notaras, the Byzantine grand duke, both of whom we discuss at length in successive chapters. For editions of the chronicle under that title, cf. those of ʿAlī, esp. pp. 141–144, in Ottoman Turkish (Istanbul, 1332 AH/1914); the facsimile edition, also in Ottoman Turkish, of the *Cambridge University Library ms. Gq 6.33*, ff. 346–381 (Cambridge, 2004); and in Romanized Turkish the editions of K. Atik (Ankara, 2001); and of N. Atsız, in *Osmanlı Tarihleri* 1 (Istanbul, 1949): 79–318, esp. 191–194. Of importance for our study is the brief chapter in English by B. Lewis, ed. and trans., *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of*

*Constantinople:* 1: *Politics and War* (New York and Oxford, 1974; repr. 1987): 144–148. Notable is the fact that C. F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge, 2003) does not address Ottoman Turkish historians and sources, and these are excluded from any discussion.

[244] Paradoxically, while the Turkish sources most probably devote their attention to the military aspects of the siege and conquest of Constantinople, the significance and importance of the events were not lost upon Arabic writers, whose attention was devoted to Mehmed II and his glorious success at conquest. The Arabic writers reflect an Arabic Ottoman tradition and they were aware of the political, religious, and commercial importance of the imperial city. Fortunately, their sources have survived and are more readily available than the Turkic. Noteworthy are the works of Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, trans. F. Rosenthal (Princeton, 1967), *passim*; *idem*, *Kitab al-ʻibar* (Beirut, 1979), 1.579; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā al-ayyām wa al-shuhūr*, ed. M. ʿIzz al-Dī (Beirut, 1990), 2.453; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-zuhūr fī waqāʼiʻ al-duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden, 1972), 2.316; and Al-Qaramānī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, *Akhbār al-duwal wa āthār al-uwal fi al-tārīkh*, eds. A. Ḥuṭayṭ and F. Saʻd (Beirut, 1992), 3.27. For a synthesis of these and other works relative to the fall, cf. Nadia Maria El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 36 (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2004), esp. 213–217.

[245] On this holy man, cf. H.-J. Kissling, “Aq Şems ed-Din, ein türkischer Heiliger aus der Endzeit von Byzanz,” *BZ* 44 (1951): 322–333.

[246] In the Top Kapı Palace, *Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Arşivi 5584*.

[247] This letter reveals that the *sufi* had become a spiritual guide, a *murşid*, to Mehmed. The sultan had asked him to calculate the propitious astrological date on which the conquest of Constantinople would occur. The *sufi* did so, but on that day the Christians won a victory (perhaps this is a reference to the defeat of the Ottoman fleet by the Christian relief ships). In the letter the *şeyh* blames the failure of the sultan’s navy on the fact that numerous soldiers were not true Muslims but had been forced to convert to Islam. He concludes that God revealed to him in a dream that the sultan would be ultimately victorious. Cf. İnalcik, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” pp. 250–251.

[248] *Ibid.*, p. 250, n. 9.

[249] M. Faya, “Aq Şemseddin,” Diss. University of Ankara, *sine anno*, as cited by İnalcik, “Istanbul: An Islamic City,” p. 250, n. 9.

[250] This work is essentially a panegyric on the reigns of Mehmed II and his son and successor Bayezid II. Cf. K. İnan, “The Incorporation of Writings on Periphery in Ottoman Historiography: Tursun Bey’s Comparison of Mehmed II and Bayezid II,” in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities, and Political Changes*, eds. K. H. Karpat and R. W. Zens (Madison, 2003), pp. 105–117.

[251] On Mahmud Pasha, cf. T. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*. The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, Politics, Society and Economy 24 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2001).

[252] Numerous manuscripts of this important and popular text have survived, including the important text in Vienna, on which the earlier edition by M. Arif was based: *Târîh-i Ebu’l-Feth sultan Mehmed chân* [A History of the Eternal Conquest of the Sultan Mehmed the Khan] (Istanbul, 1330 [=1912]). All other surviving manuscripts in existence are listed by H. İnalcik and R. Murphy, trans., *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, Bibliotheca Islamica (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1978), pp. 24–27; the list of manuscripts in *CC* 1: 306 is incomplete.

[253] Unfortunately, there exists no good critical edition of this work. Volume I of the Ottoman Turkish edition of the *Seyāḥatnāne* (Constantinople, 1313 H. [1895–1896]) is heavily edited to reflect political, religious, and cultural interests of that century,

and is of little value to serious scholars. We should further note that ch. 11, which concerns us, is given as ch. 10 in this volume. For an extended bibliography on the manuscripts and published editions of this work, cf. F. Taeschner, “Die neue Stambuler Ausgabe von Evlijā Tschelebis Reisewerk,” *Der Islam* 18 (1929): 299–310; M. C. Baysun, “Evliya Cçelebî,” *İA* 4 (1945): 400–412, esp. 410–412; *idem*, “Evliya Çelebi’ye dâit notlar [Evliya Cçelebi, Concerning His Office],” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 12 (1955): 257–264; P. A. MacKay, “The Manuscripts of the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Cçelebi,” *Der Islam* 25 (1975): 278–298; and F. İz, “Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatnamesi [Evliya Çelebi and the Seyahatname],” *Boğazcçi Üniversite Dergisi* 7 (1979): 61–79. The most recent and acceptable edition of vol. 1 is that of Meçkûre Eren, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi birinci cildinin kaynakları üzerinde bir araştırma* [Evliya Cçelebi’s *Seyahatname*, the First Nonreligious Source. An Original Source for Investigation] (Istanbul, 1960).

[254] *Vienna ms. Flügel no. 1281*.

[255] For the life and adventures of Evliya Çelebi, cf. Baysun, “Evliya Çelebi,” pp. 400–410; *idem*, “Evliya Çelebi dâit notlar,” pp. 257–264; J. H. Mordtmann-[H. W. Duda], “Ewliyā Čelebi,” *EI* 2 (1963): 717–720; *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir. The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname*, ed. and trans. with commentary by M. van Bruinessen and H. Boeschoten, Evliya Çelebi’s Book of Travels. *Land and People of the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century*. A Corpus of Partial Editions, 1 (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, and Cologne, 1988): 3–5; and *Evliyâ Tchélébi, La Guerre des Turcs. Récits de batailles (extraits du “Livre de voyages”)*, trans. from the Ottoman Turkish with annotations by F. Bilici (Arles and Paris, 2000), pp. 14–21.

[256] Cf. H. Turková, “Le siège de Constantinople d’après le Seyāḥatnāe d’Evliyā Çelebī,” *BS* 14 (1953): 1–13.

[257] E.g., Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*.

# Chapter 2

# Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy

# I. “Richerio”: Ghost of an Eyewitness

Early on the morning of May 29, 1453, the Ottoman troops of Sultan Mehmed II broke through the ancient double fortifications and an organized three-day sack of the hapless city began. While some modern scholars believe that the sultan terminated the sack at the end of the first day, violating a promise that he made to his troops,[1] there is the testimony of eyewitnesses who insist that the sack continued beyond the first day. Thus Leonardo, who was a prisoner of the Turks, just for a short interval before being ransomed probably on the first day, states that the sack lasted three days:[2] *Triduo igitur decursam civitatem depopulatamque…relinquunt*, “in three days of pillage they left the city without its population.” His testimony is confirmed by other credible witnesses and by the official report of Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, the Genoese *podestà* of Pera, to the authorities in Genoa:[3] *Posuerunt dictum locum* [*sc. Constantinopolim*] *ad saccum, per dies tres*, “they subjected the aforementioned place [*sc*. Constantinople] to a three day sack.” Scholarios, who became the first patriarch of the captive Greeks after the sack, also states that on the next day, May 30, the Turks were still enslaving individuals:[4] καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνδιεφεύγομεν ῥύμην [*sc*. on May 29], τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ [*sc*. on May 30] συνηλισκόμεθα. Similarly, Benvenuto of Ancona, another eyewitness to the events, speaks of a sack that went on beyond the first day:[5] *Item quod per duos dies dedit civitatem et singula ad predam sakmannis*, “item: for two days he allowed the city and its buildings to be sacked by his looters.”

The events of the long siege (April 3–May 29) created a vivid impression in the literature of the period, both in the east and the west. This fascination with the death throes of the medieval Greek state extended well into the sixteenth century, when “sources” containing genuine or fabricated memories of the events surrounding the siege were still being published in Europe. In fact, it was the sixteenth century that witnessed the first printed collections of eyewitness accounts of the siege of 1453.[6] The fabricated, elaborated, or even forged accounts that appeared further testify to the unprecedented popularity of primary source materials, which were still actively sought and unearthed by hook or by crook.

Nineteenth-century scholars continued this tradition and turned their attention to the publication of primary source materials, whether in archival or in literary form, that they discovered in numerous libraries of Europe and Ottoman Turkey. Printed editions of individual accounts and impressive collections of various narratives were then published. Thus the nineteenth century "discovered," among others, Kritoboulos and the valuable journal of Nicolò Barbaro. The most significant collection of early pertinent materials was completed by Déthier and Hopf,[7] and it brought to the attention of the scholarly world an account of the siege by an individual whose name, it was assumed, was Christoforo Richerio, whose Italian text the two editors reproduced from Francesco Sansovino's earlier book,[8] as was correctly observed by Paspates in the late nineteenth century.[9] In their eagerness to preserve and print all available sources, scholars of that century occasionally displayed an uncritical eye but, in general, one can only be impressed by such Herculean labors that provided the foundations for further serious scholarly investigations of the siege. However, the scholarly evaluation of sources with meticulous application of textual criticism through *Quellenforschung* was largely left to the discretion of twentieth-century historians, investigators, and researchers. Consequently, contemporary examination and scrutiny have demonstrated that earlier scholars had rather hastily accepted a number of narratives as authentic.[10]

Richerio's account was unknown to Gibbon. It was only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that scholarship rediscovered the existence of this narrative, although in fact it had never been lost but had been neglected and forgotten. After the publication of his text, Paspates first used it extensively in his learned study of the siege. He reproduced the following information on this source:[11]

> *Christoforo Richerio. La Presa di Costantinopoli, l'anno MCCCCLIII à XXIX di Maggio secondo l'edizione di Francesco Sansovino, nell'istoria universale dell'origine ed imperio de Turchi. Venezia MDLXIV L. III, fol. 63, 66.*
>
> Christoforo Richerio. The Fall of Constantinople in the year 1453, on May 29, according to the edition of Francesco Sansovino, from his *Universal History of the Origin and Empire of the Turks*. Venice 1564, Book 3, fol. 63, 66.

Paspates also translated this note into modern Greek.[12] The next scholar to follow Paspates in employing this narrative was Pears, who supplied the following observations on this source:[13] "Christoforo Riccherio, 'La Presa di Costantinopoli,' first published in Sansovino's 'Dell' Historia Universale,' was republished with notes in Déthier's 'Siege,' and is a valuable and brightly written narrative." Thus Pears thought highly of this account and its author, to whose name he added one more letter, thus producing, perhaps, an improved Italian version of this name from Richerio to Riccherio. It should be noted, however, that neither Paspates nor Pears attributed this account to the pen of an actual eyewitness.

The narrative of Richerio received a third mention in Runciman's more recent, highly popular book on the siege and fall of Constantinople. Runciman retained the spelling "Riccherio" that Pears had introduced. In fact, it is in Runciman's study that "Riccherio" was elevated to the status of an eyewitness and his account therefore achieved the status of a primary source:[14] "Other westerners who were present in the siege and wrote accounts were the Florentine soldier TETALDI, the Genoese MONTALDO, Cristoforo RICCHERIO and the Brescian scholar Ubertino PUSCULUS…. Montaldo also provides a few additional details, as does Riccherio in his lively account." Further, in 1973, the narrative of "Riccherio" on the siege and fall was translated into English.[15] Melville Jones offers the following observation[16] on the nature of this text that others had already praised as "lively" and as a "brightly written narrative," with historical value: "The account…is something of a mystery. It appears, under the name of one Cristoforo Riccherio, in a work published in 1568 in Venice…in connection with Leonardo of Chios, Sansovino's *Historia Universale*. There is no indication of the origin of Riccherio's account, which appears on pp. 315–318 of Book III, and no manuscript appears to have survived. Nothing in the narrative, however, suggests that it is not what it claims to be, so we may consider it as a brief and brisk account of the major events of the siege, by one who was himself present at it, giving some further details of interest, but of no major importance."

Thus, in two separate contemporary evaluations scholars have elevated Richerio to the pedestal of a participant and an eyewitness. Melville Jones believes that this author is indeed an eyewitness. Led astray by this assumption or perhaps by the liberties that Sansovino took in his Italian paraphrase of the Latin original, Melville Jones has colored his rendition into English accordingly. He has translated, for instance, a Latin ablative absolute construction in such a way as to imply that Richerio has actually witnessed what he reported in his text, translating, of course, not directly from the original Latin text that was unknown to him, but from Sansovino's Italian rendition.[17] Thus Richerio's phrase, *cognita Maomethi acerba sanctione, atque hostili apparatu*, is misleadingly rendered into English as: "…and we Christians had heard of Mehmet's instructions, and seen the preparations of the enemy." Moreover, as Melville Jones notes in the above quotation, the manuscript of this author remains lost, but Sansovino, who printed the well-known Italian version, presumably had something in front of him. It should be observed that since the days of Déthier's compilation only the Italian version of Richerio's account on the fall had been known. It had been tacitly assumed that Richerio had composed his account in Italian, presumably his native language. The only scholar to show hesitation and raise doubts concerning Richerio's status as an eyewitness was the meticulous Agostino Pertusi, who did include Richerio in one of his lists of sources on the siege and fall but went on to state that Richerio was not an eyewitness and tentatively placed his composition *ca.* 1500, that is, almost fifty years after the events had occurred.[18] Pertusi then hints that this narrative was a scholarly document without a clear antecedent but he failed to conduct further research on this subject.

The Italian "Riccherio" as an individual remains completely unknown. If an eyewitness, was he a Venetian, a Genoese, or an Anconan? His name is not recorded in the numerous lists supplied in Barbaro's text,[19] nor is he cited in any other eastern or western documents of this period.[20] Who, then, was this author who portrayed vividly, brightly, and briskly the monumental events surrounding the siege of Constantinople? Can his narrative be trusted as a primary source? The proverbial villain in this case is ultimately Francesco Sansovino, who failed to indicate his ultimate source. Scholars have assumed, since the appearance of Sansovino's bestseller, that the account of Richerio derives from a lost manuscript, perhaps the autograph itself. Yet Richerio never traveled to Constantinople. He did not participate in the defense of Constantinople, and he had no role in the events of the fifteenth century.

The plain fact is that Richerio/Riccherio lived in the sixteenth century and could not have been an eyewitness to the events that he describes, since he was chronologically as far removed from the siege as we are from the Great War. Richerio was a sixteenthcentury author who composed his account in the comfort of his own home, distant from the Levant. Nor was the siege and fall of Constantinople his main or his only subject. His narrative was not just a simple pamphlet written by the hand of a survivor, as modern scholars seem to have hastily assumed, perhaps with a touch of romanticism.

"C(h)ristoforo Riccherio" is the Italian form of this author's name, still favored by modern scholarship. In accordance with the practice of contemporary humanists, the author himself used a Latinized form of his name, *Christoforus Richerius*. Thus his true name was Christophe Richer, and as a personality he is not totally unknown. On the contrary, he provides sufficient information about himself to make it clear that he was a French courtier: *Christoforo Richerio…Cubiculario Regio & Cancellario Franciae à secretis*, "Christoforus Richerius…royal chamberlain and private chancellor of France." This is his own statement below the title of his book.[21] The dedication of his *praefatio* repeats the same information and adds[22] *ad Franciscum Gallorum regem*

*Christianis<simum>*, “to the most Christian king of the Gauls [French].” It becomes evident that he wrote “Richerius” and not “Riccherius/Riccherio.” His own preference contradicts the tendency of modern scholarship to cite him as “Riccherio.”

His book constitutes an account of the origins and of the expansion of the Ottoman Turks into Europe. Thus his book is a typical example of the sixteenth-century genre of ethnographic literature and scholarship, which achieved great popularity in direct proportion to the expansion and relative proximity of the Turks. His composition can be seen as a scholarly response to the desire expressed in Western Europe to familiarize itself with the Turks. This interest had grown steadily since the fall of Constantinople and the subsequent permanent Turkish occupation of the Balkans.[23] As in antiquity, when Roman interest in the ethnography of the Huns was awakened by their frequent raids and resulted in the production of several accounts on the customs and habits of the “barbarians,” in a similar manner Western Europeans felt the need to learn more about the new exotic enemy. With the Turks *ante portas*, humanists took up the pen and produced several compositions, which were based to a great extent[24] on previous scholarship and on existing eyewitness accounts.[25] Some of these works amount to mere propaganda against Islam; others are respectable scholarly compositions.

Richer’s book is not propaganda. It is indeed a quite good example of scholarship, given the standards of the period and the availability of primary sources in the sixteenth century. This account was published, according to the printed information,[26] *cum privilegio regis. Parisiis. Ex officina Rob. Stephani, Hebraicum & Latinarum Regii typographi. M.D.XL*, “with royal permission. At Paris. From the workshop of Rob. Stephanus, the royal printer of Hebrew and Latin. 1540.” Thus it becomes clear that this book was printed eighty-seven to ninety years after the fall of Constantinople. Its author was certainly not an eyewitness. After all, in his own *praefatio*, Richer maps out his work and its chronological limits, mentioning the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566) at the end of his history:[27] *Primum quae sit origo Turcaru<m>: deinde quas occupauerint sedes: postea Otomanni & posterioru<m> imperium vsque ad Soleymannum praesentem breuiter dilucidéque narro*, “first, I will relate the possible origin of the Turks; then the capitals that they have occupied; finally, I will treat the events of the empire of Osman and his descendants as far as the present [sultan] Suleiman.” At the end of his narrative,[28] Richer refers to events that took place *in anni a CHRISTO nato millesimi quingentesimi tricesiminoni*, “in the year A.D. 1530,” when *Castellonouo* in Dalmatia, near “Epidaurus” (*quod vulgò Ragusu<m> dicunt*, “which is commonly known as Ragusa [that is, Dubrovnik]”), fell to the hordes of Suleiman and was thoroughly plundered.[29]

His composition is only incidentally concerned with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The siege and sack are an important, even essential, part of his story, but these events were not intended to be the nucleus of his work, which was of a more general nature. His account parallels, to some extent, the earlier narrative of the last Athenian historian, Laonikos Khalkokondyles, without duplicating the latter's tedious, pedantic digressions into the history of eastern and western powers. Like Khalkokondyles, Richer chose the rise of the Ottoman sultans as his main theme. While the siege of Constantinople by Mehmed II is central to his narrative, his interests revolve around grander themes, as it becomes clear in the title he assigned to his investigation,[30] which implies an overall chronological examination of the rise of the sultans to his own period, the reign of Suleiman.

Book I is a survey of the sultans and bears the title *De origine Turcaru<m> & Ottomani imperio*, "About the Origins of the Turks and the Reign of Osman." Most notably, Book I includes a "preview" of his account of the siege of 1453, which constitutes the main event in the reign of Mehmed II.[31] This abstract is worth reproducing, since it has escaped the notice of all scholars who have cited "Riccherio/Richerio" as an eyewitness source:

> …*diurnis nocturnisque itineribus Byzantiu<m> profiscitur. Quo peruenisset ad sextu<m> Cal. Maias, ingentes copias muro admouet, & urbem iteratis machinarum muraliu<m> ictibus ferire, ciueis crebris terrere oppugnationibus, omnia quae ad victoriam conducerent experiri aggreditur: perstátque ta<m>diu in oppugna<n>do, quoad longissima debilitata<m> obsidione expugnat. Anno salutatis nostrae millesimo quadrigentesimo quinquagesimo secu<n>do, Caroli septimi tricesimo tertio. Ad quam calamitate<m> accessit indignissimus Constantini Imperatoris exitus. Quem quida<m> capite truncatu<m> fuisse, genere eius omnino uel exilio vel morte sublato, alii in media suorum fugentium turba, cu<m> ipse quoque fugeret, decidisse & certatim cursu erumpentium concussum, co<n>tritum, interemptúmque fuisse tradunt.*
>
> …with day and night marches he reached Byzantium [= Constantinople]. He arrived on the sixth of the calends of May and moved his immense army against the walls. He attacked the city and its walls with cannon and terrified the citizens with his incessant assaults in his efforts to win a swift victory. He persisted and fought against the city, which was exhausted by the long siege. It was the year 1453 of our salvation, the thirty-third year of the reign of Charles VII. In this disaster occurred the most shameful death of Emperor Constantine who, some say, was decapitated or

> even committed suicide, while others state that he joined the crowd of his people in flight and ran away with them but ended his life when he fell and was trampled to death by the crowd.

It is important to note that Richer, in this neglected abstract, lists a number of possibilities for the fate of Constantine XI Palaiologos, indicating that he was familiar with the contradictory accounts presented in various authentic narratives and secondary literature. The fact of the matter is that no survivor had witnessed the death of the emperor and no one from the emperor's immediate retinue survived the last stand to present a credible report of Constantine's actual demise.[32] Later, in his detailed account of the siege and fall, Richer also refers to the end of the last Greek emperor,[33] but chooses to present only one version that will be discussed shortly. This choice has perhaps added to the false impression among scholars that "Riccherio" was an eyewitness. If Richer had explored the possibilities that he states in his abstract, scholars might have realized that he was an armchair scholar and not a participant in the events. Richer decided to report in detail only one version of the emperor's death, even though he was clearly aware of other accounts. Nevertheless, the passage in Book IV dealing with the fall of the emperor should not be divorced from Book I and it must be read in connection with the abstract.

Book II[34] should be of interest to Turcologists, as Richer entitles it *De moribus atque institutis Turcarum*, "About the Customs and Institutions of the Turks." His presentation deserves a fresh examination by qualified scholars. Book III is titled *De Tamerlanis parthi rebus gestis*, "The Deeds of the Parthian Tamburlaine," and addresses the devastation of the Ottoman empire by Timur-i-lenk, the legendary Tamburlaine, and by his Mongol hordes.[35] Book IV,[36] titled *De expugnata à Maomethe Constantinopoli*, "The Siege and Fall of Constantinople to Mehmed," provides, as we have already seen, his detailed description of the siege operation and of the sack. This is the only part of his book that has been known to scholarship and is the only section of his history to have been translated into English[37] (via the Italian rendition of Sansovino and not directly from Richer's Latin). Thus this section was believed to have been composed by an eyewitness. In the nineteenth century this section of Richer was known only through Sansovino's Italian extracts and not directly from Richer's Latin edition. Book V,[38] entitled *De Castellinoui Dalmatiae oppidi recenti direptione*, "About the Recent Sack of the Dalmatian City Newcastle," addresses a contemporary event that took place only ten to thirteen years prior to the publication of Richer's book. His study concludes with a detailed and scholarly *Index eorum quae in his de* *rebus Turcicis libris tranctantur*, “Index of Subjects Discussed in the Book of the History of the Turks.” It comprises eleven unnumbered pages with twelve lines of text addressed to the reader (*Christoph. Richerius Lectori*), and with a short table of *Errata*/Errors. The book ends with a final note, which identifies the printer: *Excudebat Rob. Stephanus Hebraicum et Latinarum Literarum Typographus Regius Parisiis, Ann. M.D.XL.III, Non. Martii*, “Printed by Rob. Stephanus, royal printer of Latin and Hebrew Literature; 1543, the nones of March.”

It thus becomes clear that the narrative on the fall of Constantinople traditionally attributed to the pen of the eyewitness “Riccherio” is not an original work by a participant in the events it appears to describe. It is, in fact, a derivative piece of respectable scholarship. Richer has clearly digested a number of secondary works and perhaps a handful of primary sources to produce this account of the Ottoman Turks. Once we comprehend this reality, the identification of his immediate and most influential sources should not prove overly exacting. After all, Richer himself identifies his main sources in his *praefatio*. No scholar of the nineteenth or twentieth century has ever cited this *praefatio* and his list of sources:[39]

> *semina mihi collego ex Egnatio, Blondo, Platina, Riccio, Gaguino, Paulo Iouio, Andrea Cambinio, aliisque, si non eloquentiae primae, maximae tame<n> fidei scriptoribus.*
>
> I have harvested my information from Egnatius, Blondus, Platina, Riccius, Gaguinus, Paulus Iouius, Andrea Cambinius, and from others, who are extremely reliable writers, even if they do not exhibit the most elegant eloquence.

These are well-known historians of the Renaissance, contemporaries of Richer, who thus presents no claim that his material is original. Their names become more familiar once they are stripped of their Latinized forms.[40] Respectively, they correspond to: Giovan Battista Egnazio [= *Ioannes Baptista Egnatius Venetus*, a pseudonym of Egnatius Cipelli (1475–1553), the editor of Suetonius and of the *Historia Augusta*]; Flavio Biondo [*Flavius Blondus* (1392–1463)]; Bartolomeo Platina from Mantua; Michele Ricci (1445–1512), who emigrated to France and authored two well-received books: *De Re di Napoli et di Sicilia* (Venice, 1514), and *De Regibus Neapolis & Siciliae* (Rome, 1505); Robert Gaguin, the French humanist; Paolo Giovio (1483–1553), who authored the famous *Sui temporis Historiae Libri* (Florence, 1550–1552), and numerous other works on Russia, Albania, and Britain; and Andrea Cambini (1445/1460–1527), who wrote the celebrated volume, *Commentario della origine de Turchi et imperio della casa ottomana* (Florence, 1538).

Richer consulted other authors as well, whom he describes collectively as *aliisque* and who are more difficult to identify. In all likelihood, these unnamed sources probably contributed the bulk of his information on the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453. Indeed, this section of Richer's work shows little evidence of dependence on previous scholarship and on the scholars that he cites by name in his *praefatio*. Perhaps this lack of citation of primary and secondary sources on the section of the siege has further misled scholars to form the impression that they are dealing with the text of an independent eyewitness, who did not rely on any other source and presented his own version of the events as he had witnessed them during the siege.

Can any source on whose narrative Richer based his "brisk," "lively," and "brightly written narrative" be identified? It should be remembered that not all accounts, primary, secondary, or derivative, have survived over the centuries to reach our own age. The account of Alvise/Aloixe/Ludovico Diedo, who was in charge of the Venetian galleys in Constantinople and managed to break through the chain guarding the Golden Horn during the sack, then reached the Aegean and led survivors and refugees to Venice, has not come down to us. His report to the Venetian authorities, first delivered orally and presumably recorded afterward under depressing circumstances, disappeared long ago. Scholars would give much to read this report by a well-known participant who was in charge of the defenses of Constantinople's harbor during the siege, and his view would have been of immense value to any scholar interested in these events.[41] Diedo himself was proud of the role that he played in the drama of Constantinople and it is the only event of his life that he chose to mention on his tomb (d. 1466). His monument survives in Venice, in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, on the right aisle, depicting his coat of arms, while the inscription cites his role in the dramatic events of 1453:[42]

> *Bizantio capto / ex Britannia filio rei / p causa in vinculis re/licto Venetorum classem per medios hostes tuto in patriam erexit.*
>
> When Byzantium [= Constantinople] fell, his [= Alvise Diedo's] son, who had fought for the Republic, was left behind a chained captive; he [= Alvise Diedo] led the fleet of the Venetians through the midst of the enemy and brought it safely home.

There is, however, no reason to suspect that Richer would have consulted a version of Diedo's report. It is quite probable that all traces of this *relazione* had already vanished by the time Richer took up his pen. Further, it is clear that Richer was unfamiliar with the only eyewitness account that had circulated in France soon after the fall, from an Italian or Latin prototype, the famous *Informations* of the Florentine merchant Jacopo Tetaldi, whose work will concern us presently.

At least one of Richer's sources can be identified with absolute certainty: the letter of Archbishop Leonardo, written on August 15, 1453, that is a solid account by the hand of a serious observer.[43] This should come as no surprise. After all, Leonardo's text has served as the prototype for other compositions that date to the sixteenth century, such as the *Chronicon Maius* and the vernacular account attributed to Languschi and embedded in Zorzi Dolfin's *Cronaca delle famiglie nobili di Venezia* (*Chronicle of the Venetian Noble Families*).[44] Thus Richer, to cite only one instance of his dependence upon Leonardo, describes the withdrawal of the Genoese *condottiere*, Giovanni Giustiniani, from the last battle of May 29 with the following words:[45]

> *Iustinianus verò percepta hostiu<m> victoria Paeram continuò diffugit: mox illinc haud satis confirmatus, Chiu<m> insulam Ioniae adnauigat: vbi aut vi vulneris, aut dolore confectus, quòd importunè praelio excessisset, paucis diebus comparata primùm nominis gloria incredibili orbatus, animam egit.*
>
> But Giustiniani fled to Pera, as soon as he realized that the enemy had won. There he received some care [for his wound] and sailed to the Ionian island of Chios. There, either because of the severity of his wound, or exhausted by grief, he soon expired. He gave up his spirit. He gained a few days of life but in the process he deprived himself of inestimable glory.

This statement is surely a paraphrase, an elaboration, and an amplification of Leonardo's text:[46]

> *Reserata porta refugit capitaneus* [*sc. Ioannes Iustinianus*] *in Peram, qui postea Chium navigans, ex vulnere vel tristitia inglorium transitum fecit.*
>
> The gate [to the city from the fortifications] was opened and the captain [Giovanni Giustiniani] fled to Pera. Then he sailed to Chios and died without glory either because of his wound or because of sadness.[47]

We should observe, however, that Leonardo might not have been the direct source of Richer's information. It could have been another writer who was also dependent on Leonardo, and whose text was known to Richer. As we will next observe, Richer may have been familiar with Leonardo through an *opusculum* composed by Aeneas

Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II).

## II. A Neglected *Opusculum* by a Pope

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini published an *opusculum* entitled *Tractatulus* on the events of the siege; it was printed in the latter half of the fifteenth century in the form of a pamphlet.[48] Aeneas Silvius, the bishop of Siena, was destined to become Pope Pius II in 1458. He met the brilliant Greek linguist and humanist Nikolaos Sekoundinos[49] in Naples in April 1456. On that occasion the bishop asked Sekoundinos to compose an *opusculum*, since he wished to become familiar with the nature of the enemy. Sekoundinos had firsthand knowledge of the situation in the Levant. He had been born in Negroponte/Euboea, had participated in numerous notable diplomatic opportunities, and had been a member of the first western delegation to visit Sultan Mehmed II Fatih after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Sekoundinos responded eagerly to the bishop's request and even wrote an *encomium* in his honor. While Aeneas Silvius undoubtedly used other accounts, such as Bishop Leonardo's famous *epistula*, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that he had gathered some facts from Nikolaos Sekoundinos, who, at Aeneas Silvius' request, also wrote an epitome on the Ottoman sultans from the reign of Osman to the reign of Mehmed II.[50]

While the *Tractatulus* of Aeneas Silvius is not well known among modern historians, it clearly exercised considerable influence on Renaissance accounts of the siege of 1453. In more recent times Déthier took some notice of this work, praised its elegant style, but failed to investigate it closely or to evaluate its information. He simply noted that there is a certain dependence on Leonardo.[51] Aeneas Silvius had done his research. He had been well aware of the authoritative account of the siege from the pen of the Genoese eyewitness, Leonardo Giustiniani of Chios, the archbishop of Mytilene, and he utilized the latter's work in his text. In particular, Aeneas Silvius seems to echo a particular passage of Leonardo. The passage in the Genoese bishop's *epistula* reads as follows:[52]

> *Inter haec Theophilus Palaeologo, vir catholicus…Theucrorum pondus aliquam diu sustinens et decertans securi discinditur. Ita Johannes Sclavus Illyricus…multos prius mactat, deinde, gladio vitam finivit.*
>
> Meanwhile Theophilos Palaiologos, a Catholic…resisted the heavy attack of the Turks for a long time and in the conflict was killed with an ax. Then John Sclavus Illyricus…killed many before his life ended.

Aeneas Silvius echoes this passage with the following words:

> *In tanta multitudine pugnatorum, duo tantum reperti sunt, qui se viros ostenderint. Alter grecus, alter dalmata Theophilus Paleologus, Johannes sclavus, qui fugire turpe putantes, cum diu Thurcorum impetum sustinuissent multosque obtruncassent, denique non tam victi quam vincendo fatigati, inter cadavera hostium occubuere.*

> In this great crowd of warriors there were found only two individuals to show themselves as men: one was a Greek, Theophilos Palaiologos; the other was a Dalmatian, John Sclavus. They thought that it would be shameful to flee. They resisted the heavy attack of the Turks for a long time and put many to death. Finally they were overpowered by fatigue rather than by defeat and fell among the corpses of the enemy.

Another manuscript that was in circulation in the sixteenth century, usually entitled *Cronaca Magno* and attributed to the hand of Stefano Magno (1490–1557),[53] further presents a narrative written in a mixture of the vernacular with Latin and was based clearly on the text of Aeneas Silvius, as the phraseology of the following extract reveals:[54]

> …*in tanta moltitudine de pugnanti che fù, che huomini si monstrorono, uno Theofilo Paleologo, Greco, l'altro Zuanne Schiavo, Dalmatino, quali a fuggir turpe pensando, longamente sostennero lo empito de Turchi, et cum multi havessero ottroncado, nella fine, non tanto vinti, quanto vincendo defatigati, infrà i cadaveri de nemici accumbeteno*.

> …in this crowd of warriors that was there, two men excelled. One was Theophilos Palaiologos, a Greek, and the other was John Schiavo, a Dalmatian, who thought that it would be shameful to flee. For a long time they resisted the heavy attack of the Turks and they put many to death. Finally they were overpowered by fatigue rather than by defeat and fell among the corpses of the enemy.

Nor was Magno the only author to rely on Aeneas Silvius. We have already discussed Richer, who, it is evident, knew of Leonardo's letter as he echoes it in his narrative of the siege and fall. However, one may be hesitant about Richer's direct familiarity with Leonardo's text. It is also probable that he knew Leonardo through Aeneas Silvius' *Tractatulus*. This becomes apparent when we consider Richer's rendition of the passage of Aeneas that Stefano Magno also echoed:

> *At in tanto propugnatorum numero qui nuper afflictae vrbi praesidio*

> *erant, duo solum reperti sunt, qui salute religioni ac famae posposita, viriliter ad extremum pugnando, strenuorum hostium gladiis configi atque internecari quam fugere maluerunt. Eorum unus, Graecus erat Theophilus Palaeologus: alter Ianus quidam natione Dalmata, seruus conditione. Qui…inimicam irruptionem soli tantisper sustinuerunt, dum turba innumera circumuenti, non tam victi quam vincendo fatigati, caesis sua manu permultis, ipsi denique promiscue in stragem hostilem neruis deficientibus prolabentes expirarunt.*
>
> In this great number of warriors who had been guarding the city in the recent past, there were only two who fought to the very end for salvation, faith, and glory, and fell victims to the enemy swords, preferring death to flight. One of them was Greek, Theophilos Palaiologos. The other was a certain John from Dalmatia, a slave. They…alone resisted the heavy attack of the enemy, surrounded by a countless crowd, and were overpowered by fatigue rather than defeat. They put to death many and finally expired, in total exhaustion, in the midst of the enemy corpses.

It is apparent from the phraseology involved that Richer derived his information from Aeneas Silvius' elaboration of Leonardo's text and not directly from Leonardo or from Leonardo's early translators into the vernacular such as Languschi-Dolfin. Thus both Richer and Magno are indebted to the *Tractatulus*, which apparently enjoyed greater popularity in the sixteenth century and was not a marginal work as recent scholars have suspected. It also demonstrates that the *Tractatulus* was more popular in the Renaissance than scholars have assumed.

# III. Tetaldi: A Merchant of Florence

We possess very few facts about Tetaldi, who wrote a true eyewitness account of the siege and fall of Constantinople. Even his name appears in doubt, as it is spelled variously. His Christian name appears as Giacomo, Jacopo, or Jacques, while versions of his last name include Tetaldi, Edaldy, Tetardi, Tedardi, Detaldi, and Tedaldi. The manuscript tradition of his account is also confused. His text has come down to us in a French and a Latin version. It has been argued persuasively that the French text represents an amalgam of two different traditions, as the Cambrai manuscript bears little relationship to the other five French versions.[55] In addition to these six "confused" and contaminated French texts, Tetaldi's work has also survived in a single Latin version represented by the *Codex Rubeae-Vallis.*

The French text of this narrative is better known, for it has been translated into a number of modern languages. The Latin version remains virtually unexamined by scholars and has been translated into a modern language only recently. The French and Latin versions are not identical. Further, both the Latin and the French texts display evidence of contamination, as they include a *coda* containing a proposal for a crusade to recover Constantinople. Clearly, something has been added to the original text, as chapter 22.1 refers to events that take place in Italy in the next decade, such as the death of Pope Pius II. Thus, there has been elaboration. This *coda* could not have been part of the original account by Tetaldi, who was a merchant and whose eyewitness account of the siege is only concerned with the defensive operations and the events of the sack. In its original form, Tetaldi's report could not have shown interest in the recommendation of future organized expeditions to the Levant for the liberation of the Greek capital.

Most likely, Tetaldi's original account was dictated in Italian and its pristine form constituted an *aviso*, perhaps resembling the fragmentary report of Benvenuto, the Anconan consul in Constantinople in 1453.[56] Tetaldi's original *aviso* was subsequently transformed into a Latinized scholarly account through the hand of a humanist. Soon after it was also rendered into the French idiom. It has been further suggested that Tetaldi dictated his story when his Venetian saviors stopped at Negroponte (Khalkis in Euboea) en route to Venice.[57] This scenario would explain why a scribe, apparently not Tetaldi himself, consistently refers to the author in the third person throughout the narrative. The following stages in the history of this account have been proposed, and they remain our best model for the evolution of this text:[58]

1. The original Italian account (an *aviso* of some sort?) dictated or written by the author himself.
2. The first scholarly translation into Latin.
3. The French renditions.
4. The *Cambrai* French version.

While an attempt has been made to show that the French versions were composed earlier than the Latin, this hypothesis cannot be proven.[59] At any rate, one French manuscript (to be cited presently) seems to have been produced early and was probably in circulation by January 1454. This particular situation, however, does not invalidate the reasonable assumption that the Latin version preceded the French renditions. Alternatively, both versions may be contemporaneous and may be based on the lost original account in Italian. The news of the siege and the fall had a profound impact on Europe and all sorts of narratives appeared soon after the event. It is quite possible that both the French and Latin versions were written simultaneously and independently, soon after the original Italian redaction of Tetaldi's text appeared.

In all likelihood an early form of Tetaldi's account, either in Italian or in Latin, was translated and elaborated into a French rendition by someone called Jean Blanchin or perhaps Blanchet. The opening statement of the French version reveals that a "Jehan Blanchin" brought this account to the Lord Cardinal of Avignon. Moreover, the *Paris. fr. 6487* includes the following Latin note at the end of the text:

> *Datum ultima die mensis decembris anno Domini M$^{o}$CCCC$^{o}$LIII$^{o}$. Columpnatum est presens transumptum per me Johannem Columbi et apportate <sc. littere> fuerunt de Constantinopoli per manum Johannem Blanchin. Sic signatum Columbi.*
>
> Given on the last day of the month of December A.D. 1453. It was entered and carried by me, John Columbi. Also letters from Constantinople were brought by the hand of Johann Blanchin. Signature of Columbi.

The same French manuscript states that Tetaldi, or "Jacques Edaldy," was a merchant from Florence: *marchant Florentin.*

Tetaldi's account of the siege is that of an onlooker, a merchant/soldier, who was not a member of the high command that oversaw the general strategy for the defense of Constantinople. Tetaldi apparently had no contacts with the court or with the Genoese mercenary band of the *condottiere* Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani, who was in charge of the military operations. He seems to have been acquainted with notable personalities such as the warlord Giustiniani and Cardinal Isidore by sight only. Tetaldi fought on the walls and included an account of his escape to the Christian ships after the Turks had made their entry into the city. All information on his activities during the siege comes from this unique document.[60] Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that Tetaldi suffered loss of property during the sack, and the authorities in Venice eventually discussed his case and adjudicated his claim. The following document of Doge Francesco Foscari to the Venetian administrators of Crete survives in the archives of Venice[61] and confirms, among other matters, that Tetaldi was from Florence:

> *Franciscus Foscari, Dei gratia dux Venetiarum, etc., nobilibus* [*sc. Duci et Consilio*]: *Exponunt nobilis vir prudens Iacobus Tedaldi de Florentia quod erat in civitate Constantinopolitana quando Imperator Turcorum eam expugnavit et vicit, et, volens servare personam suam, se in mari proiecit et ad galeas nostras transnatavit et evasit impetum et favorem infidelium. Similiter unus eius sclavus vocatus Valentinus, aetatis annorum XII vel circa, de genere Russorum, quem emerat a Iohanni Ghola et erat in Constantinopoli, natando ad navem quamdam Ialina Cretensis se reduxit et venit Candidam, ubi est, et ei detinetur et occupatur per dictum Cortaçi, indebite et iniuste. Ex quo subsidium nostrum implorabat. Volumus ergo et mandamus vobis quod, si constiterit vobis eundem sclavum esse ipsius Iacobi Detaldi, eum sibi aut suo legitimo nuntio subito restitui facere debeatis, quoniam non est iustum, nec honestum quod hoc modo perdat sclavum suum, et, si fortasis allegaretur quod respectu belli quod tunc habebamus cum Florentinis dictus sclavus bene accipi potuerit, dicimus vobis quod propter hoc non desistatis quomodo dictum sclavum ipsi Iacobo restitui faciatis, in quantum, ut praediximus, constituerit vobis quod suus sit, quoniam bene sufficit ei damnum quod passus est in comiserabili casu. Propter hoc volumus ut sclavus praedictus sibi retineatur.*
> *Datum in nostro ducali palatio, die VI mensis Augusti, indictione II, M$^{o}$CCCC$^{o}$III. Recepta die V Septembris M$^{o}$CCCC$^{o}$IIII.*

> Francesco Foscari, by the grace of God, Doge of Venice, etc. to the noblemen [*sc*. the duke and his Council]:
> Case: The noble and good man, Jacopo Tedaldi from Florence, was in the city of Constantinople when the emperor [= sultan] of the Turks conquered it in war. Wishing to save himself, he jumped into the sea and swam to our galleys and thus escaped the attack and the notice of the infidels. Similarly, one of his slaves, called Valentinus, a Russian twelve years old (or thereabouts), who was in

> Constantinople and had been purchased from John Ghola, also swam to the ship of the Cretan Hyalinas. Thus he came to Candia, where he remains, as he is detained and held under the power of Khortatzes, unjustly and unduly. Consequently, he [Tetaldi] is begging for our assistance. Therefore we willingly order that you, if it is concluded that this is the slave of Jacopo Detaldi, restore him to him or to his lawful representative without delay, since it is neither just nor equitable that he should lose his slave in this manner. If perhaps it is alleged that the aforementioned slave is being held justly because of our war with the Florentines, we state to you that you should not hesitate, on account of this, to restore the aforementioned slave to Jacopo, if indeed, as we stated earlier, you conclude that he is his property. He has endured a great deal and he has suffered in miserable circumstances. Therefore it is our wish that the aforementioned slave be returned to him.
>
> Given in our ducal palace on the 7th day of August of the 2nd indiction, 1454. Received on September 5, 1454 [*more Veneto*; that is, 1453]

Thus confirmation in regard to Tetaldi's homeland is established through Venetian archives. Unfortunately, his name receives various spellings in this document. That the document is authentic cannot be doubted, as it also states that Hyalinas' ship escaped from the harbor of Constantinople, a fact that can be confirmed independently of this document. The escape of Hyalinas and his ship from Constantinople and his arrival in Crete are also recorded, with various spelling errors, by a sorrowful scribe at the Monastery of Ankarathos in Crete:[62]

> ἔτε<ι> αυνγ΄, ἰουνίου κθ΄, ἡμέρα ς$^{η}$, ἦλθαν ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντι-νούπολιν καράβια τρία Κρητικά, τοῦ Σγούρου, τοῦ Ὑαλινᾶ, καὶ τοῦ Φιλομάτου· λέγοντες ὅτι τὴν κθ΄ τοῦ Μαΐου μηνός, τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας ἡμέρα τρίτη, ὥρα γ΄ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐσέβησαν οἱ ἀγαρηνοὶ ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, τὸ φωσάτον τοῦ Τούρκου τζαλαπῆ Μεεμέτ, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἐπέκτειναν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν κὺρ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Δράγασιν καὶ Παλαιολόγον. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὖν μεγάλη θλῖψις καὶ πολλὶς κλαυθμὸς εἰς τὴν Κρήτην διὰ τὸ θληβερὸν μήνυμα ὅπερ ἦλθε, ὅτι χεῖρον τούτου οὐ γέγονεν οὔτε γενήσεται. καὶ Κ<ύριο>ς ὁ Θ<εὸ>ς ἐλεήσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς τῆς φοβερᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀπειλῆς.

> In the y<ear> 1453, June 29, a Tuesday, three Cretan ships arrived from Constantinople. They belonged to Sgouros, to Hyalinas, and to Philomates. They said that on the 29th of the month of May, the day of Saint Theodosia, a Tuesday, the descendants of Hagar [the Turks], the army of the Turkish *çelebi* [= prince] Mehmed, entered Constantinople. They also said that they killed the emperor, Constantine Dragaš, also called Palaiologos. There ensued much grief and a great deal of mourning in Crete, on

> account of this grievous piece of news. Nothing worse than this has happened nor will happen. May the L<ord> our G<od> have pity on us and deliver us from His terrible threat.

Antonios Hyalinas, who escaped with his ship and brought Valentinus to Crete, lost almost his entire fortune in the sack and was subsequently beset by debtors. Such was his plight that the Venetian Senate eventually took pity on him and, in view of his services during the siege, attempted to alleviate his condition with an official decree.[63] We do not know the outcome of Tetaldi's petition to reclaim his slave and we have no further information on this author/warrior/merchant/refugee.[64]

# IV. A Russian Eyewitness: The Historicity of Nestor-Iskander's Text

There exists an interesting narrative that recounts the events of the siege and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks. This Slavonic narrative is usually entitled *Povest' o Tsar'grade* [The Tale of Constantinople], and its author is identified as Nestor-Iskander (Turkish: ?skender). There is general agreement that the nucleus of this account dates back to an actual diary of the siege that was maintained by its author.[65] This work, it may argued, is a Slavonic counterpart to Nicolò Barbaro's *Giornale dell' assedio di Costantinopoli*, as both works complement each other and derive from journals kept by actual participants during the siege.[66] While Barbaro concentrates his attention on Venetian activities, on events in the harbor, at the boom, and within the Golden Horn, Nestor-Iskander's focus is the struggle along the land fortifications about the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton or the Fifth Military Gate. If indeed parts of this surviving Slavonic account are taken from an actual diary maintained by an eyewitness who recorded his observations during the operations, then the *Povest'* can be considered a document of primary significance, presenting authentic testimony. Thus far this Slavonic document has been used sparingly by various historians and has played only a secondary role in modern accounts of the siege and fall. It has been used primarily to support the statements reported by other accounts, at best,[67] or, at worst, modern analysts have ignored it. A number of reasons can be isolated for this tendency: the difficult Slavonic text, the complicated structure of the narrative, the unavailability of this chronicle in western languages, and the erroneous impression that Nestor-Iskander was present in the Ottoman camp and not with the defenders.[68]

The *Povest'* has come down to us in two manuscript traditions that date to the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.[69] The most ancient and most authoritative version seems to be contained in the *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra Ms. No. 773* of the early sixteenth century. A second version represents an abbreviated corruption, lacking the biographical details reported in the *Ms. No. 773*, and all indications or attributions of authorship. However, it was this inferior version that became the model for the early editions, those by Sreznevsky and subsequently by Iakovlev.[70] This inferior version is clearly a later copy prepared by a monk for inclusion in a more extensive chronicle. In 1884 the Archimandite Leonid discovered the *No. 773* manuscript at the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra. This version provides the fullest text and includes the name of the author, as well as a brief *vita* (as an appendix) of Nestor-Iskander. Two years later Archimandite Leonid published the first printed edition of this manuscript.[71] Since its discovery, *Ms. No. 773* has been accepted as the fullest and earliest complete version in existence, which dates back to the early sixteenth century and derives, in all likelihood, from the author's autograph that was compiled in the second half of the fifteenth century and in fact to the decades of the 1470s or the 1480s.[72]

The *vita* appended to *Ms. No. 773* states that the Turks captured Nestor in his youth and that he was witness to the events of the siege. It had been assumed by modern scholars that Nestor-Iskander wrote his account from the point of view of a besieger who was present in the Ottoman camp. A careful reading of the narrative reveals that the focus of Nestor-Iskander is not upon the Ottoman camp, which would be natural if the author of this chronicle were indeed among the Turks. But his text focuses upon the Greek capital itself and not upon the fact that he had entered Constantinople together with the conquerors on May 29, 1453, or shortly thereafter. This view presents an assumption that was expressed without much critical thought by numerous historians and literary critics. In fact, Nestor-Iskander is writing as if his vantage point is from the interior of Constantinople with the besieged and not from the exterior, that is, from the Turkish camp. It is possible that scholars were influenced on this matter through the Serbian text of Konstantin Mihailovicå, who was in the Ottoman camp with Mehmed II's Serbian contingents, and who eventually became a renegade and joined the janissary corps. Late in life he renounced Islam and reverted to Christianity.[73]

A careful study of Nestor-Iskander's *vita* reveals that he reached the vicinity of Constantinople with an Ottoman artillery train. A Turkish military unit, apparently somewhere near Moldavia or in southern Russia, had abducted him.[74] Eventually, he was attached to an artillery unit in the Ottoman army, as this presumption confirms that he had become extremely familiar with the cannon and its uses.[75] Nestor-Iskander must have reached the outskirts of Constantinople with the Ottoman vanguard by April 4, 1453. It is quite likely that he had not begun entering events in his journal at this early date. By April 18, we feel certain that Nestor-Iskander, the young captive of the Turks, had somehow escaped from his abductors, had entered Constantinople, and hereafter made entries in his diary account.[76]

Officers in charge of the defense of the western land walls must have learned, through Russian residents,[77] of the defection of the boy and his former connection with an Ottoman artillery unit and its personnel deployed against the Mesoteikhion, the Achilles heel of the defense.[78] Nestor-Iskander must have been interrogated and then recruited into the imperial service, where he was utilized by the defenders in the evaluation of intelligence information on the Ottoman batteries and their officers. Further, it is evident from the narrative that Nestor-Iskander was also employed in counting and perhaps even identifying the dead and the wounded, not only of the Turks but also of the Greeks and their Italian allies and mercenaries. It is clear from his narrative that, despite his young age, Nestor-Iskander played a part in the defense of the city and was indeed in a position to furnish valuable details concerning operations that are not encountered in our other eyewitness sources. His contribution in part consists of his report of the sanitary measures undertaken in the disposal of the corpses. Such details and observations can be of value to modern historians interested in siege warfare of the late Middle Ages. Thus Nestor-Iskander records that on the morning of April 19, the Greek emperor ordered "the clergy and the deacons to gather the dead and bury them," and he enumerates the casualties.[79] On the morning of April 25 he reports an almost identical operation, in very similar language.[80] His last count is assigned to the morning of May 8, when "Nicholas, the eparkh," ordered that the corpses of the Turkish dead be cast out.[81] It is interesting to note that in this last count he does not report the Greek and Italian, and other casualties, perhaps because the imperial headquarters feared to admit to the surviving defenders their own losses. For a last time Nestor-Iskander returns to this subject, during the concluding stages of the siege before the final assault on May 27 or 28, and by then he clearly feels overwhelmed by his task. He seems to have resigned himself:[82]

Паденіе же обоихъ
странь, а наипаче ранныхъ – кто можетъ исчести,
"the fallen on both sides and above all those wounded, oh who can count [them]?"

Of equal importance, Nestor-Iskander furnishes factual information for one specific site: the carnage that occurred in the most important sector of the Mesoteikhion, the area between the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton, which witnessed the severest and the greatest amount of fighting. It was in fact in the Pempton sector that finally the Turks stormed and overwhelmed the fortifications in the final assault.[83] It further becomes clear that Nestor-Iskander had to be among the defenders inside the besieged city to include such specific details, not only of events and of the operations but of participants as well. His Greek "prosopography" is certainly more extensive than that of the Turkish counterparts. His description of the assault of April 18 relates to the events on the walls. He was indeed with the defenders, although not necessarily a combatant. Most probably, he viewed the struggle from a relatively secure spot, perhaps within the safety of one of the towers along the inner Great Wall and not in a tower of the outer wall with its barricades and stockades.[84]

That Nestor-Iskander was among the defenders and viewed the struggle from the walls and not from the Ottoman camp, and that indeed he was an observer from within, receives additional support from the internal evidence within the narrative itself. Numerous sections enable an attentive reader to conclude that after a short captivity of perhaps several years in the Ottoman camp, the young adolescent entered Constantinople, joined the besieged, and assisted in the defense. His narrative offers numerous authentic details that are not matched by any other eyewitness sources.[85] The present study will produce an additional argument in support of this view that Nestor-Iskander was among the defenders. One particular aspect of the *Povest'*, which has failed to attract scholarly attention thus far, will be of concern to us: Nestor-Iskander's list of combatants.

The prosopography of the participants, besieged or besiegers, in the siege of 1453 remains to be investigated and compiled, even though a systematic study of defenders, attackers, and survivors could provide a solid background in a modern military analysis of the operations.[86] The main characters on the side of the defenders are well known, as they are mentioned by authentic sources, and include the emperor[87] and his *condottiere*, Giustiniani;[88] the grand duke, Loukas Notaras;[89] the Greek papal legate and formerly the metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, Cardinal Isidore;[90] Archbishop Leonardo, the author of the most authoritative account of the siege; and numerous Venetian[91] and Genoese participants.[92] Nevertheless, this is not a simple matter of compilation, as it would appear *prima facie*. A number of modern scholars have been misled by the sixteenth-century elaboration of Sphrantzes' authentic narrative, the so-called *Chronicon Maius*, and have included among the defenders fictional personalities that have been invented, for various reasons, by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, the notorious "forger" of the *Chronicon Maius*. A typical example is "Don Francisco de Toledo," who, according to Pseudo-Sphrantzes, was a distant relative of the Greek emperor and fell with him during the final heroic moments of the struggle before the Pempton on May 29:[93]

> Ὁ δὲ [*sc.* Constantine XI] τὸν ἵππον κεντήσας δραμὼν ἔφθασεν, ἔνθα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἤρχετο, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Σαμψὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ἐποίησε.... Καὶ ὁ...δὸν Φραγκίσκος ὁ Τολέδος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐποίησεν....

> He [the emperor] urged on his horse and arrived in haste at the point where the multitude of the infidels [the Turks] had won the

> upper hand, and fought on as if he were Samson struggling against his enemies…. Don Francisco de Toledo surpassed Achilles in the fight….

Even though Don Francisco is, without doubt, a fictional figure, a creation of the sixteenth-century elaborator, some modern scholars have uncritically accepted his presence by the emperor in the last battle of the siege.[94]

Leonardo compiled an orderly list of the main defenders, with their assigned positions on the fortifications, and it is this list that has guided investigators in their research and that has proven the unreliability of the *Maius*.[95] This is not the only list in existence. Pusculo has also included another compilation[96] in his poetic account and in some cases he differs from Leonardo, but this is to be expected, for during the conduct of the siege there were re-assignments and re-deployments of the defenders' positions.[97] In addition, Barbaro's journal furnishes the names of captains of galleys and other individuals in charge of the defense of the harbor.[98] Compared to these preserved lists, Nestor-Iskander's information is less organized and certainly lacks formality. His "prosopography" of the defenders is not presented in a catalogue but is scattered throughout his account. In its preserved form it is vague at best, or poor at worst. We suspect that there was an original more formal and more detailed list, which was subsequently modified in the transmission of the autograph. Nevertheless, it includes valuable prosopographical details and observations on the defenders, which strongly suggests that numerous sections of the narrative go back to his original notes or to a journal that he had kept throughout the siege.

In general, Nestor-Iskander presents a poor picture of the besiegers. He knows the names of some prominent Turks but he supplies nothing additional to names or titles. He knows very little of the sultan's role in the operations and casts Mehmed II as a proverbial villain. He cites by name Baltaoğlu,[99] the Ottoman admiral, and Zaganos, the Greco-Albanian renegade/convert to Islam, who headed the aggressive pro-war faction of the Porte.[100] Nestor-Iskander's Karach Beg/ Карачъ-Бею must be Karaca Pasha, whom he places against the Blachernae Palace, the Wooden Gate, and the Kaligaria Gate:[101] убо Карачь-Бею противу цесарскихъ палатъ и деревяныхъ вратъ и Калисаріа, "Karach-Beg [Karaca Pasha] against the Imperial Palata [Blachernae Palace?] and the Wooden Gate of [and?] Kaligaria." Nestor-Iskander returns to "Karach Beg" once more when he describes an attack that the pasha directed.[102] He does not cite his name, but he knows of the Beglerbeg of Anatolia, whose troops were deployed against the Pege/ Selybria/Silivri Gate and the "Golden Palace":[103] …a бегиларъ-бѣемъ: въсточному противу Пигіи и Златаго мѣста, “. …and the Beglerbeg to the east, against the Pigia [Pege/Silivri/Selybria Gate] and the Golden Place [Golden Gate?].” In addition, he mentions a standard-bearer of the west, whose name he records as Mustafa. This Mustafa is not cited by any other source, who at some point in the siege is opposed by the combined forces of Theodoros (Karystenos?) and Giustiniani:[104] Въсточный же Флабураръ Мустафа вскорѣ найде на Грекы со многою силою.... Феодоръ же тисячникъ совокупився съ Зустунѣемъ, “Mustafa, the standard-bearer of the east [Anatolia], came upon the Greeks with a large force.... Khiliarch Theodoros [Karystenos?] joined [forces with] Gustiniani.” Nestor-Iskander identifies another standard-bearer, “Amar Beg, the standard-bearer from the west.” Behind his “Amar” must be the Ottoman name Ömer:[105] Флабураръ же паки западныи, Амаръбей съ своими полькы нападе на Грекы…, “again the standard-bearer of the west [Rumeli], Amar Beg, attacked the Greeks with his regiment.” On the whole, Nestor-Iskander’s list and prosopography of the besiegers are scanty and do not seem to support the old view that advocated the hypothesis that Nestor-Iskander was with the Turks, in the Ottoman camp, during the siege.

His contribution to the prosopography of the defenders is more detailed, but again it is not presented in an organized manner. It seems to be a compilation of his impressions and we encounter occasional confusion or even a wrong identification, but this is not surprising, once it is taken into account that he arrived late in the city, immediately before the commencement of the siege and did not have an opportunity to become familiar with the less prominent defenders. Perhaps he came from the fortress that Mehmed II had erected on the European side of the Bosphoros, the notorious Rumeli Hisar. His errors betray an author who had not been familiar with all sectors and all commanders participating in the defense. As his presence in the city became, in time, known to the defenders and his usefulness as a potential informant was judged valuable, we notice a corresponding increase in the amount of factual details with regard to the operations that he included in his narrative. Thus his description of the first battle (dated April 18) is general, without any specific details.[106] After the introduction of Giovanni Giustiniani in the account, Nestor-Iskander’s descriptions become more detailed and perhaps one may be justified in believing that somehow the young Russian had become attached to the emperor’s πρωτοστράτωρ, or *dux militiae* (as Leonardo correctly translates the term into Latin).[107] Was perhaps

Nestor-Iskander given the task of keeping a daily account of the day-by-day operations of the *condottiere* rather than other key defenders? He makes frequent mention of him throughout the narrative, even when he identifies Turkish artillerymen and officials of the Ottoman command.[108]

Furthermore, Nestor-Iskander provides valuable information about the controversial incident that surrounded Giustiniani's decision to abandon his post at the Pempton during the last stages of the Ottoman assault on May 29. It is generally agreed that Giustiniani's orderly retreat with his band from the stockade outside the inner wall precipitated panic among the remaining defenders who rushed to follow him through the gate that he opened into the safety of the city.[109] This was, in fact, the major turning point of the last battle and the key incident in the siege. Contemporaries and later historians have debated the conduct of Giustiniani since. Had the warlord kept his professional band at its post, the battle might not have been lost and Constantinople would have been saved. Most sources state that Giustiniani abandoned his post after he was wounded. Nestor-Iskander relates that the warlord retreated after he received a second wound and was in extreme pain. This second wound may explain Giustiniani's decision to abandon the fray. According to this chronicle, in the early stages of the final assault Giustiniani was struck by a stone shot on the chest, lost consciousness, and fell to the ground. He was then treated extensively throughout the night but he failed to recover:[110]

> …но прилетѣвъ исъ пушкы ядро каменное на излетѣ, и ударивъ Зустунѣа по персѣмъ, и разрази ему перси. И паде на землю… Врачеве же чресъ всю онную нощь тружахуся о поможенiи его, и едва исправиша ему грудь, вшибленое мѣсто отъ удара.

> …yet a stone shot, a spent ball, struck Giustiniani in the chest, and shattered his bosom. He fell to the ground…. They treated him all night long and labored in sustaining him. Little did they mend his chest, as it had been crushed by the hit. Immediately his wound made him lose consciousness.

Nestor-Iskander then reports that Giustiniani issued orders to be carried back to the battlefield:[111]

Зустуня же пакы повелѣ себя нести тамо…,

"Giustiniani anew commanded to be carried there…." Then he relates that the commander-in-chief was struck on the right shoulder by a missile from a *sclopus* and collapsed. Only then was he carried away from the field and his Genoese troops retreated with him to their ships in the harbor:[112]

> …прилетѣвшу убо склопу, и удари Зустунѣа и срази ему десное плечо, и паде на землю аки мертвъ. И надоша надъ нимъ боляре его и людіе, крыча и рыдая, и поношаше его прочь, тако и Фрягове вси пойдоша за нимъ.

> …there came flying a *sclopus* which struck Giustiniani on the right shoulder. He fell to the ground as if dead. With cries and sobs his noblemen and men fell upon him. They carried him away. He was followed by all of the Franks.

Nestor-Iskander is not the only author to mention that Giustiniani was struck twice. Another testimony supports the report of the Russian eyewitness and the two accounts taken together provide an important explanation for the warlord's conduct. The Greco-Italian Nikolaos Sekoundinos,[113] who had worked on behalf of the government of Venice in the summer of 1453, accompanied the Venetian envoy Bartolomeo Marcello to the Porte in order to assist in the difficult negotiations involving the ransom of the Venetians who had been captured by the sultan's janissaries in the sack of May 29. He returned to Venice and then traveled to Rome and to Naples to present his impressions of the new situation in the Levant. In the court of Naples[114] he pronounced a speech on the siege (January 25, 1454). Sekoundinos was probably the first western visitor to come to occupied Constantinople and undoubtedly acquired a number of stories about the siege from survivors.[115] In regard to the Giustiniani incident, Sekoundinos reports that indeed the warlord retreated after he received two wounds:[116] *Joannes* [*sc.* Giustiniani]… *salutem urbis desperare coepit duobus acceptis vulneribus*, "Giovanni [Giustiniani]… began to lose hope about the salvation of the city and received two wounds." Sekoundinos must have heard this version from survivors in Constantinople and his report lends further weight to the authenticity and historicity of Nestor-Iskander's account.

Nestor-Iskander's "catalogue" of defenders includes mention of the grand duke, Loukas Notaras, whom he cites as "Kyr Louka," with his correct title: Киръ Лука же и архидуксъ…, "Lord Loukas, the archduke…."[117] It is interesting to note that Nestor-Iskander supplies Kyr/Kir before this man's name. Other testimonies of eyewitnesses include the same term, even though the writers may not have been aware of its significance as a short form of the honorific κύριος, "lord," and assumed that it was a part of his name. Thus Leonardo[118] refers to him as *Chirluca*, that is, Kyr Louka, and his Italian imitators follow him in this designation.[119] With this evidence supplied by eyewitnesses we may conclude that Loukas Notaras was generally addressed as Kyr Loukas during the siege and that Nestor-Iskander has preserved an authentic detail. He must have heard someone address the grand duke as "Kyr Louka." In addition, we may observe the title that Nestor-Iskander assigns to Notaras. The official Greek title was μέγας δοὺξ or even μεγαδούξ, *megadoux*, that is, "grand duke." Nestor-Iskander provides a variation and cites it as архидуксъ, "archduke." This is an illustration of a misunderstanding of the Greek word. Nestor-Iskander must have received this form of the title from an informant who was not familiar with the proper form of the title. It further testifies to the authenticity of this tale. The meaning of the office is retained but the actual title is slightly, even intelligently, modified.

A further contribution to the prosopography of the defenders comes from the pen of Nestor-Iskander, a detail that is not encountered in other surviving testimonies. An important passage in his narrative deals with a skirmish that involved Mustafa, "the standard-bearer of the east [= Anatolia]," whom we have already encountered,[120] and a Greek general, the *strategos* "Palaiologos Singkourlas," who receives this brief mention and does not play any further part in this account. This important passage reads in its oldest version, *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra Ms. No. 773*, as follows:[121]

> И яко испустиша пушкы, внезаапу нападе на нихъ изъ града **Палеологъ, стратигъ Сингурла,** со многыми людми и бьяше ихъ крѣпко. Въсточный же **Флабураръ Мустафа** вскорѣ найде на Грекы со многою силою, и сѣчаше ихъ сурово, и прогна ихъ въ градъ, и уже хотяху стѣну отъяти. **Феодоръ же тисячникъ** совокупився съ Зустунѣемъ, поскориша на помощь, и бысть сѣча велія, но убо Турки осиловахуть ихъ.

> As the cannons fired, suddenly *Strategos* [General] *Palaiologos Singkourlas*, with many men from the city, attacked and fought firmly against them. *Mustafa, the standard-bearer of the east* [Anatolia], came upon the Greeks with a large force soon thereafter and pitilessly put them to the sword. He drove them into the city and even wanted to start out for the wall. Hurrying to his aid, *Khiliarkh Theodoros* joined [forces with] Giustiniani. There was great carnage, but in the end the Turks subdued them.

The equivalent passage in Sreznevsky's edition is based on a manuscript that is considerably later than the *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra Ms. No. 773*. The text reads as follows:[122]

> Натискъ Турокъ удерживалъ только **Палеологъ стратигъ сингурла**. Турки были подкрѣплены новыми силами, которыя привелъ **восточный фламбураръ Мустафа**, и готовились овладѣть стѣною. **Тысячникъ Θеодоръ** вмѣстѣ съ Юстиніаномъ поспѣшили на помощь; но немного помогли. Турки одолѣвали Грековъ.

> The Turkish attack stayed the march of *Palaiologos the strategos singurla*. The Turks were reinforced with newfound strength which

> [appeared] with *the standard-bearer of the east, Mustafa*, who prepared to seize the walls. *The Khiliarkh Theodoros* together with Giustiniani hastened to aid, but could not assist. The Turks overpowered the Greeks.

The essential information in both versions is identical. Of particular interest, however, is the phrase Палеологъ, стратигъ сингурла, "General Palaiologos Singourla." Since the publication of the Sreznevsky version of the text, scholars have considered the phrase problematic and puzzling. The original editor, Sreznevsky, could not decide whether he was confronted with an actual name or a hopelessly corrupted descriptive title, as стратигъ is after all an echo of the Greek στρατηγός "general." That this was an actual person, bearing a familial name, was improbable to him and he concluded that he was encountering a title that could no longer be recovered in its original form. Accordingly, he failed to capitalize either стратигъ or сингурла. In an accompanying note,[123] he entertained the possibility that behind сингурла/*singourla* the appellation "Sgouromalles" was hidden, for, after all, we know of a Palaiologos Sgouromalles, the lord of Karytaina, who was connected with events in the Morea in the decade of the 1460s.[124] There is, however, no evidence whatsoever to conclude that this individual was among the defenders of Constantinople in 1453 and to suppose that he survived the sack and found for himself a new career in southern Greece ten years later. Beyond this hypothesis of Sreznevsky, in more recent times another unlikely candidate has been proposed:[125] Theophilos Palaiologos, an active defender in 1453, mentioned by other eyewitnesses.[126] Sreznevsky concludes that a name was not hidden behind сингурла/*singourla* and believed that he was observing a corruption of a Greek military title, something approximating an original στρατηγὸς συνεργολάβος, that is, "adjutant general." Against this conclusion of Sreznevsky's one may point to the fact that Nestor-Iskander is quite familiar with Greek titles and reproduces them in an accurate phonetic form or approximation (or in passable translation) throughout his text: стратигъ for στρατηγός/general.[127] епархъ for ἔπαρχος/eparkh,[128] великiй доместикъ for μέγας δομέστικος/grand domestic,[129] логоѳетъ for λογοθέτης/logothete.[130] or even his архидуксъ, a rendering of the Greek title ἀρχιδούξ.[131] All of these titles are rendered accurately from their original Greek forms. Why should we then suppose that Nestor-Iskander, or the transmission of his autograph, garbled a title only in the case of сингурла/

*singourla*?

The decision of Sreznevsky to print *singurla* with a lower case *s*, that is, to indicate that a title is concealed behind this form instead of *Singurla* with a capitalized *S*, must be reversed. The form "Singourla" is, after all, a proper name and not a title. It may not be a common name but it exists nevertheless. A notable family called Singourla is encountered in the vicinity of Constantinople at this time. It is true that none of the authentic and derivative accounts of the siege refers to a General Singourla, with the exception of Nestor-Iskander's narrative. The so-called Greek historians of the fall, Doukas, Khalkokondyles, and Kritoboulos, do not know of him. "Singourla" is also absent in western sources, such as those of Isidore, Leonardo, Pusculo, and Tetaldi. His name, however, in the form Σέγκρουλα, occurs in an appropriate context in the corpus of the so-called *Chronica breviora*, the short chronicles, of the period. Chronicle 9, entry 51, for *anno mundi* 6956, that is, A.D. 1446, addresses this precarious situation: the uncertainty and the intrigues that followed the death of Theodoros, the brother of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448). Theodoros had been plotting to become the successor of John VIII:[132]

> τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει, μηνὶ <ἰουνίῳ> ἀπέθανεν ὁ δεσπότης κῦρ Θεόδωρος ὁ Παλαιολόγος, ἀδελφὸς Ἰωάννου βασιλέως. καὶ εὑρέθησαν ἄπιστοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι κρυφαίως, τὸ δὲ φανερῶς Θεόφιλος ὁ Παλαιολόγος, Βρυέννιος ὁ Λεοντάρης Παλαιολόγος, Σέγκρουλα, Στρατηγόπουλος ὁ Σκαντζιλέρης, ὁ κριτής, ὁ γραμματεύς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. Ἐτάφη γοῦν εἰς τὸν Παντοκράτορα.

> In the same year, in the month of <June> the despot, Lord Theodoros Palaiologos, and brother of Emperor John [VIII], died. Not a few [men] were secretly disloyal. Overtly, Theophilos Palaiologos, Bryennios Leontaris Palaiologos, Senkroula, Strategopoulos Skantzileris, the judge, the secretary, and many others [were found disloyal]. He [Theodoros] was buried in the Pantokrator.

Most of the information presented in this note is not found elsewhere. It is important to note also that Singourla (or Senkroula, as the name is spelled in this entry) appears in the company of well-known personages who played a part in the siege of Constantinople in 1453. We have already met Theophilos Palaiologos.[133] Leontaris Bryennios Palaiologos, whose first name was Andronikos, was a well-known diplomat who had been dispatched to Italy in the years before the siege, with the important mission of recruiting mercenaries and seeking western aid for the defense of Constantinople against the Turks.[134] Nestor-Iskander's

Палеологъ, стратигъ Сингурла, “General Palaiologos Singourla” (as printed in the new edition) can be identified, in all likelihood, with the Σέγκρουλα of the short chronicle.

That Сингурла/Σέγκρουλα/ Singourla is a historical personality has significant implications. It simply adds further weight to the arguments that support the view that the author of the *Povest’* was indeed an eyewitness, who in this section of his chronicle has recorded a skirmish that involved Singourla, but remains unnoticed in other sources. Nestor-Iskander confers upon him the title of general: стратигъ/στρατηγός. It is also strongly implied that he was stationed in the critical sector of the Mesoteikhion, probably near the Pempton that was defended by Giustiniani and the emperor with the best troops. Nestor-Iskander probably observed this incident that he describes. Apart from the entry in the short chronicle, Singourla is not attested in Greek, oriental, western, or Slavic sources. Could Nestor-Iskander have invented his name? It seems unlikely, as this name was not mentioned often in the literature of the period and was not a common Greek name. It seems more reasonable to believe that Nestor-Iskander knew him and had seen him in action in the defense of the city.

The notice of this individual by name further argues in favor of the view that Nestor-Iskander was with the defenders during the siege and not with the Turks, as certain scholars had erroneously and hastily assumed.[135] Would the author of the *Povest’* know of a minor personality among the defenders, if indeed he had been with the Turks in the Ottoman camp? His deeds in the siege are unknown to any other sources. Nestor-Iskander mentions him for the simple reason that he had seen him participating in that specific skirmish and he had been personally impressed by his actions to record his name and his performance in his diary. We not only recover the name of yet another defender of Constantinople, but the recognition of this personality provides further evidence in support of the authenticity of this account as an eyewitness source for the events.

Given this circumstance concerning Singourla, we may further suspect, even though further evidence in this case cannot be adduced, that another defender mentioned in the *Povest’* in connection with the “Amar Beg” incident is also a historical personality. This skirmish took place in the vicinity of the Pempton, for among the troops of “Amar Beg” was a janissary named Amurat[136] who attacked Giustiniani himself. Further, his comment that the entire skirmish took place outside the city points to the area of the stockade that had been erected to replace the collapsed outer wall.

Nestor-Iskander also records a sortie that was made by Theodoros to reinforce the regiments led by Singourla and Giustiniani, who evidently were in danger of being wiped out by the enemy. Nestor-Iskander does not identify his "Theodoros" further, but, as we have already seen, he may be none other than Theodoros Karystenos.[137] Leonardo knew of this warrior and expressed admiration for his contribution to the defense, especially at the Kaligaria Gate, the northernmost gate of the land fortifications. This troublesome spot, whose gate had been the target of the Ottoman batteries in the earlier stages of the siege and was in ruins, had been assigned to Theodoros Karystenos, Theophilos Palaiologos, and John Grant, the military engineer[138] of Giustiniani's band, according to Leonardo:[139]

> *Theodorus Charistino, senex sed robustus Graecus, in arcu doctissimus, Theophilusque Graecus, nobilis Palaeologus litteris eruditus, ambo catholici, cum Joanne Alemano ingenioso, Caligaream concussam reparant proteguntque.*
>
> Theodoros Karystenos, an old yet very strong Greek and first-rate archer, and Theophilos Palaiologos, a Greek nobleman and a literary scholar, together with the talented John Grant, the German, were in charge of the repairs and of the protection of the shattered Kaligaria.

Perhaps it should be added that by "archer" Leonardo is probably indicating the man's skill in the use of the crossbow. Cardinal Isidore, the friend of Leonardo, in his personal communication to Cardinal Bessarion, supplies similar information and further adds that Theodoros Karystenos fell in the siege:[140]

> *…et alteram quae Caligariorum appellabatur, apud quam dum accerrime pugnaretur fortissimus ille Theodorus Carystenus irrumpentibus in urbem hostibus se opponens generose ac summa fortitudinis gloria occubuit.*
>
> …there was another [gate] called Kaligaria, which saw a great deal of fighting. That legendary man, Theodoros Karystenos, most bravely and energetically opposed the enemy when they tried to break through and fell gloriously.

The circumstances of his death, but not the date of his death, are discussed in Isidore's letter. But if we combine Isidore's information, which states that Karystenos died in battle, and Nestor-Iskander's observation of the incident involving Singourla, Theodoros, Giustiniani, and Mustafa, we may reasonably conclude that Theodoros Karystenos fell at the end of this skirmish, when he and his troops made a sortie from their sector to assist their hard-pressed comrades.

Such seems to be the conclusion of this incident in Nestor-Iskander's text:[141] но убо Туркы осиловахуть ихъ, "but in the end the Turks subdued them." This statement implies that both Singourla and Theodoros Karystenos fell before the walls of Constantinople in combat against Mustafa's regiments.

Having demonstrated that Singourla was a real person involved in the siege of Constantinople, we must make mention of other participants in the siege, whose names and identities Nestor-Iskander reveals, as they, too, may be historical figures. At the very least, they should not be easily dismissed. Nestor-Iskander, we may feel certain, has indeed preserved historical knowledge that cannot be confirmed by other surviving accounts and chronicles. A typical example is an incident that involves the janissary Amurat,[142] whose attack threatened the life of Giovanni Giustiniani. The warlord was saved by the timely intervention of an unnamed Greek. In order to reinforce Amurat, Amar Beg,[143] a standard-bearer, advanced with his troops against Giustiniani and his warriors, who were apparently caught outside the fortifications, in the vicinity of the stockade at the Pempton, or even before it. They were rescued in a sortie that was led by "General Rhangabes," who personally dispatched Amar Beg. "Rhangabes" is not mentioned by any other eyewitness or for that matter secondary account:[144]

> Амуратъ же нѣкыи янычанинъ, крѣпокъ сый тѣломъ, смѣшавса съ Грекы, дойди Зустунѣя, и начать сѣщи его лютѣ. Гречинъ же нѣкыи, скочивъ стѣны, отсѣче ему ногу сѣкирою, и тако избави Зустунѣя отъ смерти. Флабураръ же паки западныи, Амаръбей съ своими полкы нападе на Грекы, и бысть сѣча велія. Такоже изъ града Рахкавѣю стратигу со многими людьми преспѣвшу на помочь Грекомъ, бьяшесь крѣко съ Туркы, и прогна ихъ даже до самаго Амарбѣа. Онъ же видѣвъ Рахкавѣя лютѣ сѣкуша Турокъ, обнаживъ мечъ нападе на нь, и сѣчахуся обои лютѣ. Рахкавѣй же наступивъ на камень удари его мечемъ по плечю обѣручь, и разсѣче его на двое: силу бо имяше велію въ рукахъ.

> With bodily strength, a certain janissary, Amurat [= Murad], mixed with the Greeks. He came at Giustiniani and began to slash him fiercely. A Greek jumped from the wall, cut off his legs with an axe, and so saved Giustiniani from death. Again the standard-bearer of the west, Amar Beg [= Ömer Beg], attacked the Greeks with his regiment. There was great slashing. So also Rhangabes the *strategos* [= general] succeeded, with many men, in aiding the Greeks outside the city, as they were vigorously fighting against the Turks. He routed all of them, including Amar Beg himself. He saw Rhangabes fiercely slashing the Turks. Having bared his sword, he attacked him and with fury did they slash at each other. Rhangabes stepped on a rock, grasped his sword with two hands, struck him on

> the shoulder, and cut him into two, for he had great strength in his arms.

Once more this passage bears the stamp of an eyewitness. The description is so vivid and so precise as to indicate that the author himself had witnessed this incident. For instance, the observation that Rhangabes stepped on a rock and grasped his sword with both hands to deal his deadly blow to “Amar Beg” implies direct observation of the event. That “Amurat” fell after his legs were cut off from under him appears to be a genuine observation. However, none of these events is reported in any of the surviving literature. The only janissary to be mentioned by name, Hasan from Lopadion (Hasan Ulubadlı), appears in the sixteenth-century elaboration of Sphrantzes’ chronicle by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, who reports the following incident:[145]

> Καί τις ἰανίτζαρις τοὔνομα Χασάνης — ἐκ τοῦ Λοππαδίου ὁ γιγαντώδης…οὐ πρότερον ἐπέσχε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἢ ἀνελθεῖν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ τρέψασθαι τοὺς ἡμετέρους…. Καὶ ὁ Χασάνης μαχόμενος προσπαισθεὶς πέτρᾳ τινὶ κατέπεσεν …εἰς γόνυ διαστὰς ἠμύνετο…καὶ κατεχώσθη τοῖς βέλεσι.

> And a janissary, Hasan by name (he was a giant from Lopadion)… did not check his attack before he climbed on to the walls and routed our side…. And Hasan was struck by a stone as he was fighting and was brought down…on his knee he continued defending himself…and was overwhelmed by arrows.

However, the possibility that Pseudo-Sphrantzes’ “Hasan” and Nestor-Iskander’s “Amurat” are the same person is remote.

We should further mention individuals that Nestor-Iskander does not know by name or whose identity he fails to recognize, perhaps because they were not present in his sector which, in all probability, was somewhere between the Gate of Saint Romanos and perhaps nearer the Pempton, that is, in close proximity to the troops of Giustiniani. Thus Nestor-Iskander mentions the grand domestic and the *logothete* in a context that implies that he is reporting hearsay, as he would not have access to a council that discussed state matters. He is even unaware of the names of these individuals:[146]

> Велкій же доместикъ съ нимъ логоѳетъ и ини мнози вельможи съвѣщааху, да изыдеть цесарь изъ града….

> The grand domestic, in the company of the *logothetes* and many other great lords, advised that the emperor should leave the city….

The “grand domestic” in our text could be Andronikos Kantakouzenos.[147] Nestor-Iskander’s *logothetes* cannot be identified, as the position was vacant at the time and the emperor intended to appoint George Sphrantzes to the post. The appointment never came to fruition, because the siege had intervened.[148] A further serious omission testifies to the young age of Nestor-Iskander and to the fact that he had been away from his homeland for some time. Nowhere in his narrative does he identify by name or by reputation Cardinal Isidore, the Greek legate of the pope. Isidore was not a stranger to the Slavs. Long before the siege he had been sent by the patriarchate of Constantinople to become the head of the Orthodox Church in Russia as the metropolitan of Kiev. In this capacity Isidore had committed his Russian flock to the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches at the Council of Florence in 1439. Upon his return to Muscovite Russia he was challenged by the wrath of his flock, became a *persona non grata*, and was even imprisoned for a brief period before he escaped, or was allowed to escape. After a number of adventures he found his way to Italy and was elevated to cardinal by the pope. His name remained anathema among the pious Russians and he was equated with the devil. If Nestor-Iskander had been aware of these circumstances he would have identified Isidore in colorful language in his narrative, but he shows no awareness of him, even though Isidore was one of the active and heroic defenders in the siege.[149] There is, of course, the possibility that the young Nestor-Iskander had actually seen Isidore and mistook him for another person. Nestor-Iskander often speaks of the "patriarch" of Constantinople.[150] The post, however, had been vacant for some time, as the former patriarch, Gregory III Mamas, had as well become unpopular because of his pro-union position and had been forced to abandon his post and to seek refuge with the pope in Rome in 1451.[151] It is also possible that Nestor-Iskander intended by "patriarch" the highest cleric in Constantinople, that is, Isidore himself, who was often in the company of the emperor.[152]

We have already encountered[153] "Nicholas, the eparkh." Nestor-Iskander fails to provide any further specific characteristics that would reveal his identity beyond any doubt.[154] But a reasonable hypothesis is that he is citing Nikolaos Goudeles, with whose family George Sphrantzes had arranged, through the emperor, a marriage alliance in the days preceding the siege.[155] Evidently, Goudeles was captured during the sack and was subsequently executed, if indeed the following proposed emendation to the text of Isidore's letter to his friend Cardinal Bessarion is correct. Cardinal Isidore wrote this letter to his friend as soon as he managed, after a number of adventures,[156] to escape from occupied Constantinople and reached the safety of Venetian Crete. In this communication, he includes the following statement:[157]

> *Post tres dies decrevit ac iussit primo quidem duobus filiis Notarae – alter enim gloriose dimicans interierat – capita in conspectu patris amputari, ipsi deinde patri, postea magnis domestici filios tres pulcherrimos et optimos occidit et insuper patrem eorum. Dehinc illustrem Dominum Nicolaum Gredetam et plurimos alios praeclarissimos viros interemit; fecit autem et alia plurima et horrenda, dum etiam illic essem, quae longum esset enarrare*.
>
> After three days he issued a decree and ordered that the two sons of Notaras be decapitated before their own father (a third son had already perished gloriously in battle) to be followed by the decapitation of their father. Next the three very handsome sons of the grand domestic [*sc.* Andronikos Kantakouzenos] were executed with their father. Then Lord Nikolaos Gredeta and many other famous men were executed. He also committed numerous other horrors, while I was still present there. It would be too long to narrate them.

The problem is amplified by the reference to a Nikolaos Gredeta, for there is no individual by that name in any source. We may conclude therefore that there exists a problem in transmission, or the translator misread the Greek name. The original letter was composed in Greek but it has not survived and we are challenged by a contemporary Latin translation of a known humanist, as it is noted at the beginning of this document:[158] *habes iam, Alberte dilectissime, gr<a>ecam epistolam factam latinam, etsi inepte traductam*, "dearest Albert: Here is a Greek letter translated into Latin, rather inelegantly." An emendation from *Gredetam* to *Gudelam* or *Gudelem* is in order, which would restore the name of Nikolaos Goudeles and would also reveal his fate a few days after the sack.

There is one individual in addition, of whom Nestor-Iskander makes mention in his narrative: Constantinople's nameless empress, the wife of Constantine XI. She makes her first appearance together with her retinue in a procession to the "great church" (Hagia Sophia?) to pray for salvation:[159]

…къ великой церкве на молитву…такоже и множество благородныхъ женъ и дѣтей съ царицею…,

"…to the great church to give prayers…. So did a multitude of noble women and children accompany the empress." He further mentions that she took monastic vows in the last stages of the siege, and when the city was already being sacked, she found passage on the ship of the wounded Giustiniani:[160]

> Царица же въ онъ же часъ пріять прощеніе отъ цесаря и иночьство прія. Оставшіи же стратиги и боляре вземъ царицю и благородныхъ дѣвицъ и младыхъ женъ многыхъ, отпустиша въ Зустунѣевы карабли и катарги во островы и въ Амарію ю къ племянамъ.
>
> At that very time the empress received forgiveness from the emperor and was made a monk [that is, took the nun's veil]. The *strategoi* [generals] and great lords who remained took the empress, the noble maids, and the many young women, boarded the ships and the galleys of Giustiniani and [went] to the islands and to the families in the Morea.

These are very interesting details, but there is a major problem. As we shall have occasion to discuss more extensively in due course,[161] there was no empress in Constantinople in 1453. Constantine XI had been a widower and his friend, the diplomat George Sphrantzes had assisted in the selection of a bride, a princess, the daughter of George VIII (1440–1476) of Iberia-Georgia. She had been prevented from reaching Constantinople presumably because of the siege.[162] In time a complicated tale developed that involved this supposed queen in the drama of the siege. Nestor-Iskander has preserved the earliest nucleus of this story. The essentials of the legend were already present, as the Russian eyewitness associates the empress with religious affairs, especially when he states that she became a nun before the sack. It is this kernel that we come upon in the following century in the tales that were already in circulation in Constantinople.

A sixteenth-century verse chronicle ascribed to Hierax, an official at the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople, relates the last moments of this empress:[163]

> Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος κράτωρ δέ, ὁ Δράγασις τοὐπίκλην,
> ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ τῷ ναῷ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας,
> ...
> καταφυγὼν ὁ δυστυχὴς σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις,
> μεταλαμβάνει τῶν φρικτῶν κυρίου μυστηρίων
> αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παῖδες ὁμοῦ καὶ δοῦλοι·
> τὴν ὁμευνέτιν φεῦ! δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καρατομεῖ τὸ πρῶτον,
> καὶ παῖδας καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους πάντας,
> μὴ ζῆν προκρίνας....
>
> The wretched emperor Constantine, who was also known as Dragaš, / fled, with his wife and children, to the church of God's Wisdom [= Hagia Sophia] / ... / There, he, the children with him, and his servants / partook of the awesome sacraments of the Lord. / Then,

> alas, he ordered the decapitation of his wife first, / of his children, and of all his servants, / as he thought that they should not remain alive….

Similar information is supplied in an early seventeenth-century anonymous chronicle, *Codex Barberinus Graecus 111*:[164]

> Τότε λέγουσι πὼς ἔκραξε [*sc.* ὁ βασιλεὺς] τὸν πνευματικὸν καὶ ἐξεμολογήθη αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ βασίλισσά του καὶ τὰ παιδία του. Καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔβαλε καὶ ἐκόψαν τὰ κεφάλια τῶν παιδίων του καὶ τῆς βασίλισσας ὀμπρός του.

> Then, it is said, he [*sc.* the emperor] summoned his confessor and he, his queen, and his children confessed. Then he had his children and his queen beheaded in front of his eyes.

While the fully developed tale mentions the queen, her children, and their executions prior to the sack by imperial order, Nestor-Iskander is aware of only the queen in a religious setting and of her escape aboard Giustiniani's ships. It is clear nevertheless that sometime between 1453 and 1500 a tale had been created and it must have been surrounded by an aura of authenticity because the sixteenth-century professor and author of the monumental *Turcograecia*, Martinus Crusius (Martin Kraus), became convinced that Constantine XI did have a wife in 1453. In fact, Crusius wrote to Theodosios Zygomalas, an important official at the patriarchate and an avid collector of manuscripts, and asked for further information in regard to Constantine's queen.[165] Zygomalas, it should be noted, did not dismiss the tale, but in his reply[166] to Crusius he supplies the details we have already encountered in Hierax:

> φέρεται δὲ λόγος ὅτι ὁ πρότερον μεταδοὺς [*sc.* Κωνσταντῖνος] τῶν θείων μυστηρίων τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ, τῇ βασιλίσσῃ καὶ πολλοῖς συγγενέσι καὶ οἰκείοις ἅπαντας ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι προσέταξε τοῦ μὴ αἰχμαλωσίας τυχεῖν. βασιλίσσης ὄνομα ὑστάτης οὐκ οἶδα. ἠρώτησα γὰρ πολλοῖς, καὶ οὐδείς μοι εἶχε ἀληθείας ῥήματα ἢ γραφὴν δεῖξαι.

> There is a tale that he [*sc.* Constantine XI] first partook of the divine sacrament together with his children, his queen, his numerous relatives, and all his servants, whose decapitation he then ordered so that they would not be captured. I do not know the name of the last empress. I have asked many people but no one could tell me true words or could show me a document.

A similar story was also transmitted orally and its echoes were collected at the end of the nineteenth century.[167]

In spite of Zygomalas' inability to gather authentic evidence on Constantine's "queen," Crusius went on to compose two epigrams in ancient Greek in honor of the last imperial couple of Constantinople. The Renaissance scholar then assigned two lines to Constantine XI and four to his supposed queen:[168]

> Ἐνθάδε (ποῦ; Θεὸς οἶδε) κάρη σέο πατρὶς ἔχωσεν
> Ἑλλήνων ἀγέ, λοῖσθε, ταλάντατε Κωνσταντῖνε.
>
> Ἐνθάδε (ποῦ; Θεὸς οἶδε) τάφος σὸς ἀνώνυμος ἔστιν
> Ἑλλήνων βασιλίς, Νιόβην κρύπτουσα γοώδη·
> ὄψεσιν ἀλλὰ φιλανθρώποις Θεὸς ὑμετέρρησι
> χάρμασιν ἀλήκτοις ἀπὸ δάκρυα πάντα καθαίροι.
>
> Here (where? God knows) your own homeland became your tomb, /
> lord of the Hellenes, most wretched Constantine.
>
> Here (where? God knows) a nameless tomb holds you, /
> queen of the Hellenes. A mournful Niobe it conceals. /
> May God erase all tears from your kind /
> eyes with endless joy.

The legend declaring the existence of the last emperor's queen was certainly a powerful account in the sixteenth century and Crusius could not easily dismiss it. The legend is not simply restricted to folk tales and to the "literary" record, but it is also encountered in art. A sixteenth-century fresco decorating the monastery church of Moldovitça in Romania's Bucovina depicts the siege of Constantinople in 1453.[169] Here the city and its fortifications are illustrated in a generic manner while the details of the armament borne by defenders and besiegers are authentic. Constantine XI is pictured on the ramparts, with his retinue, in a procession of clergymen. They are in full view of the attacking enemy. Constantine bears the traditional trappings of the emperor of the late medieval Greek state: he is clad in the σάκκος μέλας, the imperial black tunic decorated with the gold *loros*, the medieval Greek descendant of the Roman *trabea triumphalis* worn around the shoulder and waist.[170] Yet the picture is not absolutely authentic, for, in contrast to the general eastern splendor, Constantine XI wears a western-style crown. Higher up on the walls there is a procession of ladies led by a "queen," Constantine's supposed wife. The ladies are dressed in robes of western origin and fashion, resembling perhaps those that the artist had seen in works of art that had reached his region via Hungary. Outside the walls, the Turkish artillery, cavalry, and janissary regiments, portrayed in authentic detail, can be easily identified. This depiction of Constantine is also imaginary. It was executed well after 1453 but, at least, this fresco seems to reflect, in tragic tones, the hopeless situation of the imperial city in the last days of its independent existence.

It becomes evident that stories were already in circulation, soon after the sack, as rumors about the "queen" found their way into Nestor-Iskander's text. Nestor-Iskander, though a credible eyewitness, was certainly wrong about the existence of the last Constantinopolitan empress. What prompted him to believe that there was one is not clear, but we may speculate that he confused a lady of the court with the imperial consort or perhaps he is referring to an otherwise unknown mistress of Constantine XI.

It is possible now to separate different "strata" in the text that have come down to us, even in its earliest forms that date back to the fifteenth century. The earliest surviving form, the "tale," begins with an introductory section that narrates the antiquity and foundation of Constantinople. This part, in all likelihood, is not from the pen of Nestor-Iskander. Learned or semi-learned individuals who exhibit a strong Orthodox bias have simply added it to his original journal. They are probably responsible for the numerous additions that deal with prophecies and with the religious, mystical statements. Nestor-Iskander himself was not an intellectual but had some fundamental religious training, if the original sections that go back to the account composed by this youthful eyewitness constitute a credible guide. These latter sections, with dates that were in time confused in manuscript transmission, contain the eyewitness observations of the daily operations and Nestor-Iskander's "notes" on the crucial personalities in the drama of Constantinople. They are the most valuable sections of this interesting narrative and provide useful material for an understanding of the siege.

Also authentic, but perhaps not in its original form, is the concluding section of the author's appended *vita*:[171]

> Съ писателъ же симъ азъ много грѣшный и бѣзаконный Нестора Искиндѣра. Изъ млада взятъ бывъ и обрѣзанъ. Много врѣмя пострадахъ. Въ ратныхъ хоженнихъ оукываяся семо и онамо, да не умру въ окаянной сей вѣре. Тако и нынѣ въ сѣмь велїкомь и страшномь дѣле оухитряяся овогда болѣзнїю, овогда скрыванїемъ, овогда же совѣщанниемъ приятѣлей своихъ. Оуловляа врѣмя дозренїемь и испытанїемь великымь, писахъ въ каждый день творимая дѣянїа вне града отъ Турковъ. И пакы егда попущенїемъ Божиимъ внїходомъ въ града врѣмянемъ испытаахъ и собрахъ отъ достоврьныхъ и великихъ магистржей вся творимая дѣянїа во градѣ противоу безвѣрныхъ.

I, the author, the much sinful and lawless Nestor-Iskander [*sic*

> ύskinder], was taken from youth and was circumcised. Suffering for a long time on a military march, I concealed myself wherever possible. That I might not die in this wretched faith (so present in the grand and terrible custom), I contrived sometimes illness, sometimes concealment, and other times consultation with my own friends. I was hunted and caught; in time, through maturity and great diligence, I wrote of the age and of the day-by-day activities accomplished within the city by the Turks. Again through the will of God I entered the city in time to find out by discovering from credible and grand masters all of the actions that occurred in the city against the infidels.

A final observation: Nestor-Iskander notes a detail that only an eyewitness would remember and record, precisely because he had first-hand experience. In his description of the sack, Nestor-Iskander goes to great lengths to describe the drama that unfolded when the desperate population sought sanctuary in the Church of Hagia Sophia. Finally, the sultan himself arrived, put an end to the slaughter, and ordered a search for the remains of the emperor. Nestor-Iskander supplies an interesting remark:[172] as the sultan leaves the great church, the author of the *Povest'* adds: не дожда, "it was not raining." That is precisely the sort of detail that would make an indelible mark upon the mind of an eyewitness who was aware of observing history in the making.

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# Notes

[1] H. İnalcik, “The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City,” *DOP* 23/24 (1969/1970): 231–249 [= ch. 5 in H. İnalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy* (London, 1978)]; at this point İnalcik appears to follow *FC*, p. 148.

[2] *PG* 159: 42.

[3] It was first edited and published by de Sacy, pp. 74–79; it was subsequently edited by Belgrano, no. 149, pp. 229–233; and again it was published by Iorga, “Notes et extraits,” pp. 105–108. It has been translated into English by Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 131–135. More recently, an edition with improved text and Italian translation appeared in *CC* 1: 42–51.

[4] *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, eds. L. Petit, X. A. Sidéridès, and M. Jugie, 1 (Paris, 1929): 227–288: the eulogy on the death of his nephew entitled Ἐπιτάφιος τῷ μακαρίῳ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Σοφιανῷ, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μονῇ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου ταφέντι, ὃν εἶπεν ἐξ ὑπογείου ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ Γεννάδιος μοναχὸς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ, Σεπτεμβρίου κη΄, ͵ϛϡξε΄ ἔτους, esp. p. 279.

[5] Pertusi, “The Anconitan Colony,” pp. 199–218. An English translation of this document appears in Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans*, pp. 197–201. The Latin text with Italian translation is also printed in *TIePN*, pp. 4–5.

[6] One of the most influential collections, as we have seen, is Francesco Sansovino’s *Historia universale dell’origine et imperio de Turchi*. On the various editions of this work and on Sansovino’s importance, cf. Zachariadou, *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων*, ch. 3; and E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago and London, 1981), pp. 333–336, 378–383.

[7] *MHH*, 21.1, and 22.1.2. On this, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453.”

[8] Francesco Sansovino’s work, *Gl’annali Turcheschi overo vite de principi della casa Ottomana. Ne quali si descrivono di tempo in tempo tutte le guerre fatte dalla natione de Turchi in diverse Provincie del Mondo con molti particolari della Morea et delle case nobili dell’Albania, & dell’Imperio & stato de Greci* (Venice, 1573); and his popular *Historia universale*, which contains the Richerio account, pp. 269–272. In addition to Déthier’s *MHH*, Iorga also produced a multi-volume collection of pertinent archival material: *NE* 1–6, while Lampros also produced a collection of literary and popular lamentations on the fall: “Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι ἐπὶ τῇ Ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως,” pp. 190–270. In more recent times *CC* 1, *CC* 2, and *TIePN* have become essential to any scholar interested in the siege, but these collections contain only selections and in some cases the selections appear only in Italian translation without the original text. Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453.”

[9] Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, pp. 28–29: Χριστόφορος Ῥιχέριος. Ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐν ἔτει 1453ῳ κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Σανσοβίνου ἐν τῇ παγκοσμίῳ ἱστορίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ κράτους τῶν Τούρκων, ἐν Βενετίᾳ 1564. Βιβ. Γ΄, pp. 63–66.

[10] A notorious case that will be dealt with in due time is concerned with the various narratives attributed to the pen of George Sphrantzes; cf. *infra*, ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle” and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes.”

[11] Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, p. 28.

[12] Quoted *supra*, n. 9.

[13] Pears, p. xiii.

[14] *FC*, pp. 196–197. Runciman is also in error in regard to Tetaldi (who was a merchant and not a soldier, even though he participated in the defense), and in regard to Montaldo, who was not present in Constantinople but wrote his rhetorical, pedantic account in Italy in the 1470s. On Montaldo and his humanistic *opusculum*, cf. the introduction in Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror, passim.*

[15] Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 118–124.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. x.

[17] Richerius, *De rebus*, Book IV, 90. Translation by Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 120.

[18] Pertusi, "La lettera di Filippo da Rimini, cancelliere di Corfù," pp. 120–157, no. 38 (p. 135): *Cristofore Riccherio, La presa di Costantinopoli, l' anno MCCCCLIII al XXIX di maggio, c. 1500* (?). In the accompanying n. 64, Pertusi makes it clear that he was not aware of the existence of any printed book (in Latin or any other language) of Richerio. Pertusi further embraced the tradition of spelling this author's name as "Riccherio" and assumed that the original composition was in Italian, as he could discover no additional information on this individual: "…non è altro che un volgarizzamento della narrazione del Piccolomini…. Sull' autore non ho trovato alcuna indicazione nei grandi repertori." In addition, Zachariadou, *Τὸ Χρονικο τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων*, considered "Riccherio" to be one of the Italian sources for the composition of Ottoman history in the sixteenth century.

[19] Cornet, *Giornale dell'assedio di Costantinopoli*, has preserved a number of useful lists of Venetian defenders; cf., e.g., pp. 59–60: *Questi si sono zentilomeni i qual fo morti in la bataia da turchi*; 60: *Questi si sono i nobelli, che scampò con le galìe*, etc. Such lists provide a starting point for the compilation of a prosopography of the defenders of Constantinople in 1453; cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants."

[20] Cf. Pertusi's comments already quoted, *supra*, n. 18. In addition, there is no entry for Riccherio/ Richerio in Cochrane's masterful study. In the voluminous documents and archival material collected in *NE* 1–6, we fail to encounter this name.

[21] Complete title: *De rebus Turcarum ad Franciscum Gallorum Regem Christianiss. Libri quinque* (Paris, 1540). Only a few copies remain in existence. We consulted a rare copy of this work in the Gennadeios Library in Athens.

[22] Richerius, *Praefatio*, p. 3.

[23] The pen of Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. C. U. Clark *et al.* (Berolini, 1963-), provides a typical example of this interest in exotic ethnographic lore in antiquity. This author's colorful (and often imaginary) account of the barbarians would have been of interest to the late Roman senatorial class, his readers, who wished to know more about the Huns.

[24] *SOC*, ch. 1.

[25] Examples of European literature written by individuals who had had some firsthand experience with the Turks in the fifteenth century include: Bertrandon de La Broquière's *Voyage d'Outremer* (Paris, 1892); Johann Schiltberger's *Reisebuch…* (Nurenberg, *ca.* 1545); and *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1453–1439)*, ed. M. Jimenez de la Espada, Coleccion de libros Españoles raros ó curiosos 8, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1874). Cf. the English translation of M. Letts, *Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures* (New York and London, 1926).

[26] At the bottom of the title page of Richer's *De rebus*, the date of publications is given as *M.D.XL.* The very last page of this book, however, indicates, as we shall presently see, that it was actually printed in 1543.

[27] *De rebus*, *Praefatio*, p. 5.

[28] *Ibid.*, Book V, p. 104.

[29] *Ibid.*, Book V, p. 108.

[30] Quoted *supra*, n. 21.

[31] *De rebus*, Book I, pp. 28–29.

[32] For the possibilities concerning the death of Constantine XI, cf. Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, 1: 364–365, n. 159; Siderides, "Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου Θάνατος," pp. 65-78, and 129–146; and Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 1.

[33] *De rebus*, Book IV, pp. 96–97.

[34] *Ibid.*, Book II, pp. 53–74.

[35] *Ibid.*, Book III, pp. 75–85.

[36] *Ibid.*, Book IV, pp. 86–101.

[37] Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 118–124.

[38] *De rebus*, Book V, pp. 102–115.

[39] *De rebus*, *Praefatio*, p. 4.

[40] For some of these authors and their influential investigations into late medieval Greece, cf. Zachariadou, *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων*, ch. 3; for further details, cf. the appropriate citations in Cochrane, *passim*.

[41] On the summary of Diedo's *relazione* that survives, cf. *Arhivio di Stato, Sen. Mar 4*, fols. 199v, 199r, and *Sen. Secr. T 19*, fol. 203v [= *TIePN*, pp. 8–9]. *Sen. Secr. 19*, fol. 203v reads as follows: 1453, 4 luglio: *Quia ut possint fieri provisiones debite pro hoc casu civitatis Constantinopolitanae quam crudelissimi Teucri subiugarunt, necesse est ut processus illius rei bene intelligatur. Vadit pars quod mittatur ad presens ser Lodovico Diedo qui venit capitaneus galearum Romanie et interfuit illi miserabili cladi ut in hoc Consilio referat omnia que hoc mane retulit in Collegio; quam quanto melius negotia intelliguntur tanto salubrius provideri potest. De parte 126 de non 13 sinceri 0.* In addition, cf. *NE* 3: 288; and *RdD* 3 (1431–1463): n. 2931 (p. 108). One can only hope that this report has been misfiled and will resurface at some point in time. It was only recently that Pertusi, "The Anconitan Colony," discovered or rediscovered the eyewitness report on the siege and sack by Benvenuto, the Anconan consul in Constantinople. We have had reason to suppose that Diedo's report was utilized in part by some authors before it vanished. Cf. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani," pp. 189–227, esp. pp. 208–209; in addition, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," text with nn. 75–79; and *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 55.

[42] This important monument and its imagery have been discussed briefly in the meticulous study of Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 236–237, with two black and white photographs of the tomb slab, pp. 262 and 263. The complete inscription reads as follows, without attempting, at this time, any restoration or explication of the text and its abbreviations: *Ludovicus Diedo X. vir. / opt. Bizantio capto / ex Britannia filio rei / p causa in vinculis re/licto Venetorum classem per medios hostes tuto in patriam erexit tamd/em iadere praetor morta/les edocuit pulcrum esse pro re p mori / sibi et suis.*

[43] On Leonardo, cf. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople," pp. 287–300; and *idem*, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani." The standard edition of this Latin authoritative *epistula* remains that of P. Lonicer, *Chronica Turcica*, 2 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1578): 84–102; it has been reprinted a number of times, including the *PG* 159 version. Extracts from Leonardo's text have also been published recently with Italian translation and an *apparatus criticus* in *CC* 1: 123–171. One regrets that the entire text has not been published and that important *scholia* of one particular manuscript were not included. Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.A.4 and esp. pp. 18–19.

[44] The case of Pseudo-Sphrantzes' *Maius* will be discussed in due course; cf. *infra*,

ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle’ and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes.” Giacomo Languschi’s *Excidio e presa di Costantinopoli nell’ anno 1453* was first edited and published by Thomas, “Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453,” pp. 1–38; selections are also printed in *TIePN*, pp. 169–180. The relation of Dolfin’s narrative to Leonardo’s *epistula* is discussed in Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani.” Melville Jones, pp. 125–131, has translated sections of this account, composed in a colorful mixture of sixteenth-century Venetian vernacular and Latin, into English.

[45] *De rebus*, Book IV, p. 97.

[46] *PG* 159: 141 [*CC* 1: 162].

[47] In this particular instance, direct verbal echoes and duplications include *Paeram…diffugit / refugit…in Peram; Chiu<m>…adnauigat / Chium navigans; aut vi vulneris, aut dolore confectus / ex vulnere vel tristitia; and gloria incredibili orbatus / inglorium transitum fecit.*

[48] An early printed edition of Aeneas Silvius’ pamphlet was, at some point, rather logically bound together with a contemporary work by Nikolaos Sekoundinos: *De Familia Otthomanorum Epitome ad Aeneam Senarum Episcopum* (*sine loco, sine anno*). This bound volume is currently housed in the Gennadeios Library of Athens. The same work of Aeneas Silvius was also published in the collection: *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensi, qui post adeptum pontificatum Pius eius nominis secundus appellatus est…*, pp. 400–403. The second edition is clearly later than the Gennadeios pamphlet. The two printed texts are not identical: there are various differences in spelling, punctuation, and choice of words. For a new edition of Pius’ *opusculum*, with Latin text, English translation, and commentary, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 93–119.

[49] Aeneas Silvius himself notes Sekoundinos’ talents in his *Cosmographiae Pii Papae in Asiae et Europae eleganti descriptione* (Paris, 1509), p. 134: *Post multas disputationes in quibus tanquam interpres Nicolaus Sagundinus, utraque lingua disertissimus ingenio facundiae iuxta promptus illustre nomen adeptus est.* The basic bibliography on Sekoundinos includes: Mastrodemetres, Νικόλαος Σεκουνδινός; *idem*, “Nicolaos Secundinòs à Napoli,” pp. 21–38; Babinger, “Nikolaos Sagountinos,” pp. 198–212; Talbot, “Sekoundinos, Nicholas,” *ODB*, 3: 1865; and the bibliographical note by Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders,” p. 137.

[50] *De Familia Otthomanorum Epitome ad Aeneam Senarum Episcopum.* For the Latin text and an English translation, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 55–91.

[51] *MHH*, 21.1: 674, n.1: *hanc…historiam captae urbis elegantissime descriptam ab Aenea Sylvio Piccolomini, ut Papa. Pio II, hinc resecare noluimus, ne desit et hoc ornamentum vere historiam in vita lamentationeque vana Isidori. Monendum saltem videtur epistulam Leonardi Chiensis fontem principalem fuisse, ex quo Aeneas Sylvius hauserit suam historiolam.*

[52] *CC* 1: 162–164.

[53] For Magno, cf. *CC* 2: no. 112 (p. 105). The entire text of this work remains unedited. Extracts pertaining to the siege of 1453 have been published in *NE* 3: 295–301. Magno is not included among the thirty-eight entries of Pertusi’s list of texts, “La Lettera di Filippo da Rimini,” p. 135. Furthermore, Cochrane does not mention Magno.

[54] *NE* 3: 297.

[55] The French text is contained in various manuscripts: *Paris. fr. 2691*, fols. 264–271 (incorporated into the *Chronique* of Jean Chartier); *Paris. fr. 15217*, fols. 67$^{\mathrm{v}}$–72$^{\mathrm{v}}$; *Paris. fr. 6487*, fols. 18–21; *Cambrai 1114*, fols. 28–30; and *Bruxell. fr. 19684*, fols. 253–256 (as part of an anonymous chronicle).

[56] *Supra*, n. 5, and *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” sec. II.A.6.

[57] Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. vii-viii.

[58] P. D. Pogodin, “Обзор источниковъ по историй осаду и взятия Византии Турками въ 1453 g. [A Survey of Sources on the History of the Siege and Capture of Byzantium by the Turks in 1453],” *Журналь Министерства Народнаго Просвещения* 264.8 (1889): 205 ff. This view is evaluated by M. L. Concasty, “Les ‘Informations’ de Jacques Tedaldi sur le siège et la prise de Constantinople,” *Byz* 24 (1954): 95–110, esp. pp. 95–97. In general, Concasty’s conclusions are rather speculative, as has been noted by *PaL* 2: 111–112, n. 9. This article, nevertheless, remains the only modern scholarly study of Tetaldi.

[59] Concasty, pp. 95–110.

[60] As we are about to see, cf. next note, the statement that “…Tetaldi, of whom we know nothing more than is said of him in the text” (Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. vii), may be a slight exaggeration, as there is at least one Venetian document that speaks of him.

[61] *Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Duca di Candia, Ducali e letter ricevute, quaderno 27*. This document was published in *NE* 5: no. 19 (p. 99).

[62] The text of this note was first published in G. M. Arabatzoglou, *Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Ἤτοι Ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἰδιωτικὰ Ἔγγραφα καὶ Ἄλλα Μνημεῖα Σχετικὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, 1 (Constantinople, 1933): no. 3 (p. 108); *TIePN*, p. 213: *con qualche errore di lettura*); it was republished, with a short discussion, by R. Browning, “A Note on the Capture of Constantinople in 1453,” *Byz* 22 (1953): 379–387; and with Italian translation in *TIePN*, p. 214. A document listing the names of noble refugees who reached Crete on a Venetian galley is provided in the manuscript *Miscellanea Gregolin* (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, *27*): *Testamenti*; cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants,” n. 28); its text was published by K. D. Mertzios, “Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Διαφυγόντων τὸ Παλαιολόγων καὶ Ἀποβιβασθέντων εἰς Κρήτην,” *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d’Etudes Byzantines, Ochride, 10–16 Septembre 1961*, 2 (Belgrade, 1964): 171–176. In general, cf. Manoussakas, “Les derniers défenseurs crétois de Constantinople,” pp. 331–340. For the timetable of the Christian ships and their departure from Constantinople, cf. *PaL* 2: 131–132; *FC*, pp. 141–142; Tetaldi also presents a general picture, in addition to Barbaro 59–60 [= *CC* 1: 34–37].

[63] Barbaro 64 [= *CC* 1: 36–37] refers to this captain as “el Galina”: *la galìa de Candia patron misser Zacaria Grioni el cavalier, quela si fo prexa, poi driedo queste galìe si levò tre nave de Candia, le qual son, ser Zuan Venier, ser Antonio Filamati <e< el Galina, e tuti andasemo in conserva nave e galìe per infina fuora del streto*…. [Melville] Jones, *Nicolò Barbaro*, made an error in the translation of this passage, which he subsequently corrected: cf. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. xii: “It was this Nemesis which inspired me, in the translation of Barbaro…to assume that ‘el galina’ was a Venetian nickname (‘The Hen’) for Antonio Filamati. It is, in fact, the name of a Cretan shipmaster, Yalinas.” The same problem resurfaces in the modern Greek translation of Barbaro, as Lappa has translated Barbaro’s *el Galina* with the impossible noun tou giatrouv (p. 201). For the documents dealing with the adventures of the captains after their escape, cf. *RdD* 3: 2950, and 3026. On this individual, cf. the documents cited *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants,” no. 99. The Hyalinas family continued to make its home in Crete until the fall of the island to the Turks. The survivors then migrated to Corfu. Cf. S. P. Lampros, “Κατάλογος τῶν Κρητικῶν Οἴκων Κερκύρας,” *NH* 10

(1913): 449–465, esp. p. 451: the *Gialinà* family is included among the *nobili della città di Candia*, but, it is noted, the family's roots are ultimately in Constantinople.

[64] Numerous editions of the French text have appeared over the last centuries, including: D. Godefroy, ed. *Histoire de Charles VII, roy de France; par Jean Chartier, Jacques Le Bouvier, dit Berry, Matthieu de Coucy, et autres autheurs. Mise en lumière, & enrichie de plusieurs titres, mémoires, etc. par Denys Godefroy* (Paris, 1661), pp. 271–279 (based on *Paris. fr. 2691*); and Valet de Virville, *Chronique de Charles VII, roi de France, par Jean Chartier. Nouv. éd. rev. sur les manuscrits, suivie de divers fragments, inédits, pub. avec notes, notices, et éclaircissemens par Velt de Virville*, 3 (Paris, 1858): 20–35. The best edition remains that of E. Martène and U. Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 1 (Paris, 1717): cols. 1819 ff., which was further reprinted in *MHH*, 22.1, 891 ff. There has been only one translation of the French text into English: Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 1–10. Melville Jones' translation is based on *Paris. fr. 6487*. Selections from the French Tetaldi into Italian have also appeared in *CC* 1. The Latin version of Tetaldi has never been studied fully by scholars and has not been utilized in various modern studies of the siege and fall. It has been published once: Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum*, 5: 175–189. For a new edition of the Latin text of Tetaldi, with English translation and commentary, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 133–217.

[65] For the early scholarship on this topic, cf. the bibliography cited in B. Unbegaun, "Les relations vieux-russes de la prise de Constantinople," *Revue des études slaves* 9 (1929): 13–38 [= B. Unbegaun, *Selected Papers on Russian and Slavonic Philology* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 1–26]; N. A. Smirnov, "Историческое Значение Русской 'Повести' Нестора Искендера о Взятий Турками Константинополя 1453 [The Historical Significance of the Russian 'Tale' by Nestor-Iskander on the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453]," *VV* 7 (1953): 50–71; I. Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave de l'époque," *Medioevo Byzantinoslavo* 3 (1971): 412–446; and M. Balard, "Constantinople dans la première moitié du XVe siècle, d'après les récits de voyages et les témoins du siège de 1453," in *Constantinopla. 550 años de su caqída.* Κωνσταντινούπολη. 550 χρόνια από την άλωσι. *Constantinopla Bizantina.* 1: Βυζαντινή Κωνσταντινούπολη (Granada, 2006): 315 ff.

[66] The only complete edition of this precious work remains that of Cornet. Some relevant sections, with improved text, are reproduced in *CC* 1: 8–39; for an English translation, cf. Jones, *Nicolò Barbaro*; in addition, there exists a modern Greek translation by Lappa, pp. 89–213.

[67] Pears used it with hesitation; Schlumberger, and in its improved version in Greek translation by Lampros, Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος; *FC*; D. Stacton, *The World on the Last Day: The Sack of Constantinople by the Turks, May 29, 1453. Its Causes and Consequences* (London, 1965) [= D. Dereksen, *The Crescent and the Cross: The Fall of Byzantium, May 29, 1453* (New York, 1964)]; and *PaL* 2: ch. 4. Some attention is paid to Nestor-Iskander by D. Afinogenov, "Τὸ Γεγονὸς τῆς Ἅλωσης μέσα στὰ Ρωσικὰ Χρονικά," in Ἡ Ἅλωση τῆς Πόλης, ed. E. Khrysos (Athens, 1994), pp. 221–249, esp. pp. 240–246. Mijatovich has made the most extensive use of this narrative, however; he most probably used the *Hilandar Slavic ms. 280*. Cf. *supra*, ch. 1, n. 105.

[68] The first English translation appeared only recently, with a new edition of the Slavonic text: Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*; *supra*, ch. 1, p. 33. Other translations, partial translations, and renditions

in various languages of this narrative include: Alexandropoulos (in Greek); Déthier (in French); and Braun and Schneider (in German); and selections in Italian by Folco in *CC* 1: 267–299; *supra*, ch. 1, p. 34.

[69] For a discussion of the manuscript tradition and stemma in Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, pp. 7–10.

[70] Sreznevsky; Iakovlev, pp. 56–116; *supra*, ch. 1, p. 34.

[71] The Leonid edition. Leonid's text was reprinted in modern Russian by Tvorogov, pp. 216–267, with commentary pp. 602–607; *supra*, ch. 1, p. 34.

[72] S. N. Azbelev, "K datirovke russkoj Povesti o vzqtii Car;grada Turkami ["On the Dating of the Russian Tale of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks]," *TODRL* 17 (1961): 334–337.

[73] Konstantin has also been the subject of considerable misunderstandings and for a long time he was known as a "Polish janissary." In fact, he was a cavalryman with the Serbian contingent that had been summoned by Mehmed to participate in the siege. As vassals, the Serbs had to obey the summons, albeit unwillingly, as Konstantin himself emphasizes a number of times in his narrative. On the Serbian cavalry corps in the Ottoman army, cf. Kalicå, pp. 193–208, esp. p. 200, who, however, ignores the activities of the sultan's Serbian sappers from Novo Brdo, whose contribution in the siege was extremely valuable to the Ottoman high command. The text was first published by Los, *supra*, ch. 1, p. 35; there is a French translation by d'Okcza (with notes by Déthier), *supra*, ch. 1, p. 35. There also exists an English translation of this source by Stolz, *supra*, ch. 1, p. 35. In addition, cf. the selection (in Italian translation by A. Danti) in *CC* 1: 256–260. In addition, cf. Dujčev, pp. 478–486; and I. Danti, "Contributi all'edizione critica dei Pamietniki Janczara," *Richerche Slavistiche* 16 (1968): 1–36.

[74] Basing a judgment on dialectical items in his work, Archimandrite Leonid concluded that Nestor-Iskander was either of Great Russian or Lithuanian Rus' (that is, White Russian) descent. Unbegaun, "Les relations vieux-russes," p. 20, conjectures that Nestor-Iskander or the scribe to whom Nestor-Iskander dictated his narrative came from the region of Pskov in northern Byelorussia. There is a further conjecture by M. N. Speransky, "Повесть и сказания о взятии Царьграда Турками (1453) в Русской Письменности XVI-XVII веков [Tales and Legends of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) in the Russian Written Language of the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries]," *TODRL* 10 (1954): 136–165, and 12 (1956): 188–225, that Nestor-Iskander was already a slave of the Tatars in the Crimea when he came into the possession of the Turks. There is, however, no evidence whatsoever for this extreme supposition.

[75] Speransky, p. 142, believes that Nestor-Iskander was associated with learned men in the Turkish camp and served in some capacity in the Porte, even though his work suggests that he was not well versed in Turkish. G. P. Bel'chenko, "К Вопросу о составе исторической Повести о Взятий Царьграда [On the Question of the Structure of the Historical Tale of the Capture of Constantinople]," in *Сборник Статеи к Сорокалетию Деятельности Академика А. С. Орлова* (Leningrad, 1934), p. 513, expresses the opinion that Nestor-Iskander was a functionary in the Ottoman governmental bureaucracy. Bel'chenko further believes that he was old enough to be a soldier; M. O. Skripil, "'История' о Взятии Царьграда Турками Нестора Искандера [The 'History' of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks by Nestor-Iskander]," *TODRL* 10 (1954): 166–184, esp. p. 174, asserts that he was a professional soldier. The view that he was an unskilled boy attached to an artillery unit is developed in

Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, pp. 2–8.

[76] This observation was first presented at the Twelfth Byzantine Studies Conference (Bryn Mawr, 1986): W. K. Hanak, "Who Was Nestor-Iskander?," in *Abstracts of Papers, 12th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference* (Bryn Mawr, 1986), p. 15; and M. Philippides, "The Historical Value of Nestor-Iskander's *Povest' o Tsar'grade*," *ibid.*, pp. 13–15; and was further developed in Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, "Introduction."

[77] On the possible existence of a Russian community in Constantinople in 1453, cf. V. Malenin, *Старец Елеазарова Манастыря Филоѳеи* [*The Elder Philotheos of the Monastery of Eleazar*] (Kiev, 1901), *passim*.

[78] On this critical sector, cf. *infra*, ch. 7: "A Castle and a Bombard," and ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets."

[79] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 20 (pp. 38–39): На утрия же повелѣ цесарь собрати трупія.... И посла цесарь кь партіарху, да повелитъ священникомъ и дьякономъ собрати мертвыа и погрѣсти я. И абіе собрашася множество священникъ и дьяконовъ, и взяша мертвыя и погребоша ихъ: бяху же число Грековъ 1740 Фрягъ и Арменъ 700, "In the morning the emperor issued orders to gather the corpses.... The emperor sent [a message] to the patriarch and asked him to order the clergy and deacons to gather and bury the dead. The number of the [dead] Greeks was 1,740, and of the Franks and Armenians 700."

[80] *Ibid.*, 28 (pp. 44–45, and 47): На утрия же цесарь повелѣ священникомъ и дьякономъ такомъ собрати трупия и погрѣсти а, а иже еще бяху живы раздати врачемъ. И собраша мрьтвыхъ Грековъ и Фрягъ и Арменъ... ,"In the morning the emperor ordered the priests and deacons to gather and bury the corpses and to dispense cures to those who were alive. They gathered the dead Greeks, Franks, and Armenians...."

[81] *Ibid.*, 46 (pp. 60–61): На утрия же епархъ Николай повелѣ гражаномъ избьенныхъ Турковъ выметати изъ града и за рвы, на показанїе безбожному: и бысть ихъ числомъ, якоже рѣкоша, до 16.000, "In the morning Nikolas the eparch ordered the townspeople to cast the massacred Turks out of the city and beyond the breach. For testimony to the godless, they had numbered, so to say, to 16,000."

[82] *Ibid.*, 60 (74–75).

[83] On this critical sector, Cf. *infra*, ch. 7: "A Castle and a Bombard"; and ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets."

[84] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 20 (pp. 38–39).

[85] Note, e.g., his statements in regard to the Ottoman bombard and the wounds of Giustiniani, which will be examined *infra*, ch. 7: "A Castle and a Bombard"; and ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets."

[86] Recent contributions on a few individuals: Olgiati, "Angelo Giovanni Lomellino," pp. 139–196; T. Ganchou, "Le Mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène a-t-il figuré parmi les défenseurs du siège de Constantinople (19 Mai 1453)?," *REB* 52 (1994): 245–272; and *idem*, "Sur quelques erreurs," pp. 61–82. In addition, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants."

[87] Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, forthcoming.

[88] Cf. *infra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets."

[89] Cf., among others, Matschke, "The Notaras Family," pp. 59–72; and *idem*, "Der Fall von Konstantinopel 1453 in den Rechnungsbücher der griechischen Staatsschuldenverwaltung," *Πολύπλευρος Νοῦς: Miscellanea für Peter*

*Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Cordula Scholz and G. Makris, Byzantinisches Archiv 19 (Leipzig, 2000): 204–222, esp. 211–213; in addition, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.B.13.

[90] There exists no detailed scholarly biography of Cardinal Isidore. For his career the following works must be consulted: Manousakas, “Ἡ πρώτη ἄδεια,” pp. 109–118; Pierling, pp. 60–105; Mercatti, *Scritti d’Isidoro*; Ziegler, pp. 393–410; Hofmann, “Papst Kallixt III,” pp. 209–237; Ammann, 7:251; and Krajcar, pp. 367–378; in addition, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.A.5; and Hanak, “Pope Nicholas V,” pp. 347 ff., who discusses his role in the defense of Constantinople.

[91] The starting point for a compilation of a prosopography is provided by the various lists of Venetian land defenders and seamen, including the wounded, dead, and captives, that are supplied by Barbaro’s narrative; cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants.”

[92] G. Olgiati, “Notes on the Participation of the Genoese in the Defense of Constantinople,” *Macedonian Studies* 6 (1982): 48–58.

[93] *Maius* 400. This fictional genealogy is included in a *codex* of the *Maius* written in Naples, that is, the city in which the forger seems to have put the final touches on his elaboration; on the forger’s Neapolitan connections, cf. Khasiotes, *Μακάριος*. We will discuss the perpetration of this forgery *infra*, ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle’ and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes.”

[94] E.g., *FC*, p. 139; and Stacton/Dereksen, p. 236; in addition, Pseudo-Sphrantzes has led astray D. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Byzancio y España. La caida del imperio byzantino y los Españoles* (Barcelona, 1954). The fact is that Pseudo-Sphrantzes invented this personality, Don Francisco de Toledo, to flatter an important Spanish family of Naples, as has been shown by Khasiotes, *Μακάριος*. p. 176. For the contribution of Spaniards to the defense of the Greek capital in 1453, cf. C. Laskari-Comneno, *Participacion catalana en la defensa de Constantinopla durante su ultimo assedio* (Zaragoza, 1958).

[95] Cf. the fundamental study by J. B. Falier-Papadopoulos, “Phrantzès est-il réellement l’auteur de la grande chronique qui porte son nom?,” in *Actes du IV$^{e}$ Congrès international des études byzantines*. *Известия на Българския Археологически Институт* 8; *Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 19 (Sofia, 1935): 177–189; Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople,” pp. 287–300; *idem*, “Σύγχρονες Ἔρευνες στὰ κείμενα τοῦ Σφραντζῆ,” *Παρνασσὸς* 25 (1983): 94–99; and *idem*, “An ‘Unknown’ Source,” pp. 174–183.

[96] Pusculo’s catalogue: Book IV, 151–196 (some selections in *CC* 1: 151–196).

[97] Furthermore, some of the Italian followers of Leonardo are not always in agreement with their source, the archbishop’s narrative; cf. Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani,” pp. 189–227.

[98] Barbaro provides numerous lists throughout his narrative but they are not all reliable; apparently, there has been some confusion in the memory of the author in his original notes, or in the transmission of his work.

[99] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 52 (pp. 68–69): Столу же Морскому Балтауглію…, “…the maritime seats (were assigned) to Pasha Baltaoğlu;” and 75 (pp. 84–85): Балтауглію же приспѣвшу со многою силою…, “Baltaoğlu approached with his great force….” On him, cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2: 244.

[100] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 52

(68–69): Столу же Морскому Балтауглію и Загану…, "the maritime seats (were assigned) to Pashas Baltaoğlu and Zaganos …." On them, cf. Moravcsik, 2: 128 and 244, in reverse order. A further possibility that scholars have not considered thus far is that Zaganos was of Gypsy origin, as his name may bear testimony to this; *tsingan*, in various spellings, is still the vernacular form of "Gypsy" among the Slavs as well as in the Balkans.

[101] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 52 (pp. 68–69). Karaca Pasha was the sultan's Beglerbeg, "bey of beys," that is, the highest military official of Rumeli (the European territories of the sultan), whose troops were positioned before the Gate of Kharisios (Nestor-Iskander's "Khorsun [Хорсун]" (52 [pp. 68–69]), also known as the Adrianople/Edirne Gate. The Venetian Fabruzzi Corner and the Greek Leontaris Bryennios defended this gate. The Kaligaria/Eğri Gate was defended by two Greeks, Theodoros Karystenos (whom Nestor-Iskander seems to know as "Khiliarkh Theodoros [Феодоръ же тисячникъ]" (41 [pp. 56–57]), Emannuel Goudeles, and by a Scot, a military engineer in the band of Giovanni Giustiniani, named John Grant. The imperial palace of Blakhernai was defended by the Venetian *bailo*, Girolamo Minotto. The sectors will be considered in our discussion of the topography of Constantinople; cf. *infra*, ch. 5: "The Land Fortifications: An Impregnable Fortress 'Thou Art' or 'Art Not.'"

[102] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 72 (pp. 82–83): Но Карач-бею башѣ, собравшу множество войска, …и прогна цесаря и всихъ гражанъ, "but Pasha Karach Beg gathered a multitude of troops…and drove back the emperor and all the townspeople."

[103] *Ibid.*, 52 (pp. 68–69). The Beglerbeg of Anatolia was Işcak Pasha, whose troops faced the sector from the (civil, after Runciman) Gate of Saint Romanos southward, as far as the sea. In addition, Nestor-Iskander's "Golden Palace" is undoubtedly a reference to the Golden Gate, the southernmost gate of the land walls; Andronikos Kantakouzenos defended it.

[104] *Ibid.*, 41 (pp. 56–57).

[105] *Ibid.*, 39 (pp. 54–55). In the same incident he also identifies a janissary, whom he calls "Amurat," presumably Murad, who almost killed Giustiniani: Амуратъ же нѣкый янычанинъ, крѣпокъ сый тѣломъ, смѣшався съ Грекы, дойди Зустунѣя, и начатъ сѣщи его лютѣ. Гречинъ же нѣкый, скочивъ стѣны, отсѣче ему ногу сѣкирою, и тако избави Зустунѣя отъ смерти, "with bodily strength, a certain janissary, Amurat, mixed with the Greeks. He came at Justinian and began to slash him fiercely. A Greek jumped from the wall, cut off his legs with an axe, and so saved Justinian from death."

[106] *Ibid.*, 20 (38–39).

[107] *PG* 159: 928 [*CC* 1: 132; Languschi-Dolfin 317: *capitanio general*]. The Latin Tetaldi calls him *capitaneus constitutus* twice (V and XVII); a Greek testimony (in a German contemporary translation) gives him the title, "*der Genuessen Haubtman*" [*NE* 2: 514–518]; and an anonymous Venetian chronicle (Milan, *Abrosiana, R. 113, Sup.* fol. 185$^{v}$–186, quoted in *NE* 3: 301, n. 1) describes him as *capetanio a la guardia de lo riparo*.

[108] For a development of this view, cf. Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, pp. 4 ff.

[109] For a detailed examination and review of all testimonies, *infra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets," sec. III.

[110] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 60–61 (pp. 74–77).

[111] *Ibid.*, 62 (pp. 76–77).

[112] *Ibid.*, 64 (pp. 76–79).

[113] On this fascinating personality of the *quattrocento*, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, "Introduction"; and Mastrodemetres, *Νικόλαος Σεκουνδινὸς (1402–1464)*.

[114] Mastrodemetres, "Nicolaos Secundinòs a Napoli," pp. 21–38.

[115] Significant extracts but not the complete text of the speech have been published in *CC* 2: 128–140; and in *NE* 3: 316–323. The complete text of this speech (with inaccuracies, as it is based on inferior manuscripts) is found only in Makušev, 1: 295–306.

[116] *CC* 2: 42 (*NE* 3: 319–320).

[117] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 42 (pp. 58–59).

[118] *PG* 159: 936 [*CC* 1: 152]: *Johannes Iustinianus…petivit sibi a Chirluca*.

[119] Languschi-Dolfin 21 (fol. 317); and Sansovino, *Gl'Annali*, p. 105.

[120] *Supra*, text with n. 104.

[121] (*Our emphasis*). Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 41 (pp. 56–57).

[122] (*Our emphasis*.) Sreznevsky, pp. 14–15.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 36, n. 53.

[124] *Minus* 40.11.

[125] By Folco, the translator of Nestor-Iskander into Italian in the extracts published by *CC* 1: 443, n. 28.

[126] Followed by his imitators, who refer to him a number of times and mention his death by the side of the emperor in the last battle (e.g., *CC* 1: 162–164): *Inter haec Theophilus Palaeologo, vir catholicus…Theucrorum pondus aliquam diu sustinens et decertans securi discinditur*. Leonardo also states that Theophilos was a scholar (*CC* 1: 148): *Theophilusque Graecus, nobilis Palaeologo, litteris eruditus*; he adds that originally Theophilos had been assigned to guard the Kaligaria Gate. On this individual, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 158.

[127] E.g., Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 39 (pp. 54–55).

[128] E.g., *ibid.*, 42 (pp. 58–59).

[129] E.g., *ibid.*

[130] E.g., *ibid.*

[131] We have already discussed this question *supra*; it is possible that Nestor-Iskander was led astray by an informant who could not recall the exact title and who then produced this intelligent approximation that found its way into the text.

[132] P. Schreiner, ed., *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, CFHB 12/1–3: *Chronica Byzantina Breviora*, 1 (Vienna 1975–1979): 99. In vol. 3: 212, Schreiner lists *Senkrula* in his index and states that he is "unknown." Cf. his commentary, 2: 471–472. The death of Theodoros is also mentioned in Sphrantzes' authentic *Chronicle* (*Minus* 28.5): Καὶ προσμένοντός μου ἐκεῖ, τὸν Ἰούνιον τοῦ νς$^{ου}$ ἔτους ἀπέθανεν ἀπὸ λοιμώδους νοσήματος εἰς τὴν Σηλυμβρίαν ὁ δεσπότης κὺρ Θεόδωρος· καὶ φέροντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Πόλιν ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος μονῇ. It should be added that in this section of the *Minus* we are confronted with serious chronological problems, which may be attributed to a problem in the transmission of the text. Sphrantzes' autograph does not seem to have survived or it has not been identified thus far. In general, the manuscripts of this work are discussed and evaluated in Maissano, "Il Manoscritto Napoletano," pp. 121–135. In addition to 9.52, other short chronicles also mention the death of Theodoros; cf., e.g., Schreiner, 1: 9.51 (99), 33.22 (246), 34.13 (268), and 35.10 (287). However, 9.52 is the only chronicle to supply this evidence that there was a conspiracy in the making and that the death of Theodoros prevented the scheme from becoming operational. The

sudden death of Theodoros Palaiologos was probably caused by an outbreak of the plague (as is hinted by Sphrantzes: ἀπὸ λοιμώδους νοσήματος). In addition, cf. E. Trapp, "Τὰ Τελευταῖα Χρόνια τοῦ Θεοδώρου Β΄ Παλαιολόγου," *Δώρημα στὸν Ἰωάννη Καραγιαννόπουλο, Βυζαντινὰ* 13 (Thessaloniki, 1985): 957–964. On Theodoros, in general, cf. *PLP* 9: no. 21459 (88).

[133] *Supra*, n. 126.

[134] Leontaris' mission of 1451 is discussed in *PaL* 2: 108; J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 377–380; and R. Guilland, "Les Appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauveur Constantinople (1452–1453)," *BS* 14 (1953): 226–244, esp. 231 ff. Also cf. C. Marinescu, "Le pape Nicolas V (1447–1455) et son attitude envers l'Empire byzantine," in *Actes du IV$^{e}$ Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* 1. *Известия на Българския Археологически Институт* 9; *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 9 (Sofia, 1935), pp. 332–333. *PaL* 2: 108, lists all the Venetian archival materials pertaining to this matter. In the siege of 1453, Leontaris, together with Fabruzzi Corner, defended the Gate of Kharisios/Adrianople/Edirne, according to Pusculo (Leonardo does not mention it); cf. *CC* 1: 208: *Charsaeam servans Lontarius gente Briena / gaudet de socio clara de gente, Fabruci, / Cornaria. Hic Venetus Cretem generosus habebat*. On this individual, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 22.

[135] *Supra*, n. 105.

[136] *Ibid.*

[137] *Ibid.*, n. 104.

[138] For this sector in the defense of Constantinople and on the role of John Grant, who was probably a Scot, cf. *infra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets," sec. I. On Theophilos Palaiologos, cf. *supra*, n. 126.

[139] *PG* 159: 934 (*CC* 1: 148). His followers were aware of Leonardo's information; cf., e.g., the echo in Languschi-Dolfin's text, fol. 317 [19]: *Daltra parte Theodoro Caristino uechio ma robusto arciero pertissimo, cum Theophilo Paleologo*, etc. On this individual, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 110.

[140] *CC* 1: 70.

[141] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 41 (pp. 56–57), quoted *in extenso*, *supra*, nn. 104 and 105. Sreznevsky's later text comes to the same conclusion: Турки одолѣвали Греков.

[142] *Supra*, nn. 105 and 136.

[143] *Ibid.*, nn. 105 and 135.

[144] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 39 (pp. 54–55).

[145] *Maius* 3.8 (426–428). In the Pempton area of the fortification there is a plaque commemorating this incident in modern Turkish and mentions Hasan by name. We are not convinced that this incident is historical in nature, as it appears in the sixteenth-century elaboration only and is matched by no other authentic account. On the other hand, the author of the *Maius*, who had spent time at the patriarchate in Constantinople in the second half of the sixteenth century, may be reporting a tale that was orally circulating among the descendants of the survivors of the siege.

[146] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 42 (pp. 58–59).

[147] Pusculo 4.165–166: *Cantacusinus, erat Johannes nomen ab ortu, / Andronicusque, senes ambo*. Languschi-Dolfin also mentions these two brothers, Andronikos and John, close associates of the emperor Constantine XI; independent of his primary source, Leonardo, Languschi-Dolfin, 17 relates: *A la porta de Sancto Romano Joanne Catacusino et Androniko Longino, ma perito principal conseglier del Re*. Sphrantzes knew

of John and reveals that he was consulted by the emperor on matters of foreign policy. Further, *Minus* 26.11: Τίς γὰρ ἠπίστατο τῶν ἄλλων πάρεξ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ ἐμοῦ. On this John and Andronikos, cf. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 80, pp. 196–198, and no. 68, pp. 179–181; respectively. The Turks executed Andronikos within a week after the fall of Constantinople. The sixteenth-century Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ 36 (52–53) reports Mehmed's wave of executions: Μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν ἡμερῶν πέντε γέγονε ζήτησις τῶν μεγάλων ἀρχόντων, τόν τε μέγαν δοῦκα [*sc.* Loukas Notaras] καὶ τὸν μέγα δομέστικον [*sc.* Andronikos Kantakouzenos] καὶ τὸν πρωτοστράτορα υἱὸν Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ μεσάζοντος καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκλεκτοτέρους, καὶ ἀπεκεφάλισεν ἅπαντας. On Andronikos, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 107.

148 *Minus* 34.9.

149 On Cardinal Isidore and his reputation, cf. the literature cited *supra*, n. 90.

150 On this, cf. Hanak, "Pope Nichoas V," pp. 337–359.

151 Long ago scholars were under the impression that there had been a patriarch in 1453, an ecclesiastic by the name of Athanasios (1443–1453), but this has been shown to be probably a mistaken notion; cf. Gennadios, pp. 117–123; and Unbegaun, "Les relations vieux-russes," pp. 27–30. On the possibility that there might have been a patriarch and the questions connected with this, cf. Hanak, "Pope Nicholas V," pp. 347–352.

152 Cf., e.g., Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 14 (pp. 33–35): А самъ цесарь съ патриархомъ и святители и весь священный соборъ и множество женъ и дѣтей хожаху по церквамъ божіимъ и мольбы и моленія дѣюще, плачуще и рыдающе, и глаголюще..., "the emperor himself, the patriarch with the priests and all the clerics of the council, and many women and children walked amid the churches of God, voicing petitions and prayers, crying, and exclaiming…." Nestor-Iskander, *ibid.*, 81 (pp. 90–92), errs when he has the sultan address the patriarch during the sack. While it is possible that Mehmed II addressed the clerics, whose friendship he sought before and after the siege, there had been no patriarch in office. There seems to be a confusion here with "Athanasios" (cf. the previous note), for Nestor-Iskander portrays Mehmed calling the churchman "Anastasios": Тобѣ глаголю, Анастасіе..., "I say to you, Anastasius...," *ibid.*, 81 (pp. 90–91). Is this Анастасіе perhaps an error in transmission for an original Аѳанасіе? Nestor-Iskander's passages involving Athanasios/Anastasios, the "patriarch," deserve a fresh scholarly investigation and study.

153 *Supra*, n. 81.

154 He appears a number of times in the narrative: Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 42 (pp. 58–59); 46 (pp. 60–62); and 82 (pp. 92–93).

155 *Minus* 33.6: στοχάζεται [*sc*, Constantine XI] πρὸς τὸν Γουδέλην Νικόλαον...νὰ γένηται καὶ μέσον ἡμῶν συμπεθέριον, ὁ υἱός μου τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέραν. Of course, his sixteenth-century elaborator has altered the text radically here to promote his own family. According to Pusculo (*CC* 1: 206), the Pege Gate was defended by Nikolaos Goudeles and Battista Gritti: *Creduntur, Nicolae, tibi, praefecte,*

*Gudello / cui cognomen erat, Pegae limina portae. / Haud illo inferior Grittus Baptista fidelis / iungitur huic socius….* Leonardo states that Goudeles was in charge of the mobile reserves to assist various sectors under attack, *PG* 159: 935 (*CC* 1: 150–152): *Demetrius socer Palaeologus, Nicolausque Goudelli* [*CC* 1: *Demetrius socer N <…> Nicolausque Goudelli*] *gener, praesidentes ut decurant urbem, cum plerisque armatis in succursum reservantur*. Leonardo is followed by Languschi-Dolfin 20 (fol. 317): *Dimitri Paleologo socero, e Nicolo Guidelli genero pressidenti, reseruato cum molti armati a correr da terra per soccorer doue fusse bisogno*. Elsewhere in his narrative, Languschi-Dolfin repeats the same assignment, 17 (fol. 316): *A la porta pagea Nicolo Guideli, apresso lui Batista Griti homo forte armato et animoso*.

[156] The adventures of Cardinal Isidore are related *in extenso* by Henry of Soemmern in his letter dated *raptim, ex Urbe Romana XI*$^{a}$ *Septembris*. It was first published in its entirety in *NE* 3: 307–315. Selections of this text with Italian translation in *CC* 2: 82–97; the entire letter, with the first English translation is provided in Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, pp. 121–131. Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.A.5.viii.b.

[157] This important source was first edited and published by Hofmann, "Ein Brief des Kardinals Isidor," pp. 405–414. Selections from this letter were printed (with Italian translation) in *CC* 1: 64–80, but unfortunately the important section of the letter dealing with Mehmed's wave of executions following the sack was not included.

[158] Hofmann did not publish this note and the impression is created that the original letter was composed in Latin; *CC* 1: 53, however, the translator identified himself at the end of this note, after he made excuses about his inability to translate Greek into elegant Latin (a *topos* often encountered in humanistic literature of this period): *…ac presumptuosus fuisse videar, qui tantum mihi arrogem, ut gr<a>ecam profiteri scientiam ausus sim, cuius vix prima rudimenta delibarim. Tuus Lianorus de Lianoriis*.

[159] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 29 (pp. 46–47).

[160] *Ibid.*, 79 (pp. 88–89).

[161] Cf. *infra*, ch. 4: "Myths, Legends, and Tales: Folk History," sec. I.

[162] This thorny diplomatic matter involving a princess from Georgia has been examined in Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 9, part III. For the royal family of Georgia, cf. C. Toumanoff, "The Fifteenth Century Bagratids and the Institution of Collegial Sovereignty in Georgia," *Traditio* 7 (1949–1951): 169–221. The princess that had been selected as the bride of the emperor of Constantinople became the wife of George Shaburidze, the son of the duke of Aragvi.

[163] Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 1: lines 669–677 (pp. 266–267). The same chronicle was also published in *MHH* 21.1: 357–390.

[164] For an English translation, with historical commentary, of this chronicle, cf. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans*.

[165] Crusius, *Turcograecia* 97. On Crusius and his correspondence with the patriarchate, cf. O. Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert, Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. MB 10: Einleitung, Text, Uebersetzung, Kommentar* (Vienna, 1970), esp. pp. 17–24, G. E. Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel. Martin Crusius und seine Verhandlungen mit der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche* (Göttingen, 1941), p. 82; and Z. N. Tsirpanles, *Οἱ Μακεδόνες Σπουδαστὲς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου Ρώμης καὶ ἡ Δράση τους στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στὴν Ἰταλία (16ος αἰ. - 1650)*, Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 35 (Thessaloniki, 1971), ch. 1.

[166] Their correspondence is noted by Lampros, "Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος," p. 450. Crusius himself reports that he proved unable to discover any reliable information on the empress and

expresses his surprise that such an important individual had been completely forgotten, p. 57: *Nomen eius nondum ex libris invenire: sed nec e Constantinopoli, nec Venetijs, cognoscere potui. Mirum, personae tam illustris, tantam in Historiis obliuionem esse*.

[167] According to this tale, Constantine's pregnant wife survived the sack, entered the sultan's harem, and gave birth to a son, who grew up a convert to Islam and became sultan of the Turks. This popular tale concludes with the observation that all Osmanli sultans have Christian origins and are the virtual descendants of the Palaiologan dynasty. For the complete tale, cf. N. G. Polites, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ Βίου καὶ τῆς Γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ, Παραδόσεις*, part I (Athens, 1904): 26–27; it has been reprinted by Lampros, "Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος," p. 451; and more recently in *TIeNP*, pp. 326–330. Cf. *infra*, ch. 4: "Myths, Legends, and Tales: Folk History," sec. I.

[168] Crusius provided his own Latin translation of these epigrams, p. 57: *Hîc (vbinam? Nouit Deus) est tua tumba: fidelis Rex Graiûm postreme, miserrime Constantine.* And: *Hîc tua (vbi? Nouit Deus) est sine nomine tumba: que luctu Nioben superas, Augusta fidelis. Sed deus a vestris oculis mitissimus omnes abstergat lacrymas, aeternaque; gaudia donet.* Perhaps it should be observed that his Latin rendition of the poem in honor of the empress is not an exact translation of his Greek text; in the Latin text the adjective *mitissimus* modifies the noun *deus*.

[169] V. Grecu, "Eine Belagerung Konstantinopels in der rumanischen Kirchenmalerei," *Byz* 1 (1924): 273–289. A two-page, good quality black-and-white photograph of this fresco appears in D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453* (New York and Washington, 1971), pl. 92, without analysis. More recently, a color photograph of a detail of this painting was published in M. Antonucci, "Siege without Reprieve," *Military History* 9/1 (April, 1992): 49, but this photograph is of inferior quality and presents reversed images. The most recent color photograph of high quality was taken by J. L. Stanfield and accompanies M. Severy, "The Byzantine Empire: Rome of the East," *National Geographic* 164/6 (1983): 708–767; this picture appears on pp. 764–765.

[170] On the Byzantine imperial costume, cf. A. Hofmeister, "Von der Trabea Triumphalis des römischen Kaisers über das Byzant. Lorum zur Stolader abendländischen Herrscher," in P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatsymbolik*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1955): 25–50; yet, as I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), has justly observed: "Although much has been written on imperial costume, a systematic examination of it is still required."

[171] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 89 (pp. 96–97).

[172] *Ibid.*, 82 (pp. 92–93). This interesting observation, не дожⷣавь, is preserved in the Serbian Old Slavonic rendition of "The Tale of Constantinople." Cf. *Hilandar Slavic ms. 280*, 1. 288v.

# Chapter 3

# A “Chronicle” and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes

# I. The Name “Sphrantzes”

George Sphrantzes, diplomat and minister, and if we are to believe his own comments an intimate friend and confidant of the last Greek emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XI Dragaš Palaiologos, is a well-known historian, who produced his valuable *Memoirs* in the form of an annalistic composition, which is usually assigned the Greco-Latin title of *Chronicon Minus*.[1] Very little can be gathered about Sphrantzes’ life beyond what he himself chose to incorporate into his work. Sphrantzes is not mentioned in any contemporary texts, with one notable exception that will be discussed presently. In spite of his important position in the courts of the despotate of the Morea and Constantinople, Sphrantzes’ life remains obscure outside his own narrative. Even the actual form of his name has been the subject of a lively scholarly debate in recent times.[2] In the past three centuries, his name was commonly cited as “Phrantzes” or as “Phran(t)za” in its latinized form. During the last decades of the twentieth century, however, scholars began to question this transmitted form and deduced that in the *quattrocento,* at least, the name of this author was probably “Sphrantzes.”[3]

Variants of this name, such as Φρανσές, Φραντζής, Φραντζῆς, Σφραντζῆς, Σφρεντζῆς, have been gathered. They range in date from the tenth through the nineteenth century. Yet it was in the late era of the medieval Greek state that this familial name achieved prominence, when some of its bearers became attached to the powerful ruling dynasties of the Kantakouzenoi and the Palaiologoi. In terms of geographical distribution, the name is attested in Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, and, most frequently, the Morea. Laurent collected numerous instances of this name, dating from the fifteenth century, and further remarked that during this late period the name was most commonly cited as “Sphrantzes.”[4] Among the bearers of this name, we encounter a Sphrantzes Palaiologos, two members of the Constantinopolitan senate (the σύγκλητος, as it was then known), and an Agathe (or perhaps Agape) Sphrantzaina from Thessaloniki. At the conclusion of his study, Father Laurent expresses the conviction that in the *quattrocento* the appropriate form of this name was “Sphrantzes” and not “Phrantzes.” The latter form became common in later times and when Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos elaborated Sphrantzes’ authentic work, the *Minus,* into the *Maius,* “Phrantzes” became the established form. The popularity of this elaboration reinforced the impression that the proper form of the name was “Phrantzes” throughout the period of the *Tourkokratia* and this form persisted through to the nineteenth century, displacing the original “Sphrantzes”. Even today in Greece the common form remains “Phrantzes.”[5]

Laurent’s deduction suffers, however, from a lack of direct citation. *No prima facie* evidence from surviving contemporaneous texts has been found to resolve this matter decisively. He concludes that the author of the *Minus* addressed himself as “Sphrantzes” and not “Phrantzes.” Laurent went on to publish an additional note[6] to reinforce his previous deduction, but again he produced no direct evidence and consequently his argument for his previous conclusion was based on probability and plausibility. Moreover, Laurent’s conviction was not universally adopted or accepted. In fact, more recently, the Greek scholar I. Tsaras reacted to Laurent’s deduction and published an article[7] in which he attempts to restore the form “Phrantzes” to authenticity and discard Laurent’s “Sphrantzes.”

There exists, nonetheless, one piece of evidence that Father Laurent fails to utilize in his deduction and further has been neglected by all modern historians who have shown an interest in this minor point. This piece of evidence demonstrates unambiguously that in the *quattrocento* the form of the historian’s name was indeed “Sphrantzes.” There is an important eyewitness account of the siege and sack of Constantinople in 1453. It was composed by Ubertino Pusculo, a native of Brescia and a humanist who had traveled to Constantinople like many of his compatriots to perfect his knowledge of ancient Greek, a task that was nearly impossible to accomplish at the time in Italy.[8] During the sack Pusculo was captured and after a number of adventures he eventually found his way to Rhodes and Crete. He then returned to Italy, where he sought employment on the staff of Cardinal Angelo Capranica and dedicated his poem on the siege to Domenico Capranica, the cardinal’s brother.[9] Pusculo only mentions himself in the *coda* of his epic poem:

*Brixia me genuit civem, Ubertinum Puscula honesta*
*gens tulit: haec ausus talia qui cecini.*
*Me Constantini studiis urbs dulcis habebat,*
*cum cecidit bello: barbara praeda fui.*

> I, Ubertino, was born a citizen of Brescia. I am a member of the honest family of Pusculo. I participated in the events that I relate. I was in the pleasant city of Constantine [Constantinople] when it fell in the war. I was the booty of the barbarian [Turk].

Book IV of Pusculo is a mine of information on the events and operations of the siege, and includes a historically valuable account of the last battle of May 28/29. In addition, from a prosopographical point of view, this account is of inestimable value, for it includes personal names of the participants in the siege and their assigned positions on the walls. Further, it is in Pusculo's neglected poem[10] that we encounter two references to George Sphrantzes. No other surviving western, eastern, or oriental sources mention Sphrantzes by name.

Sphrantzes' appearance in Pusculo's neglected hexameters is not in reference to the defense of the imperial city, because Sphrantzes does not seem to have had an active role on its walls. His responsibility during the siege must have been of a different nature, perhaps at the headquarters, dealing with logistics, or actively involved in the diplomatic corps. He did not fight at the side of the emperor, his hero, when the latter fell to his doom during the final Turkish assault on the ancient walls of Constantinople. In fact, Sphrantzes' authentic narrative deals with the events of the siege and the sack in a single brief entry that recalls the death of the emperor.[11] Notwithstanding, diplomacy was Sphrantzes' strong point, if we are to believe his own authentic narrative. He does not appear to have been much of a soldier. The context in which Pusculo mentions him reveals that this Italian poet and scholar also thought of him as a courtier and not as a soldier. His citation of Sphrantzes comes into proper context as a diplomat and as an envoy to the Porte. Pusculo states that Sphrantzes headed the embassy that went to congratulate Sultan Mehmed II upon his ascension to the Ottoman throne in 1451. It should be mentioned that this incident, as described by Pusculo, cannot be historical. In his own narrative, Sphrantzes states that at the time he had been away on another mission, searching for a bride for the emperor. The diplomat was at the court of Trebizond when he was informed of Murad II's death and the succession of Mehmed II. We may conclude that Pusculo knew of Sphrantzes as a prominent diplomat and did not know the true identity of the ambassadors who went on this mission. The poet assumed that Sphrantzes would have been in charge of the delicate task. In Pusculo's poem Sphrantzes is assigned a short speech, making a valiant, although futile, effort to establish peaceful relations between the Greek imperial court and the Porte of the young sultan. Sphrantzes is introduced with the following lines:[12]

> *Hunc simul ut fandi concessa est copia, donis*
> *Quae tulerant a rege datis, velut exigit usus*
> *Gentis, erat melior qui lingua, et grandior aevo*
> *Sphrancius alloquitur, promitque has pectore voces.*

And when permission to speak was granted, Sphrantzes, a man who had a good way with words and who was old enough to command

> respect, began his speech after the presentation of the gifts sent by the emperor, as custom demands.

Then Sphrantzes is assigned nineteen lines of an imaginary oration in which he pleads for peace. Pusculo's reference to Sphrantzes ends with the following line:[13] *Sphrancius his dictis orabat,* "such were the words of Sphrantzes."

Thus it can be demonstrated that at least one contemporary of Sphrantzes, who either knew him personally or had, at least, heard of him, assigned to his name the form "Sphrantzes" – *Sphrancius* and not "Phrantzes" – *Phrancius*. This reference is specific. Even if one claims that the two forms, "Sphrantzes" and "Phrantzes," co-existed in the *quattrocento,* Pusculo shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the intended μέγας λογοθέτης, the grand *logothete,* of Constantine XI was known as "Sphrantzes." The modification to "Phrantzes" occurred in subsequent years and probably reflects a change that occurred no earlier than the sixteenth century. Such alterations are not unusual. It has been pointed out[14] that there is evidence for the reverse linguistic phenomenon in the text of Laonikos Khalkokondyles, who refers to the Italian Sforza family as "Phortias," when, in fact, a more accurate rendition and transliteration of this name into Greek would have been "Sphortias":[15]

ἔνθα ἡ βασίλεια Φορτίαν τὸν τῆς Μάρκης ἡγεμόνα μεταπεμψαμένη...συνεπιλαβομένου τοῦ Φορτία αὐτῇ.

Consequently, the form "Sphrantzes" should be employed to indicate the author of the authentic annalistic composition, the *Minus*. The sixteenth-century elaborator of this work, Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, the author of the *Maius,* should be designated by his own name, by the later form "Phrantzes," or even by an indicator as "Pseudo-Sphrantzes."

Regarding Sphrantzes' actual participation in the defensive operations, Pusculo remains silent. In fact, Sphrantzes' authentic work is extremely laconic concerning the siege and he provides no narrative whatsoever on the operations. From the few references that he has included one can infer that he indeed was on the support staff of Constantine XI. It was to Sphrantzes after all that the emperor entrusted the delicate task of taking a census of the available defensive resources before the commencement of hostilities. Of this incident Sphrantzes himself makes mention:[16]

> …ἐχούσης τῆς Πόλεως, τῆς τοσαύτης εἰς μέγεθος, ἄνδρας πρὸς ἀντιπαράταξιν δψογ΄ ἄνευ τῶν ξένων…ἔγνων οὖν ἐγὼ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον ἀπὸ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως προστάξαντος τοῖς δημάρχοις, ἔγραψεν ἕκαστος τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ δυναμένου σταθῆναι ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ κοσμικοῦ καὶ καλογέρου καὶ τί καὶ τί ἄρμα πρὸς ἄμυναν νὰ ἔχῃ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν…. Εἶτα ὁρίζει πρὸς ἐμέ· "αὕτη ἡ δουλεία πρὸς σὲ ἀφορᾷ…καὶ λάβε τὰ κατάστιχα καὶ καθίσας εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτιόν σου λογάριασε ἀκριβῶς πόσοι εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι καὶ πόσα ἄρματα καὶ πόσα κοντάρια καὶ πόσα σκουτάρια καὶ πόσα τοξάρια." καὶ ἐκτελέσας τὸν ὁρισμὸν αὐτοῦ, φέρων δέδωκα τῷ αὐθέντῃ μου καὶ βασιλεῖ τὸ καταστιχόπουλον μετὰ λύπης καὶ σκυθρωπότητος ὅτι πολλῆς, καὶ ἔμεινε μόνον ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἡ ποσότης εἰς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐμέ.

> …in spite of the great size of our City, our defenders amounted to 4773, without counting the foreigners…I was in a position to know this exact figure for the following reason: the emperor ordered the demarchs to take a census of their demarchies and to record the exact number of men – laity and clergy – able to defend the walls and what weapons each man had for defense…. Then he commanded me: ‘This task is for you… take these lists and compute, in the privacy of your home, the exact figure of available defenders, weapons, shields, spears, and arrows. ’ I completed my task and presented the master list to my lord and emperor in the greatest possible sadness and depression. The true figure remained a secret known only to him and to myself.

The next entry in the compilation of Sphrantzes deals with the fall of the city, by-passing the entire period of the siege. He makes it clear that his duties had taken him away from the critical sector of the Pempton by order of the emperor, who may have wished to protect his friend by directing him to another less dangerous section of the defenses. Had Sphrantzes been present at the critical sector at the walls, he would not have survived, as apparently none did of those who chose to remain by the side of the emperor and his warlord Giustiniani. Further, neither Pusculo nor Leonardo, our only observers to have furnished a kind of “catalogue of defenders and their positions,” mentions Sphrantzes being present about the periphery of the walls in any capacity. It may be concluded that he did not play an active military role in the defense. It is also possible that Sphrantzes had a non-military role and that he was somewhere within the city with non-combatant members of the administration:[17]

> Καὶ τῇ κθ$^{η}$ μαΐου, ἡμέρᾳ γ$^{η}$, ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχῇ, ἀπῆρε τὴν Πόλιν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς· ἐν ᾗ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἁλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης αὐθέντης μου κῦρ Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεὺς ὁ Παλαιολόγος σκοτωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, ἐμοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὑρεθέντος τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ἀλλὰ προστάξει ἐκείνου εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν δῆθεν ἄλλου μέρους τῆς Πόλεως.

> On Tuesday May 29, early in the day, the emir [= sultan] took possession of the City. At this time of capture my late master and emperor, Lord Constantine, was killed. I was not at his side at that hour but I had been inspecting another part of the City, according to his orders.

Not a single word has Sphrantzes devoted to the defensive operations. It is indeed a curious omission, which has led some scholars to the erroneous assumption that there may actually have been a separate diary written by the historian.[18] It is possible that Sphrantzes kept a diary of the siege period. If he did, we must conjecture that its contents would have been different from the *Giornale* of Nicolò Barbaro or of the *epistula* by Leonardo. Unlike Barbaro, Pusculo, and Leonardo, Sphrantzes does not seem to have served as an active defender on the walls or with the naval units in the harbor. Thus his diary would have been of a different nature, perhaps presenting the views of the non-combatant members of the administration. Of course, it is not known what may have happened to this hypothetical journal. It is possible that it perished early on, perhaps in the early hours of the sack when Sphrantzes fell into the hands of the enemy. However, we would like to note that somehow Sphrantzes was able to consult some notes when he compiled his *Minus* years after the sack. Is it possible, then, that he kept some notes and lost others? Could it be that he had left his notes of the earlier years at Mistra in the Morea when Constantine and he went to Constantinople and that he recovered these notes after his release from captivity? It should be recalled that nowhere in his authentic narrative does he allude to any journal of the siege. There is no hint in the surviving narrative of his activities during the siege. Indeed it amounts to a curious silence that allows nothing other than speculation. On the occasion that he discusses the events of the siege he is directly concerned with the diplomatic sphere and simply reviews in a long section[19] the appeals that Constantine XI made for aid. Sphrantzes enumerates the imperial concessions made to individuals who could have helped to save the city. He then complains bitterly about the nature and quantity of help that Constantinople had received in her final hours of need and one forms the impression that he considered the absence of aid and of other forms of assistance as the major cause for the fall. This is information that he would have been familiar with as a member of the imperial diplomatic corps, and he would have needed no notes that could have perished in the sack to remind him of the court's efforts in this sector.

By contrast, Pseudo-Sphrantzes not only provides a detailed account on the period of the siege (which, as we shall presently see, is based almost entirely on Archbishop Leonardo's letter), but he also provides a description of the concluding moment when he and the emperor were together in the quiet of the night before the final assault was launched. Pseudo-Sphrantzes specifies topographical details to give more credence to his narrative:[20]

> Καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ᾿ ἵππου ἐξήλθομεν τῶν ἀνακτόρων περιερχόμενοι τὰ τείχη, ἵνα τοὺς φύλακας διεγείρωμεν πρὸς τὸ φυλάττειν ἀγρύπνως. Ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ πύργοις τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ· καὶ πύλαι πᾶσαι ἦσαν κεκλεισμέναι ἀσφαλεστάτως, δι᾿ ὧν δυνατὸν ἦν ἐξελθεῖν τινα ἢ εἰσελθεῖν. Ὡς δὲ ἤλθομεν ἐν τοῖς Καλιγαρίοις ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀλεκτροφωνίας καὶ κατιόντες τῶν ἵππων ἀνήλθομεν εἰς τὸν πύργον καὶ ἠκούσαμεν συχνῶς ὁμιλεῖν καὶ θόρυβον μέγαν ποιεῖν ἔξωθεν ἐπιτήδειον, καὶ εἶπον ἡμῖν οἱ φύλακες, ὅτι δι᾿ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς οὕτως ποιοῦσιν.
>
> We [*sc*. Constantine XI and Sphrantzes] mounted our horses and we toured the walls to wake up the garrison and urge them to remain alert without sleeping. That night all were at their posts on the walls and towers and all the gates were most securely locked so that no one could enter or leave. When we came to the Kaligaria Gate, it was about the time of the first cock crow, we dismounted and climbed up on the tower and we heard that outside there was a great deal of talking, of commotion, and noise. The guards told us that it had been going on all night.

Pseudo-Sphrantzes parts from the emperor and furnishes an account of the assault, as narrated by Leonardo, without ever particularizing Sphrantzes' actual role in the defense.

Be that as it may, Sphrantzes has nothing to impart on the siege operations, and after recounting the death of the emperor, admitting fully that he was not present at his side, proceeds to speak about his own sad experiences:[21]

> Ἁλοὺς οὖν ἐγώ…τέλος ἐξαγορασθεὶς τῇ α$^{η}$ σεπτεμβρίου τοῦ ξβ$^{ου}$ ἔτους εἰς τὸν Μυζηθρᾶ ἀπέσωσα, τῆς γυναικός μου καὶ τῶν παιδίων μου ὑπὸ γερόντων καὶ καλῶν Τουρκῶν ἁλωθέντων καὶ παρ᾿ αὐτῶν πάλιν πραθέντων εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ μεραχούρην, ἤγουν κόμητα τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀλόγων, ὃς καὶ πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀρχοντισσῶν ἠγόρασε καὶ πολλὰ ἐκέρδησε ἐπ᾿ αὐταῖς.
>
> I was taken prisoner…. Finally I was ransomed on September 1, 6962 [1453], and departed for Mistra. My wife and children had passed into the possession of some elderly and kindly Turks, who then sold them to the emir's [= sultan's] *Mir Ahur,* that is, the Master of his horses, who had also bought many other beautiful noble ladies and amassed a great fortune in the enterprise.

# II. *Minus* and *Maius*

The work attributed to the pen of George Sphrantzes has come down to us, as we have previously stressed, in two different forms: the short version, the *Chronicon Minus,* and the much lengthier account, the *Chronicon Maius*. The latter incorporates all of the *Minus,* with a few significant alterations, and presents additional information on events and personalities, as well as a number of irrelevant digressions of little, if any, historical value, especially for a researcher interested in the siege of 1453. It was once believed that the *Minus* was either a later epitome of the *Maius* or that it represented the notes that Sphrantzes had collected during his active years, which he later expanded into the *Maius* during his residence at Corfu.[22] Book 3 of the *Maius* includes a detailed account of the siege, fall, and sack of Constantinople, while the *Minus* devotes only a small section to the siege and its immediate aftermath, with no detailed narrative. Because Sphrantzes supposedly wrote the *Maius,* Book 3 of this rendition was generally held to be of the highest importance with regard to the events of the siege.

In 1934, however, J. B. Falier-Papadopoulos demonstrated that the *Maius* was not to be considered a genuine account by Sphrantzes. Only the *Minus* could be his authentic work, while the *Maius* must have been elaborated in a later period.[23] By 1936 a candidate for the composition of the *Maius* had been identified: Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, the metropolitan of Monembasia and a notorious fabricator of Palaiologan chrysobulls, which he composed, copied (along with his associates), and disseminated throughout Italy and Spain as if they were genuine documents. He was active in the period before and after the battle of Lepanto, almost one century after the death of Sphrantzes.[24] In a monumental comparative study of the *Minus* and *Maius,* R.-J. Loenertz concludes that the *Maius* had indeed been produced in a later period by an "author" who had consulted and even imitated passages from Laonikos Khalkokondyles.[25] In 1939 Falier-Papadopoulos demonstrated that certain parts of the siege section in Book 3 bore a certain resemblance to the Latin letter addressed to Pope Nicholas V, composed by Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani. Leonardo, in this letter, provides an account of his participation in the defense of Constantinople and thus has preserved for us an early and detailed testimony of the events.[26] Falier-Papadopoulos remarks that Book 3 of the *Maius* followed Leonardo's narrative of events in the arrangement of episodes. Moreover, both the

*Maius* and Leonardo's *epistula* fail to record the role of Orhan, Mehmed II Fatih's distant relative, in the defense of Constantinople, while most other authors, including the so-called "historians of the siege," Doukas, Kritoboulos, and Khalkokondyles, know of Orhan and of his eventual death. Falier-Papadopoulos concludes with the observation that the quarrel between Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani and Loukas Notaras, as well as the animal similes employed in the emperor's last speech, and the description of the colors at the dawn of May 29, 1453, in the *Maius* ultimately derive from Leonardo's Latin text.

Later G. T. Zoras demonstrates that the last address of Constantine XI to his court and his Venetian and Genoese allies before the final assault of the Turks on May 29 as reported in the *Maius* is, in fact, dependent on Leonardo's text. Moreover, this speech may well have originated with Leonardo's flair for the dramatic and was not an actual historical event.[27] The similarities between the *Maius* and Leonardo's letter do not end here. In particular, the "catalogue" of the defenders and their assigned positions on the walls in Pseudo-Sphrantzes' account to a large extent is based on Leonardo's list.[28] It is not simply the arrangement of the combatants and the order of the presentation of events, already noted by Falier-Papadopoulos, that point to such conclusions. There is a definite linguistic dimension to this problem, which clearly proves that the Greek account of Book 3 is frequently no more than a direct translation or a paraphrase into Greek of Leonardo's Latin text.

Most scholars have come to accept the fact that the siege section of the *Maius* is at best a secondary document and at worst a derivative work of dubious historical value. Carroll challenged this widely accepted position in a series of articles[29] but, in spite of the ingenious arguments (none of which was linguistic or textual), her attempt to elevate the siege section of the *Maius* to respectability as a primary source proved unconvincing. The suggestion that Makarios may have expanded a different version of the *Minus*, lost to us, which dealt with the siege of 1453 and which was composed by Sphrantzes himself, lacks credibility and most arguments have been reduced to omissions of events in both the *Minus* and the *Maius*. Most important, this challenge failed to recognize the significance of Leonardo's text in the composition of the siege section of the *Maius*. Such speculation can be easily refuted by the combined results of the research carried out by Falier-Papadopoulos, Loenertz, Dölger, Zoras, Khasiotes,[30] Philippides,[31] Maisano,[32] and Ganchou.[33] Modern research has shown that Leonardo has served as a source for Pseudo-Sphrantzes, for Languschi-Dolfin, for Francesco Sansovino, and for the Greek *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle*.[34]

While the correspondences, imitations, paraphrases, and renditions speak for themselves, we have reserved a few comments for the most interesting cases. In general, our observations are kept to a minimum and the linguistic correspondences will be allowed to speak for themselves. The imitation of Leonardo by Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the anonymous author of the *Barberini Chronicle* have been examined in detail, as we have seen, but the pertinent passages will be cited here also. It should be emphasized that the extensive passages to be cited presently represent only a few instances of the numerous striking correspondences that are evident immediately upon comparison. Other correspondences abound throughout the texts in question.[35] Attention will be paid to the "catalogue" of the defenders and to the more obvious duplications. An inescapable conclusion emerges: the siege section of Book 3 of the *Maius* is confirmed, on linguistic, textual, and historical grounds, to be a secondary document. The surprising corollary indicates that there survives in Greek history no genuine eyewitness Greek source for this monumental event, the siege of Constantinople in 1453. Furthermore, the speculation[36] that Pseudo-Sphrantzes may have elaborated his work on a lost version of the *Minus,* which actually included a detailed version of the siege and was composed by Sphrantzes himself, can be relegated to the realm of pure fantasy. There is no doubt that Pseudo-Sphrantzes utilized a version of Leonardo's celebrated and authoritative *epistula*.

Whether Pseudo-Sphrantzes or the anonymous author of the *Barberini Chronicle* could read Latin is unknown. Certain details in the anonymous chronicle indicate that its author may not have been comfortable with Latin, or indeed with the literate Greek language of the late Palaiologan period.[37] Pseudo-Sphrantzes, on the other hand, had been a member of the Greek clergy, a Uniate priest in Italy, had also traveled to Spain, and spent the last years of his life in Naples. Further, he had personally dealt with influential individuals in situations that demanded knowledge of Italian, if not of Latin.[38] It is perhaps no accident that the surviving manuscripts of the *Maius* were copied in Naples, where Pseudo-Sphrantzes had been very active and, in addition, the copyists were known associates of Pseudo-Sphrantzes. The manuscripts in question include the *Ambros. P 123 sup (gr. 641),* which was copied by none other than John Santamaura, a well-known associate of Pseudo-Sphrantzes. On Friday, January 3, in the sixth year of the reign of Pope Gregory XIII [1578], τρίτη Ἰανουαρίου μηνός, ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος… τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχιερατείας τοῦ παναγιωτάτου ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Πνευματικ- Santamaura even copied (if not actually composed) and illustrated a text for which he provided a parallel Latin translation entitled "Spiritual Infirmary," ὂν Ἰατρεῖον, ὂν Ἰατρεῖον, that he dedicated to Pseudo-Sphrantzes himself:[39]

> Τῷ ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ καὶ αἰδεσημοτάτῳ [*sic*] κυρίῳ Μακαρίῳ Μελισσηνῷ, μητροπολίτῃ Μονεμβασίας, ὑπερτίμῳ καὶ ἐξάρχῳ πάσης Πελοποννήσου …Ἰωάννης Ἁγιομαύρας Κύπριος, χαίρειν.

> Greetings from John Santamaura, the Cypriot, to the most illustrious, most reverend, Lord Makarios Melissenos [= Pseudo-Sphrantzes], the metropolitan of Monembasia, the highly esteemed exarch of the entire Peloponnese.

Santamaura himself copied the codex *Hierosol. S. Cruc. 38* (*olim*), which may have served as his model for the *Ambros. P 123 sup*. (*gr. 641*).[40] A second manuscript of the *Maius*, the *Taurin. B II 20* (*gr. 102 bis*), had been copied by the circle of Andreas Darmarios, another associate of Pseudo-Sphrantzes.[41] Further, in 1578, Darmarios himself copied the codex *Ambros. P 24* (*sup. gr. 613*), which found its way, early on, to the library of the cardinal of Burgos and Toledo.[42] Moreover, there is the codex *Monac. gr. 329* (*olim 203*), which has a certain Neapolitan origin, as well as the codex *Neapol. II E 25*.[43] All of these monuments, the earliest codices of the *Maius* have a definite association with Pseudo-Sphrantzes himself, with his close associates, or with the area where Pseudo-Sphrantzes put the final touches on his elaboration.[44]

As it will become more clear below, it is not certain that Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the anonymous author of the *Barberini Chronicle* worked directly from a Latin text of Leonardo’s letter. In every passage cited below, there are hints of an intermediate Greek version of Leonardo’s letter, as linguistic parallels in phraseology between Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the *Barberini Chronicle* without echoes in Languschi-Dolfin or Sansovino indicate. That the vocabulary of the two Greek authors is similar, especially in cases where the text of Leonardo has not been followed faithfully, strongly points to a common Greek version of the archbishop’s letter that the Greek authors may have consulted.

Regardless of the immediate source actually consulted, it becomes abundantly clear that some form of Leonardo’s letter lurks behind the siege section of the *Maius*. Thus Pseudo-Sphrantzes’ “forgery” is not a totally fictional account purporting to be history, even though Pseudo-Sphrantzes was quite an accomplished counterfeiter to attain his objectives.[45] He seems to have taken great care to incorporate material that had been reported by at least one eyewitness to the siege, whose account he has evidently enriched by providing details in topography. These particulars must derive from his own familiarity with the surviving monuments of Constantinople. The parts of the

*Maius* that fall under grave suspicion and qualify as forgeries are those that deal directly with the family of the Melissenoi in the fifteenth century: for it is certain that Pseudo-Sphrantzes, whose actual family name was Melissourgos,[46] was at great pains to identify himself, his brother Theodoros, and his relatives in general, with the old illustrious family of the Melissenoi-Komnenoi. Pseudo-Sphrantzes' nephew, the cleric and an industrious forger himself, Nikephoros Melisourgos-Melissenos, went so far as to invent a coat of arms for his family, which recalls the arms of the Komnenoi.[47]

It has been claimed that historians should not trust the narrative of Pseudo-Sphrantzes in Book 3 of the *Maius*, especially with regard to the siege, unless Sphrantzes' *Minus* duplicates its information.[48] Perhaps this view should be emended: the *Maius* is not to be trusted unless it reproduces information found in the *Minus* and in Leonardo's letter, excepting of course the invented parts in the Latin account, such as the last assembly of the imperial court and the long speech of the emperor to his subjects, ministers, and Italian allies.[49] Thus the ultimate source of Book 3 of the *Maius*, Leonardo's letter, comes to occupy a significant place in the history of Greek literature and in the survival of medieval Greek historiography. There is no question of "plagiarism" on the part of Pseudo-Sphrantzes. The fact that he and the anonymous author of the *Barberini Chronicle* used a Latin source, or perhaps an Italian or even a Greek version of this Latin letter, should not be thought remarkable, as there is good evidence to show that in the last centuries of the medieval Greek empire many Constantinopolitan intellectuals were turning their attention to the west; consequently, Greek translations of Latin works began to appear.[50] Thus the dependence of Pseudo-Sphrantzes on Leonardo may be regarded as a natural step in Greek recognition of historical works written in Latin, as the transition towards an appreciation of western literature had already occurred before the fall of Constantinople.

The *Minus*, the authentic work of Sphrantzes, can be divided into two parts, a short prologue in which the chronicler states his family connections, and the main body of the work, which consists of his reminiscences from 1413 to 1477. There is no formal ending to this account, but it is evident from the concluding passages that Sphrantzes was seriously ill and probably died soon after his last entry of 1477. By contrast, the *Maius* is more ambitious, purporting to give a history of the Palaiologan dynasty to 1477 and further contains extensive digressions on the history of the Osmanlis, placing a heavy emphasis on religious affairs.

Pseudo-Sphrantzes has been generally viewed with suspicion, as a negative figure, by modern scholarship. It is more profitable to think of him as a literary figure of the sixteenth century, rather than as an incorrigible counterfeiter or a plagiarist. The sixteenth century belongs to the Dark Age of modern Greece, the nadir as far as literature is concerned. When Pseudo-Sphrantzes' literary achievement, the entire *Maius*, is compared as a work of literature to other Greek writings of this period, it becomes obvious that his elaboration of a prosaic chronicle is more than just an expansion of the *Minus*. In fact, it is one of the most important Greek literary works of that dark era. Pseudo-Sphrantzes' masterful descriptions of the military operations, his sense for the dramatic, and his emphasis on pathos admirably display his literary and narrative talents that go beyond the simple task of pure translation or simple paraphrase. Indeed, the *Maius* occupies a special position in the history of modern Greek literature. Composed, paraphrased, elaborated, and copied approximately one century after the fall of medieval Greece, in the middle of a dark age, it provides a link between medieval and modern Greek literature and has exercised immense influence over later generations in Greece that came under its spell.

# III. Original Contributions by Pseudo-Sphrantzes

Mention should be made of a number of passages where Pseudo-Sphrantzes has departed from his source on purpose and has radically emended the text of Sphrantzes and the text of his source, Leonardo, as those passages unveil Pseudo-Sphrantzes' own agenda. The first instance involves the personality of Nikolaos Goudeles, who appears in Sphrantzes' authentic text. By contrast, Pseudo-Sphrantzes has suppressed all reference to Goudeles and has substituted, in his place, another otherwise unknown individual, Nikephoros Palaiologos. His motivation for this substitution is well known.[51] Sphrantzes in his authentic chronicle states that it was the emperor's wish that his son should marry the daughter of Nikolaos Goudeles.[52] Pseudo-Sphrantzes has altered Sphrantzes' text to read that the emperor wished that Sphrantzes' daughter should marry Nikolaos Melissenos, the son of Nikephoros Melissenos. It should be remembered that Pseudo-Sphrantzes' family name was Melissourgos and that he and his brother had launched an extensive campaign to refer to themselves as Melissenoi and had even altered their signatures in some documents to bear the new name by which they eventually became known in the west. In this instance Melissourgos-Melissenos claims to be a descendant of Sphrantzes! His campaign to link his family to the Melissenoi and to Sphrantzes is seen and understood clearly in this passage, as he states:[53]

> Καὶ πάλιν εἶπε μοι ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτι ἤθελεν εὐεργετῆσαί μοι...ἵνα συζεύξῃ εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν θυγατέρα τῷ νεανίσκῳ ἐκείνῳ Νικολάῳ τῷ Μελισσηνῷ, τῷ υἱῷ ποτε τοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Μελισσηνοῦ, ὂν καὶ Μελισσουργὸν ἐπωνόμαζον.
>
> He [*sc*. Constantine XI] told me that he wished to join in marriage my daughter to that young man Nikolaos Melissenos, the son of the late Nikephoros Melissenos, who was also called Melissourgos.

In one sentence Pseudo-Sphrantzes has fabricated a link with Sphrantzes and with the Melissenoi, who, he says in passing, were also known as Melissourgoi, his own surname. This is one of the rare fabrications of Pseudo-Sphrantzes for his own personal benefit. The author of the *Barberini Chronicle* preserves the notice of Goudeles precisely as it is encountered in Leonardo and Languschi-Dolfin.

Pseudo-Sphrantzes has further elaborated upon Leonardo's information by specifying that the Church of the Holy Apostles became the headquarters of the reserves. In addi¬tion, Pseudo-

Sphrantzes and the *Anonymous Barberini* exhibit another parallel that finds no echo in Leonardo, and consequently points to Languschi-Dolfin who does have the words *fusse bisogno* (or Sansovino with his *fosse stato bisogno*) used by the two Greek authors, as both make mention of ἀνάγκη and χρεία, terms that are absent in Leonardo's letter.

**LEONARDO:**[54] *Demetrius socer N[icolai?] Palaeologo Nicolausque Gudelli gener praesidentes, ut decurrant urbem, cum plerisque in succursum armatis reservantur.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[55] *Dimitri Paleologo socero, e Nicolo Guidelli genero pressidenti, reseruato cum molti armati a correr de terra per soccorer doue fusse bisogno.*

**SANSOVINO:**[56] *Demetrio suocero di N. Paleologo, & Nicolò genero di Gudello, erano Presidenti, per dar soccorso con armati alla città, ouunque fosse stato bisogno.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[57]
Τὸν δὲ Δημήτριον τὸν Καντακουζηνὸν καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ Παλαιολόγον Νικηφόρον μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν κατέταξαν ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ Ἀποστολείῳ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις τόποις περιπατεῖν μετὰ ἑπτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα, εἰς οἷον δὴ τόπον ἀνάγκη ὑπάρχῃ, βοηθήσωσιν.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[58]
Καὶ τὸν κὺρ Δημήτριο τὸν Παλαιολόγο, υἱὸν τοῦ κὺρ Νικολάου, καὶ τὸν Νικολὸ τὸν Γουδέλο τὸν γαμπρό του τοὺς ἔβαλε μὲ ἄλλους πολλοὺς συντρόφους, καὶ ἐστεκόντησαν ἕτοιμοι ὅτι ὅποτε δώσωνε λόγο νὰ δράμουνε νὰ βοηθήσουν ἐκεῖ ὁποὺ κάμει χρεία.

As well, there seems to be a further emendation involving an otherwise unknown individual. In his section of the catalogue of defenders Pseudo-Sphrantzes makes mention of a prominent defender in 1453, a Spaniard by the name of Don Francisco de Toledo. This individual is never mentioned by any other eyewitness or secondary source of the siege of 1453. Further, Pseudo-Sphrantzes states that Don Francisco was a relative of the emperor and thus establishes a noble Palaiologan connection for a Spanish family. In a passage of his own composition, Pseudo Sphrantzes states:[59]

> ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τῷ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ Τολέδῳ τῷ συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ, ὃς κατάγεται, λέγουσιν, ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος περιφανοῦς βασιλέως Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ, καὶ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔφιππος δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς περιπατῶν ἦν γύρωθεν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τειχῶν.

The emperor, together with his relative Don Francisco de Toledo,

> whose ancestors, as they say, is from the family line of the famous emperor Alexios Komnenos, was with us at all times. On his horse he moved about day and night all around, within the city and the walls.

Don Francisco appears once more in Pseudo-Sphrantzes at the last stand during the final assault. He is one of the few individuals who did not abandon the critical sector after the withdrawal of Giustiniani and his band of *condottieri* but chose to die heroically beside his kinsman, the Greek emperor. He is compared to Homer's Achilles:[60]

> Καὶ ὁ προῤῥηθεὶς δὸν Φραγκίσκος ὁ Τολέδος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐποίησεν· ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτυχε καὶ ὥς τις ἀετὸς μετὰ ὀνύχων καὶ στόματος τοὺς ἐναντίου κατέκοπτε.

> The aforementioned Don Francisco de Toledo surpassed Achilles in this struggle. He happened to be on the right side of the emperor. Like an eagle, he cut down the enemy with talons and beak.

There can be no doubt that Don Francisco and his heroic behavior are pure inventions of Pseudo-Sphrantzes, who had visited Spain in the summer/fall of 1573 and resided there for more than one year,[61] during which stay he established connections with prominent Spaniards in the court of Philip II. Pseudo-Sphrantzes took the opportunity to forge a number of documents (some by his own hand), which have found their way into Spanish archives. Some manuscripts have been identified, but others await the keen eyes of a modern researcher. It should be added that at the time there were other Greeks occupying prominent positions in the Spanish court.[62] Thus Pseudo-Sphrantzes may have had his own contacts there before his arrival. Given his interests and his forging activities, he may have concocted documents confirming, enhancing, and even presenting the high status of his ancestors in Constantinople before the fall of 1453.[63] Furthermore, Pseudo-Sphrantzes' own locale was Naples, which traditionally had its own Spanish attachments. In fact, the Neapolitan family de Toledo was very prominent at the time that Pseudo-Sphrantzes was active in Naples. One of the illustrious viceroys of Naples was Don Pedro de Toledo, the marquis of Villafranca,[64] whose good will and patronage Pseudo-Sphrantzes may have courted and consequently invented a connection of the Spanish noblemen to the Greek imperial dynasty and to his own family, supposedly the Melissenoi-Komnenoi and not his own family of the Melissourgoi, which had humble origins. Thus a member of the de Toledo family, a relative of the Greek emperor,[65] attends his distant kinsman in his last heroic moments. Pseudo-Sphrantzes adds in a supplement to the manuscripts that are associated with him and were perhaps copied by him personally:[66] "this man [*sc.* Don Francisco] came to tour Constantinople, and the emperor asked him to attend him in the palace and took his dinners with him."

It must be said that Pseudo-Sphrantzes was not original in the invention of this genealogy. Even before the fall of Constantinople, the Greek court had engaged in similar activities and perhaps a branch in the imperial service specialized in this sector. In the reign of John VIII Palaiologos, and particularly two weeks before the Greek emperor's departure for Italy to lead the delegation charged with discussions for the union of the Greek and Catholic Churches that took place in Ferrara and Florence in 1438/1439, a western visitor arrived in Constantinople. He was the Spaniard Pero Tafur, who was touring the Levant and who has left an invaluable account of his experiences in Constantinople and with the Greek emperor.[67] Tafur was easily, perhaps even eagerly, granted an immediate audience by the emperor. John VIII's court always welcomed westerners. He was extremely polite to Tafur, whom he further attempted to recruit into his service during the audience. That westerners surrounded John VIII becomes evident in the narrative of Tafur,[68] who also states that John listened to western secular music with pleasure. Tafur informs us that one of the emperor's interpreters was Juan of Seville, a Castilian by birth, who was selected for this post precisely because the emperor enjoyed listening to his Castilian romances, sung to the accompaniment of the lute.[69]

In his audience with the emperor, Tafur suggested in vague terms that he was remotely related to the imperial house of Constantinople and, not wishing to discourage Tafur, the emperor had someone look into this matter. In fact, from the evidence supplied in Tafur's narrative, the emperor's agents went to great lengths to legitimize the vague claims of Tafur, as John could use all the good will of westerners on the eve of his departure for Italy. He would have further welcomed Tafur into his retinue.[70] Tafur was still in Constantinople when the Greek delegation set sail for Italy. He even supplies a brief description of the festivities that accompanied the departure of the emperor:[71] "he departed in great pomp; his two brothers, and 800 men, all members of the nobility, accompanied him."

There is another figure who actually existed and fought in the defense of Constantinople, but whose name is not cited by any eyewitness sources. He was the consul of the Catalans in the Greek capital and he and his contingent defended the capital throughout the siege. Angelo Giovanni Lomellino knows of him and states that he perished in the massacre of prisoners that Mehmed II initiated in the days following the sack:[72] *decapitari fecit suis* [?] *diebus bailum Venetorum cum eius filio et aliis septem Venetis; et similiter consulem*

*Catalanorum cum aliis quinque vel sex Catalanis*, “in those [?] days he [Mehmed II] ordered the decapitation of the Venetian *bailo*, of his son, and of another seven Venetians; similarly, of the consul of the Catalans and of another five or six Catalans.” This execution is also cited in the text of Nicolo Barbaro, in a later addition by the hand of Marco Barbaro.[73] It should be noted that the name of this consul is stated nowhere. The only author to mention his name is Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the question arises as to the authenticity of the name. Could it be that Pseudo-Sphrantzes uncovered an indisputable piece of evidence citing the name of the consul, either during his visit to Spain or during his sojourn in Naples, or has he again invented a name for his own (unknown) purposes, as he had done with Don Francisco? This question will have to remain without an answer, since there is no evidence to authenticate or criticize this addition.

The name that Pseudo-Sphrantzes assigns to this consul is to be found in the two manuscripts that we have already encountered[74] and are associated with the years that Pseudo-Sphrantzes produced the final version of the *Maius* in Naples: the codex *Ambros. P 123, sup. (gr. 641)*, and the codex *Taurin. B 11 20 (gr. 102 bis)*, which, we have every reason to suspect, were written by Pseudo-Sphrantzes himself. He cites the name in the dative case as συνήλθομεν…ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι αἰγιαλῷ καὶ πλῆθος λαοῦ συνῆλθεν ἐκεῖσε…. “Consul Pedro Guliano.” Needless to state, neither the *Anonymous Barberini* nor Sansovino adds the name but simply reproduces faithfully Leonardo’s text, although Sansovino specifies that he was put to death with his two young sons during the wave of executions after the sack. Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the *Barberini Chronicle* omit the account about the execution of this individual. In spite of its suspicious origins, the consul’s name has found its way into the histories on the siege of 1453.[75]

> **LEONARDO**:[76] *Catalanorum consul turrim ante Hippodromium tutabatur versus orientalem plagam…Baiulum itidem Venetorum reliquosque delectos nobiles et filium gladio extingui iubet, consulemque Aragonensium cum duobus pariter*.

> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[77] *El consolo de Catalani deffendeua la parte de leuante al ypodromo…. Et alla prima fece decapitar el bailo de Uenetiani cum altri nobili, et lo consule taraconiense cum do altri*.

> **SANSOVINO**:[78] *et il consolo da Catalani guardaua la Torre che è dinanzi allo Hippodromo dall parte dell’Oriente…. Commando parimente che fosse ammazzato il Bailo de ’ Vinitiani insieme con vn suo figliuolo, & tutti gli altri nobili che vi erano. Et che fosse fatto il medesimi al Console de’ Taraconesi con due suoi figliuoli*.

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[79] τῷ δὲ Καταλάνων ἀστάνδη *[Ambros. P 128 sup. (gr. 641)*, and *Taurin. B 11 20 (gr. 102 bis)]:* κονσούλῳ Πέτρῳ Γουλιάνῳ] ἐδόθη, ἵνα φυλάττῃ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Βουκολέοντος ἄχρις ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κοντοσκαλίου....

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI***[80] καὶ τὸν κόνσολο τῶν Κατελάνων ἐφύλαγε τὸν πύργο, ὁποὺ ἔναι ἀνάντια τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου.

One final observation is in order. Pseudo-Sphrantzes, unwittingly this time, may have changed the nationality of one individual. While reporting the arrival of four ships to the aid of Constantinople and the sea battle that ensued in full view of the besiegers and the besieged, Pseudo-Sphrantzes bases the entire incident on his ultimate source, a version of Leonardo's letter. At the same time he reports the name of one Christian captain commanding the emperor's cargo boat from Sicily that was transporting grain: Φλαντανέλας/Flantanela. While Leonardo records the names of the other captains, Pseudo-Sphrantzes reports only this name. Could it be that he was under the impression that a Greek individual was to be found behind this name? The other captains, as it is evident in Leonardo, were Italians. Once more the question of Pseudo-Sphrantzes' ultimate source arises. It could not have been a reliable manuscript of Leonardo, as in the reliable manuscripts the name of this captain could not be mistaken. In fact, he was an Italian denominated as Francesco Lecanella, since Pertusi correctly prints in his selections from the Latin *epistula*.[81] This individual, along with other defenders such as Bocchiardi, Cataneo, Carreto, Salvatico/Salvago, among others, are known from additional contemporary Genoese documents.[82] Other manuscripts, however, render the name as *Flecanella*, *Flectanella*, or *Flettanella*, as they conflate the abbreviation *F* (for *Franciscus)* with the last name, *Lecanella*. Sansovino reports the name as *Flettanella*. Pseudo-Sphrantzes further omits the names of the other captains. Was it because it was difficult for him, unfamiliar as he was with Latin documents, to read their names in the manuscript, or was it because they were clearly Italian and he wished to commemorate only the name of the captain of the imperial vessel, which he understood to be Greek? That there was some difficulty in reproducing these names is further indicated by the *Anonymous Barberini*, which omits family names and even misreads one given name as "Philip" and does not even mention Lecanella, in any form. Evidently there was some confusion, as the *Anonymous Barberini* places his "Philip and Domenico" in charge of the imperial vessel. This "Phlantanellas" has misled numerous modern historians of the siege.[83]

**LEONARDO:**[84] *Naves, Mauritio Genuense Cataneo imperante, ex adverso repugnant. Ibi Dominicus de Novaria et Baptista de Fellizano, balanerii patroni Genuenses, ardue pugnam prosequuntur.... Tuetur se egregie imperatoris navis: succurrit Franciscus Lecanellapatronus....*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[85] *Alincontro de Mauritio Cataneo, capitaneo de Genoesi alicontro repugna, cui Domenico da Nouara, et Batista Feliciano patroni de bellanieri genoesi forti sieguono la pugna cum balestre datorno, et dardi grossi.... Egregiamente se deffende la naue imperiale alla qual soccore Francesco Lacauella patron..*

**SANSOVINO:**[86] *Combattè quiui arditamente Domenico da Nouara, & Battista di Feliciano, patroni Genouesi. I Turchi all' incontro con ogni sforzo si aiutauano a vincere, trahendo & sassi, & saette, & la naue Imperiale si difendeua valorosamente, & Flettanella suo padrone huomo valoroso la soccoreua onunque era bisogno..*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[87] ...οἱ δὲ ναύκληροι καὶ κυβερνῆται καὶ ναύαρχοι ἀνδρείως καὶ ῥωμαλέως σταθέντες, τοὺς ναυτίλους παρεθάῤῥυναν ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ ναυάρχης τῆς βασιλικῆς νηὸς τοὔνομα Φλαντανέλας ἐκ πρύμνης εἰς πρώραν διερχόμενος....

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI:***[88] ...Τότε ἐδιάβησαν τὰ κάτεργα πρῶτα ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ καράβι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐπολεμούσανε ἀνδρειωμένα, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖο ἤτονε καραβοκύρις Φιλίππος καὶ Ντομνέγος.

# IV. A Number of Correspondences among the Related Texts

Some examples, with analysis, are presented below, demonstrating direct duplications of Leonardo’s text in Languschi-Dolfin, in Sansovino, in Pseudo-Sphrantzes, and in the *Anonymous Barberini*.

i. In the following passage Leonardo’s *malo fato* is directly rendered by Languschi-Dolfin as *per la mala nostra uentura*. His *tanto hic animosius sarmentis, humos vasisque vinariis intercompositis reparabat* is translated as *tanto cum sarmenti, uimine, terra, et botte reparaua* and as *riparaua con sermenti & con terra & con botti piene*. While the concluding statements concerning John Grant are identical, the word order betrays a close relationship, especially the phrase *industria et sagacitate opus*, which is reflected in *per opera industria, et sagacita*. Sansovino provides a rather free paraphrase. The same qualities are further reflected in Pseudo-Sphrantzes,[89] who paraphrases rather than translates, as they are included in ἄκρον ἠσκημένος τὰς τοῦ πολέμου μηχανάς. Pseudo-Sphrantzes does not deal, however, with the arrival of Giustiniani in this passage and does not repeat Leonardo’s sentiments about the “bad luck” of the city. Furthermore, the *Barberini Chronicle* does not repeat the passage about the mines at all.

> **LEONARDO**:[90] *Verum quoniam malo fato Johannes Longus Genuensis, de Justinianorum prosapia, duabus cum navibus suis magnis et armatis circiter quadrigentis, mare decursitans forte veniens, stipendio ascriptus imperatoris, ducatum militiae obtinuit, strenue defensare urbem visus, reparationem demolitorum murorum vigilantius agebat, Theucri animum viresque deludere videbatur. Nam quanto hostis mole ingentis lapidis muros conterebat, tanto hic animosius sarmentis, humo vasisque vinariis intercompositis reparabat. Qua de re Theucrus delusus cogitavit non cessandum ab ictibus machinarum, sed fortiore cura subterraneis cavis furari urbem. Itaque minerarum fossores, quos ex Novo Brodo conduxerat magistros accersiri iussit. Lignis instrumentisque advectis solerti cura, uti imperatum, actum est ut mox per cuniculos tentarent fundamenta suffodere penetrareque omnifariam urbis murum. At cum a fundamentis — o rem mirabilem! — primum iam vallum antequemurale mirando cum silentio subcavassent, Johannis Grande Alemani, ingeniosi militis rerum bellicarum doctissimi, quem Johannes Justinianus, militiae dux, centurionem conduxerat, industria et sagacitate opus detectum est*

*exploratorumque idfirmatum relatione animos omnium commovit.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[91] *Ma per mala nostra uentura Joanne Longo, genoese di Zustignani, cum do naue grande sue andaua cum 400 homini in corso, a caso zonto a Constantinopoli, fu condutto a soldo dall 'Imperator, et fu facto capitanio a una posta la qual gagliardamente diffensaua la terra, et cum solecitudine reparaua li muri ruinadi poco stimando l animo et forza de Turchi. Et tanto quanto Turchi, cum grosse bombarde dirupaua, tanto cum sarmenti, uimine, terra et botte reparaua. Et per questo el Turcho deluso penso non cessar dal continuo trazer, ma ancora cum piu forte cura de caue subterranee furar la terra, et per questo lauor li fossori delle miniere, che lauoraua a Nouobordo fece uenir, li quali posto i muri in ponte legno dimplino el comandamento, et per tre uia tentauano penetrato i muri passar in la citade. Habiando adoncha passado sotto le fosse, el antimurale, et le mirabil fundamente de la terra cum gran silentio cauato, alhora per opera industria, et sagacita de Joanne Grande Alemano dotto in cose bellice, el qual Joanne Longo Zustignan capitanio condusse centurion, fu descoperto, et per sua relation fu confermato hauer explorato, et per questo l animo de ognun commosse.*

**SANSOVINO**:[92] *Ma per mala ventura vn Giouanni Lungo Genoese della prosapia de' Giustiniani con due naui sue armate con forze quattrocento huomini, scorrendo per lo mare, venne a caso a Costantinopoli, il quale totto al soldo dall 'Imperatore, fu fatto condottiere, & parendo che egli valorosamente diffendesse la Città comincio sollecitamente a riparar le mura ch'erano state rouinare, & parcua ch'egli si facesse besse dell'animo del Turco & delle sue forze, percioche quanto il Turco mandaua a terra delle muraglie, tanto il Giustiniano riparaua con sermenti & con terra & con botti piene. La onde il Turco più volte bessato, penso di non restar, ai dalla batteria, & di pigliar la città con le mine. Perche chiamato a se i maestri delle mine comando loro quel ch'egli intendeua di fare, onde essi cominciarono a cauar sotto le fondamenta con fosse, & a penetrar per tutti i muri della città. Et hauendo essi con meruiglioso silentio cauato dalle fondamenta il primo bastione, marauigliosa cosa da dire Giouanni Grande Todesco, soldato esperitissimo & d'ingengo, & fatto capo di squadra dal Giustiniano, scoperse la cosa, & trouata esser uera, commosse gli animi d'ogniuno.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES**:[93]
ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς…προσέταξεν ἵνα ἔλθωσί τινες ἄνδρες

> οἱ δυνάμενοι ὀρθῶς ἰδεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ὀπὰς ὑποκεκρυμμένας κάτωθεν τῆς γῆς, ὅπως δι᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ στρατὸς εὐκόλως εἰσέλθωσιν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως.... Ἰωάννης δέ τις Γερμανὸς ἄκρον ἠσκημένος τὰς τοῦ πολέμου μηχανὰς καὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ πυρός, ἐνωτισθεὶς τὴν μηχανήν, ἑτέραν ὀπὴν ἐναντίαν ὀρύξας καὶ μετὰ ὑγροῦ πυρὸς τεχνηέντως συσκευάσας, ἐρχομένων τῶν Τούρκων διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς μετὰ χαρᾶς αὐτὸς τὸ πῦρ ἀνάψας τὸ εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν ὠρυγμένην παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὀπὴν πολλοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν κατέκαυσεν καὶ τὰς τέχνας αὐτῶν εἰς οὐδὲν ἀπέδειξεν.

ii. Leonardo’s *ut rem in lucem venit, repulsis igne et sulphure hostibus a latebris reconstructa* is translated by Languschi-Dolfin in the same word order: *uenuta la cosa in luce, fono rebattudi Turci di tal latebre, cum fuogo, solfere, pegola et poluere*. Sansovino is not as faithful: *ma come si conobbe la cosa, cacciati inemici con zolfo & col fuoco, rifondata di nuouo cesso la paura*. The same observation in regard to the Romans and Carthaginians is encountered in all three texts: (1) *scalasque rotatas, currus castellatos taliaque machinamenta, quae vix Romani adversus Poenos construxissent*; (2) *scale cum rote, carri castellati, tal machine che Romani mai feceno contra Carthaginensi*; and (3) *carrette castellati e tali altri machine, le quali a pena che io credo ch ’i Romani apparecchiasseuo contra i Cartaginessi* in Leonardo, Languschi-Dolfin and Sansovino, respectively. Finally, *bombarda praeterea ingens* is accurately rendered as *la bombarda grossa* and as *bombarda grande*. On the Greek side, the *Barberini Chronicle* remains true to its Latin/Italian prototype, while Pseudo-Sphrantzes has elaborated this section beyond recognition and has retained only the general tone of the passage, without even specifying the name of the tower given in the other text (and for that reason his passage is omitted here).

> **LEONARDO**:[94] <*Graeci cum dudum Barsicham, Ammi, Amoratque genitorem hujus, pristinis bellis frustra laborasse in cavanda urbe cognovissent, impossibile per hunc fieri posse affirmabant. Quorum opinio ex facti evidentia confusa est. Itaque penetralia haec nostris reconfossionibus detecta, urbem non laesere, timorem tamen ingentem a fundamentis confossa turris, ligneis stylis bituminatis innixa, nobis inussit. Sed, ut res in lucem venit, repulsis igne et sulphure hostibus e latebris reconstructa, mox timorem excussit. Composuit perinde ligneas turres juxta vallum, humo plenas, pellibus boum circumtectas, ex quibus fossatis clam terram quisquiliasque ut facilis eis fieret ingressus, immitebant. Crates deinde innumeras ex virgultis viminibisque contextas, cattos oblongos scalasque rotatas, currus castellatos taliaque machinamenta, quae vix Romani adversus Poenos construxissent.*> *Bombarda praeterea illa ingens, eo quod Caligaream strenue reparatam adversus non proficeret, alium locum Baccatureae turris, iuxta Sancti Romani portam, lapide in ea exastimatione mille ducentarum librarum interdiu collidit, collisum concutit, concussum exterminat. Ruina turris antemuralis fossatum replet aequatque, ita ut via hostibus, qua urbem*

*decurrere possent, strata cerneretur, nisique concite introrsum, uti in Caligareae demolitione, reparatio facta fuisset, haud dubio impetu urbem intrassent. <Itaque Teucrus demolitum, quam primum restauratum ut conspexit murum: non Graecorum, inquit, sed Francorum hoc ingenium est, ut tanta resistentia fiat, tanta pugna: quos nec innumerae sagittae nec machinarum ligneorumque castrorum horror, nec intermissa obsessio deterret.>*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[95] *Greci tamen come per el passato diceuano, Baiseto auo, et Amorato padre in altre guerre insimilcaue in darno ha lauorato l opinion di qual cum la euidentia del facto fu confusa, in modo che questi penetrali defossi, et caue da quelli cauano al incontro detecta non offeseno la terra, ma messe grande timor a tutti, contro di qual uenuta la cosa in luce, fono rebattudi Turci di tal latebre, cum fuogo, solfere, pegola et poluere. Fece leuar ancora grande bastie et alte apresso el uallo piene de terre coperte de coro biono, fece etiam innumeri gradizi, scale cum rote, carri castellati, tal machine che Romani mai feceno contra Carthaginensi, la bombarda grossa che lauoraua ala Calegaria non facendo frutto per esser ben riparata transporto alla torre Baccatura all porta de San Romano. Et quella trazenod piera de 1200 libre in uno di trazando scantino, ruino, et extermino, la ruina de la qual torre impite el fossato del antemurale et taliter agualizo, che per quella uia Turci podeua uegnir in la terra, et ueder le ruine, come feceno a la Calegaria, che se non eran presti a tal lauor, Turchi intrauano in la citade. El signor come uide el ruinado esser subito ristaurato, disse non e questo ingegno de Greci, ma de Franchi che si a riparato cum tanta scientia in tanta pugna, in la qual ne tante forze ne bombarde, et artellarie d ogni qualita li facia retrar da la pugna.*

**SANSOVINO**:[96] *Ma i Greci diceuano, che essendosi per le guerre inanzi, altre volte prouato da Besit, & da Morad padre di questo Mahamet assaticati in vano per preuderla con le naue, non era possibile che riuscisse a Mahamet. La opinion de quali fu fallace per la proua che se ne vide. La onde scoperta la mina de' Turchi con la contra mina, non fecero male alcuno. Ma diede grandissimo timore vna torre, la quale essendo rouinata, stava su puntelli di legno impeciati, ma come si conobbe la cosa, cacciati inemici con zolfo & col fuoco, rifondata di nuouo cesso la paura. Oltre a cio fece alcune Torri di legno vicine al bastione piene di terra, & circondate attorno di pelle di buoi, dalle quasi essi metteuano ascosamente nè fossati terra & altre cose per far che l'entrata fosse lorpiù ageuole. Et infiniti graticci tessuti di vimini & di frasconi, gatti lunghi, scale con ruote, carrette castellati e tali altri machine, le quali a pena che io credo ch'i Romani apparecchiasseuo contra i Cartaginessi. Oltre a cio con quella bombarda grande che si fece fa gettata a terra la torre Battatinea vinino alla porta di San Romano,*

*onde il fassato che era inanzi alle mura si riempiè delle sue rouine aggugliandolo alla terra, di modo che si vedeua fatta vna via a nemici per le quale essi potetuano andar alla città, e se incontanente non si hauesse proue duto non è dubbio che essi impetuosamente correndo, farebbono entrati. La onde vedendo il Turco esser rifatto il muro prima ch'egli fosse atterato, disse que sta opera non era de' Greci, ma de gli Italiani che faceuano tanta resistenza, e tanta guerra, i quali non si spauentauano nè per saette innumerabili, nè per machine, nè per altra cosa che vfasse in vno assedio come quello.*

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI***:[97] Καὶ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἀπὸ μέσα ἐπολεμούσανε καὶ ἀντιστέκανε καὶ ἐρρίχνασι ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Τουρκῶν φωτίες ἀρτιφιτζιάλους μὲ βοτάνι καὶ τειάφι, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐρρίχνασι ἀπάνω ἀπὸ τὰ τειχία. Καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀπόξω ἐκάμνασι κάποιους πύργους ξύλινους καὶ τοὺς ἐντύσανε μὲ πετζία, διὰ νὰ μὴν τοὺς κάψῃ ἡ φωτία· καὶ τὶς ἐγεμίσανε χῶμας καὶ τὶς ἐσύρανε κοντὰ εἰς τὸ τεῖχο, 'ς τὰ χαντάκια, διὰ νὰ τὰ γεμίζουνε καὶ νὰ ἐμποῦνε μέσα. Καὶ ἐκάμανε καὶ πλέκτες μὲ τὰ κλαδία καὶ κοφίνες μεγάλες καὶ ἄλλα πράματα πολλῶν λογίων διὰ νὰ τὰ γεμίζουνε νὰ ἐμποῦνε μέσα. Ἐκάμανε καὶ ἁμάξα ὡσὰν καστέλλια καὶ ἄλλα ἰντζένια, καὶ ἔλεγε ὅτι: "Καὶ δὲν πιστεύω ὅτι οἱ Ρωμᾶνοι νὰ ἐκάμανε τόσα πράματα ὅταν ἐπολεμούσανε τὴν Καρταγένα, ὁποὺ εἶναι σήμερο τὸ Τούνεζι, εἰς τοὺς Μώρους." Καὶ τὸ περισσότερο, ὁποὺ ὥρισε ὁ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτης καὶ ἐκάμανε μία μεγάλη λουμπάρδα, ὁποὺ ἦτονε τὸ βόλι της ἕνδεκα πιθαμὲς τὸ γῦρο, καὶ ἔδερνε εἰς τὸν πύργο λεγόμενο Βατανίνεο, κοντὰ εἰς τὴν πόρτα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ρωμανοῦ. Καὶ τόσο ἔδερνε τὸν τεῖχο, ὅτι ἔπεφτε καὶ ἐγέμιξε τὸ χαντάκι καὶ ἴσασε ἴσια μὲ τὴ γῆ, καὶ ἐκάμασι στράτα δρόμου διὰ νὰ ἐμποῦσι μέσα οἱ Τοῦρκοι. Καὶ ἐμπαίνασι, ἐὰν δὲν ἠθέλανε προϊδεῖ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἀπὸ μέσα, ὁποὺ ἐκτίσανε ἄλλον τεῖχο ἀπὸ μέσα. Καὶ ὡσὰν εἶδε ὁ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτης τὸν τεῖχο κτισμένο, ἐθάμαξε καὶ λέγει: "Ἐτοῦτες τὶς τέχνες δὲν τὶς κάμουσι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, μόνε οἱ Φράγκοι, ὁποὺ κάμουσι τόσες τέχνες καὶ ἀντιστέκουσι εἰσὲ τόσον πόλεμον καὶ δὲ φοβοῦνται μηδὲ σαΐττες, μηδὲ ἄλλα μάγγανα, ὁποὺ τοὺς πολεμῶ."

iii. In this section the confusion of the emperor, his confidence in Giustiniani and his armored troops, and the dangers of the Saint Romanos sector are delineated. His followers, including the Greek authors, with the notable exception of Languschi-Dolfin, who, for some reason, neglects to paraphrase this passage, have paraphrased Leonardo's Latin text. The anonymous author of the *Barberini Chronicle* has been quite faithful to Leonardo's text at this point, rendering the force of *commilitonibus* by συντρόφους and of *aliquot* by καμπόσους. The relationships include the following obvious parallelisms:

**LEONARDO**:[98] *<paucitate suorum diffidens, >…spem omnem in Johanne praefecto Justiniano reposuit … cum tercentis commilitonibus Genuensibus … delectis quidem coadiunctis Graecis, circa illam partem* *murorum Sancti Romani reparatorum, ubi magis urgebat pugna.*

**SANSOVINO:**[99] *Et diffidundosi della guera per la pochezza de suoi, la telleraua patientemente, hauendo messo ogni sua speraza in Giovanni Giustiniano …, Egli si mise in compagnia del Capitano con trecento soldati Genouesi & con alcuni altri scelti di suoi Greci armati, intorno quella parte delle mura riparate di San Romano oue importana più.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[100] διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα ἡμῶν, ἵνα μετὰ τριακοσίων στρατιωτῶν Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ, ἔνθα…πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ἐμάχοντο.

***Anonymous Barberini*:**[101] εἶχε μεγάλη σύχυσι, ἔδωσέ του τριακόσους συντρόφους καὶ ἐστεκότονε κ᾿ ἐφύλαγε εἰς τὴν πόρτα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ, ἀπάνω ᾿ς τὰ τειχία, ᾿Ακόμη ἔδωσέ του καὶ ἄλλους καμπόσους ἁρματωμένους νὰ ἀντιστέκουνται τῶν Τουρκῶν, διατὶ ἐκεῖ ἦτονε τὸ πλέο κίνδυνο.

iv. In addition to the linguistic parallels, the mention of Xerxes[102] is repeated in all texts; clearly we are dealing with a faithful translation of Leonardo. The Greek imitators provide the exception. Pseudo-Sphrantzes has considerably amplified the original passage in his paraphrase and, like the anonymous author of the *Barberini Chronicle*, has eliminated any mention of Xerxes.

**LEONARDO:**[103] *Proinde hoc ingenio non contentus Teucrus aliud quoque, quo nos terreret magis, construxit, pontem videlicet longitudinis stadiorum circiter triginta, ex ripa urbi opposita, maris qui sinum scinderet, vasis vinariis colligatis, sub constructis confixisque lignis, quo exercitus decurreret ad murum prope, urbis juxta fanum, imitatus Xerxis potentiam, qui ex Asia in Thraciam Bosphoro exercitum traduxit. Non restabat ergo nisi navium catenaeque diametralis initio, quae transitum ingressumve classi prohibebat.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[104] *Non contento perho de queso inzegno, el Turcho per altro modo cercho spauentarne. Et fece contruir uno ponte longo 30 stadij sono miglia… dal mare fino alla ripa de la terra, fatta la zatra fermata sopra le botte ligate per diuider el porto, per lo qual ponte exercito poteua correr apresso el muro de la cita, apresso la giesia, imitando la potentia di Xerse el quale de Natolia in Grecia tradusse lo suo exercito per lo stretto de Hellesponto. Non restaua adoncha saluo la cathena de le naue ne quella impiua tutta la bocha a prohibir el transito de l intrar al armata.*

**SANSOVINO:**[105] *Ma non essendo il Turco contento di questo insegno,* *ne fabricò un'altro per metterli in maggior terrore, cioè vn ponte di lunghezza di trenta stadi dalla riua opposita della città, il qualfendendo l'acqua del mare, si sosteneuafu botti da vino ritenute, & incatenate di sotto con traui, per lo quale essercito, se ne venisse, al muro vicino alla Città; imitando la potenza di Serse, il qual traghetto l'essercitò dall'Asia nella Thracia per Bosforo. Et non restaua altro posto se non lo spatio diametrale delle naui, & delle catene lo qual vietana l'entrar, & ldiametrale delle naui, & delle catene lo qual vietana l'entrar, vscire all'armata.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[106] Εἶτα γέφυραν κατασκευάζει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἀκάτια γάρ τινα καὶ ἀγγεῖα μεγάλα ξυλοπύθους συνάξας πολλοὺς καὶ ξύλοις μακροῖς, ἤτοι δοκοῖς, καὶ σιδήροις καὶ σχοινίοις ἰσχυρῶς καὶ δυνατῶς συσφίγξας καὶ δήσας, ...ἐξ ὧν γέφυρα ἐγεγόνει δυνατὴ καὶ καλή, ἔχουσα τὸ πλάτος ὀργυίων πεντήκοντα, τὸ δὲ μάκρος ἑκατόν.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI:***[107] Τότε ἐκάμανε μία τζάταρα ἢ σκάλα-ταράτζα ξύλινη οἱ Τοῦρκοι, μακρέα τέσαρες χιλιάδες ὀργυῖες καὶ πλατέα πεντακόσες ὀργυῖες, καὶ τὴν ἐκαρφώσανε καλὰ ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν θάλασσα καὶ τὴν ἐτραβήξανε κοντὰ εἰς τὰ τειχία τῆς Πόλης· καὶ ἐβάλανε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ποῦντε πολλοὺς Τούρκους καὶ ἐπολεμούσανε.

v. This passage concerns the western ships hired by the emperor, which are characterized as pirate vessels.[108] Thus Leonardo's *naves… referens Perensibus … piratarum erant, quos imperator conduxerat* is rendered by Languschi-Dolfin as *manda a dir a Perensi che per esser naue de corsari suo inimici condutte dal imperator* and by Sansovino as *che essendo esse di Corsari; come gli era da loro stato detto, & condotte dall' Imperadore*, with an echo in Pseudo-Sphrantzes: ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· "αὗται αἱ νῆες οὐκ εἰσιν ἐμπορικαί, ἀλλὰ πειρατικαί...ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἐχθρῷ βοηθήσωσιν." Leonardo's observation *mirandum quidem Dei iudicium* is rendered as *miranda cosa fu and* as *[m]arauiglioso giudicio di Dio*, and is further echoed in Pseudo-Sphrantzes: Καὶ ἦν θαυμάσαι. It is interesting to note that Pseudo-Sphrantzes employs the terminology of Languschi-Dolfin, reflected in his omission of *Dei iudicium*. This is an indication that Pseudo-Sphrantzes in his elaboration of the *Maius* employed Languschi-Dolfin and not Leonardo or Sansovino; the latter retains the phrase as *giudicio di Dio*. The *Barberini Chronicle* reverts to Leonardo's phraseology: καὶ τὸ εἶχανε διὰ θαῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ but omits any reference to the single casualty.

**LEONARDO:**[109] *Rex contra classis praefectum Baltoglum oppido*

*indignatus, precibus baronum concessa eidem vita, sententiam tulit quod officio et bonis omnibus privaretur. <Cogitavit itaque odio accensus in naves ex colle Galatae, orientali plaga, vel eas lapidibus machinarum obruere vel a catena depellere. Dispositis itaque et ex ripa occidentali bombardis, satagit omni acuitate artificis naves infringere: referens Perensibus, quoniam, uti dixerant, piratarum erant, quos imperator conduxerat, contra eas agere velle, quae inimicorum suorum essent. Itaque artifex, cui provisio negata fuit, ex nostris ad Teucros reductus, quanto ingenio potuit, naves frangere studuit: nescioque quo fato resultans bombardae a colle lapis, centurionis navem, forte ob crimen, uno icto confodit: quae extemplo mercibus onusta fundum mersa petiit, maximum discrimen quidem inferens. Quo casu reliquae ne confringantur muro Galatae protectae haerent. Mirandum quidem Dei judicium, ut immissis quinquaginta et centum prope lapidibus, quibus perforatae multae Galatae domus, inter triginta mulieres conglobatas, una sola optimae fame interempta fuit.>*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[110] *Acceso el Turcho da disdegno da i monti orientali de Pera penso a profundar con machine e morteri, o trar quelle da la cathena. Messo andocha le bombarde a segno dal occidente, se sforza cum bombardieri profundar le naue, manda a dir a Perensi che per esser naue de corsari suo inimici condutte dal imperator, uol quelle destruzer. El bombardier nostro al qual non era data la prouision ando dal Turco, et cum suo arte studio desfar le naue. Et per la mala sorte trazando perforo la naue de Bernaba Centurione. Et quella carga de merce mando a fondi cum graue danno de Genoesi, per el caso de la qual le altre naue genoexe, se acostorono alla panizza de Pera uscindo fuora della cadena. Miranda cosa fu che tratto da poi 150. piere cum le qual forono molte case di Pera, morto una nobili femina, de trenta naue ligate una sola perite.*

**SANSOVINO:**[111] *Il Re sdegnato, & grauemente adicato con Baltoglo Capitano dell armata, hauendogli a preghiere de i Baroni conceduta la vita, sententiò che fosse priuato dell' officio, & priuato di tutti i suoi beni. Et pensò di affogar le naui del parto co' sassi dalla ponte Oriente da colle di Pera, ò di cacciarle dalla catena. Ordinate adunque le bombarde…. Ordinate adunque le bombarde dalla ripa Occidentale procacciana con ogni artificio di fracassar le predette naui, dicendo a quei di Pera, che essendo esse di Corsari come gli era da loro stato detto, & condotte dall' Imperadore, le noleua perseguitare come cose de suoi nemici…. Marauiglioso giudicio di Dio, che essendo stati tratti, piu di cento e cinquantre colpi di palle, con le quali furono sfondate molte case di Perotti, & morta una donna, tra tenta naui che erano ristrette insieme non nene peri; niun' altra che quella sola. Erano anco nel porto tre galee grosse Vinitiane, e che sottili, per guardia di quelle grosse, le quali*

*rimasero a instantia dell'Imperadore, per guardia di quel la città.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[112]
καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐν τῷ λόφῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου πέραν ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾷ ἑλεβόλεις μεγάλας στήσας, ἵνα τὰς ἡμετέρας νῆας τὰς ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τοῦ λιμένος βυθίσῃ καὶ ὅθεν ἦσαν ποιῆσαι ἀναχωρῆσαι...ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾷ...συναχθέντες εἶπον αὐτῷ "οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον..." ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς "αὗται αἱ νῆες οὐκ εἴσιν ἐμπορικαὶ ἀλλὰ λησταὶ θαλάττιοι, καὶ χάριν ἐμπορίας οὐκ ἦλθον ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ ' ἵνα τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἡμῶν ἐχθρὸν βοηθήσωσιν..." καὶ ἦν θαυμάσαι ὅτι πλεῖον ἢ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα ἑλεβόλεις ῥίψας οὐδέν τι πλέον τὰς νῆας ἔβλαψεν οὔτε ἄνθρωπον ἐθανάτωσεν, εἰ μὴ γυναῖκα τινα πέτρα πεσοῦσα ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπέκτεινε.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[113]
Καὶ ὁ σουλτάνος ἤθελε νὰ φουρκίσῃ τὸν καπετὰν πασᾶ, ὁποὺ ἤτονε εἰς τὴν ἀρμάδα· καὶ τὸν ἐπαρακαλέσανε οἱ ἄλλοι πασᾶδες καὶ ἐχάρισε τὴν ζωήν του, ἀλήθεια τὸν ἐξώρισε. Καὶ τότε ἔβαλε ὅτι νὰ χαλάσῃ τὰ καράβια τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὁποὺ ἤτονε εἰς τὸν λιμιῶνα, ὁποὺ ἤτονε εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Γαλατᾶ, τὸ μέρος τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, τὰ ὁποῖα καράβια εἴχανε μέσα ἀνδρειωμένους κουρσάρους.... Ἀμμὴ ὑστέρου ἐπετάξανε πλέο παρὰ 150 λουμπαρδὲς καὶ δὲν ἔβλαψε μηδὲ ἕνα· καὶ τὸ εἴχανε διὰ θαῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁποὺ ἤτονε τριάντα καράβια καὶ δὲν ἔβλαψε μηδὲ ἕνα. Καὶ ἤτονε καὶ τρία κάτεργα χοντρὰ βενέτικα καὶ δύο λιανά, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐστάθησαν διὰ νὰ βοηθήσουν τῆς Πόλης.

vi. There is a major departure here from Leonardo's information. Why Pseudo-Sphrantzes assigned the sector of the Selybria Gate to Theophilos Palaiologos remains obscure. Leonardo provides the information that the area from the "Pege" Gate (as the Selybria/Silivri was also known) as far as the Golden Gate, in the southern sector of the land fortification and not in its northern part commanded by the Kaligaria Gate, was placed under Maurizio Cataneo from Genoa: *inter portam Pighi, id est Fontis, usque ad Auream*. The *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle* correctly follows the text of Leonardo and does not depart from its prototype, even though it manages, in confusion, to create a new name for the Golden Gate: *Maurea*. It is possible that Pseudo-Sphrantzes employed a version of Leonardo's letter with a slightly different text. The explanatory *id est Fontis* may not be original in the Latin text, as it is not Leonardo's practice to provide translations of his Greeks toponyms, and it may thus be regarded as a later gloss. We may further observe that both Greek authors have neglected Leonardo's qualifiers for Maurizio, *vir nobilis* and *praefectus*. Moreover, the Greek texts describe Maurizio's duties in similar phraseology, which does not derive from the Latin text: φυλάττειν and νὰ φυλάγῃ, and which point to an unknown version of the Latin text that both individuals were consulting. This hypothetical text must have been in Greek, and its text, at this point, employed some form of φυλάττειν. Yet the Greek texts provide the closest parallel to Leonardo's Latin text when they comment upon the wooden castle, the mobile castle of the Turks that was protected by animal hides. Pseudo-Sphrantzes has also changed the first name of Cataneo from Maurizio to Manuel. Falier-Papadopoulos observes that this is a copyist's error and that the name should be emended in the Greek text to Μαυρίκιος.[114]

Why Pseudo-Sphrantzes assigned the sector of Selybria/Pege Gate to Theophilos Palaiologos, in a major disagreement with his prototype, remains obscure. In the late Palaiologan period this gate was known as "Pege" because it was situated near the Holy Spring outside the walls, the present Balikli.[115] After the sack or shortly before, this gate became generally known as the Selybria/Silivri Gate.[116] Perhaps this express mention of the "Selybria" Gate in Pseudo-Sphrantzes' text is another indication of the late composition of the *Maius*. In July 1570, Pseudo-Sphrantzes, that is, Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, visited Constantinople in order to argue his case against Sophronios, the metropolitan of Khristianopolis, with regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Androusa in the Morea. It also appears probable that Makarios had been summoned to Constantinople by the secular authorities, for he had justly come under suspicion because of his seditious activities to foment a rebellion against the Ottoman Turks in southern Greece and had been in contact with Venetian and Spanish agents active in the Levant.[117] Pseudo-Sphrantzes prevailed in his case at the patriarchate and even seems to have allayed the fears of the Turkish authorities over his activities, even though suspicion arose about the nature of the documents that he had presented, at least in the patriarchate. He had forged these documents, in all likelihood.[118] During his stay in Constantinople, Pseudo-Sphrantzes must have heard tales that were in circulation about the siege of 1453. Some tales he may have incorporated into his elaboration upon Sphrantzes' *Minus*. The specifying of Pege as the Selybria Gate, to which sector Theophilos Palaiologos had been assigned, may be reasonably attributed to a tale of which he was informed.

A number of equivalents and direct translations appear in the passage that concerns the Bocchiardi brothers:[119] *summa cum vigilantia noctu dieque… tanta animositate, nunc pedes nunc eques*, and the comparison *ut Horatii Coclitis vires* is rendered as *cum summa vigilantia di et notte … et cum animosita, hora a piedi hora a cauallo.come Oratio Cocle*. Languschi-Dolfin also adds on his own the famous bridge: *sul ponte*. Pseudo-Sphrantzes follows closely: ...καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππέοι...γέρα μνήμης αἰωνίου. The *Anonymous Barberini* follows suit, with considerable reduction: …μέρα καὶ νύκτα…. Καὶ ἐκάμνασι ὡς Ἀχιλλέοι. Some of the closest verbal correspondences can be detected in the characterization of Theodoros Karystenos and Theophilos Palaiologos: Theodoros *is senex sed robustus… in arcu doctissimus*, rendered as *uecchio ma robusto, arciero peritissimo*, as ἀνδρὶ πολεμιστῇ καὶ τοξότῃ ἠσκημένῳ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, and γέροντας, ἀμμή…πολλὰ ἀνδρειωμένος εἰς τὸ δοξάρι. Theophilos is *litteris eruditus, doctissimo*, ἀνδρὶ ἐμπείρῳ πάσης γραμματείας καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας τε καὶ μαθηματικῆς, and σοφὸς ἄνθρωπος. This passage presents some of the closest parallels between the Greek texts and Leonardo’s account. Pseudo-Sphrantzes seems to have appropriated whole phrases from the Latin letter. The Bocchiardi brothers defended their sector and resisted prolonged attacks so bravely that their deeds can be compared to those of ancient heroes. Among the most notable translations from Latin are πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππέοι of which Pseudo-Sphrantzes had rendered *nunc pedes nunc eques*, and καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, matched by μέρα καὶ νύκτα in the Barberini version, for Leonardo’s *noctu dieque*. In this last instance Pseudo-Sphrantzes has even retained the proper word order for the Latin idiom. In the Greek equivalent phrase the order is normally reversed. as in the *Anonymous Chronicle* (cf. ἡμερονύκτιον and μερονύχτι in Modern Greek—the order is never reversed). Further, in another passage of the siege section, which is purely of Pseudo-Sphrantzes’ invention, the correct idiom, in the proper word order, appears: δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. In the phrase καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, Pseudo-Sphrantzes clearly betrays his Latin source and demonstrates that he sometimes is translating literally, *ad verbum* and not *ad sensum*.

Pseudo-Sphrantzes has produced an approximation of the correct form of this sector of the fortifications. The Myriandrion, also known as the Mesoteikhion,[120] is situated in the middle section of the walls. The Myriandrion was also known as the Polyandrion, which may explain Leonardo’s form, *Miliandrio*, a cross of the two names. The danger of this position is indicated by identical phrases in our texts, as is the praise for the courage of the Bocchiardi brothers. Perhaps the most important parallel appears at the end, in Leonardo’s comparison of the Bocchiardis with the Horatius Cocles, which is also echoed in the Greek texts. Pseudo-Sphrantzes has deleted the reference to

Horatius, who may not have meant much to Greek readers. His last sentence, nevertheless, indicates that he has ancient heroes in mind, as is suggested by his choice of words, ἆθλα καὶ γέρα, words with an archaic flavor that evoke the realm of myths and legends of old. That some form of Leonardo's text was available and influenced Pseudo-Sphrantzes in the composition of this passage is undoubtedly demonstrated and confirmed by "the eternal memory" comment, which can only be regarded as a precise paraphrase of Leonardo's conclusion. The author of the *Anonymous Barberini* also demonstrates his dependence upon Leonardo rather differently: he compares the Bocchiardis to Achilles, surely a more meaningful comparison to a Greek audience and a stock formula for this chronicler whenever he mentions antiquity. Even though he has deleted "the eternal memory" of Leonardo's text, he betrays his source both in lexical items and in the structure of his sentence, which closely reproduces the character of the Bocchiardi brothers.

Mention should be made here of the sections in which the Greek authors agree with each other but do not seem to have drawn their information from Leonardo's text directly. Thus both authors may betray another source, perhaps a Greek source, as the word συχνάκις in Pseudo-Sphrantzes finds a counterpart in the *Barberini Chronicle*, καμμία βολά, but reflects no prototype in Leonardo's letter. In addition, both Greek authors mention hand-to-hand combat on the walls. Even though the state of the fortifications may have been ultimately suggested by Leonardo's *muri fracti*, which may have influenced Pseudo-Sphrantzes' choice of ἔθλαζον, both authors may have been drawing information from an unidentified Greek account, as their wording is quite similar (e.g., ἀπεδιώχθησαν and ἐκαταδιώχνασι in Pseudo-Sphrantzes in the chronicle, but absent in Leonardo).

> **LEONARDO:**[121] *Mauritius inde Cataneus, vir nobilis Genuensis, praefectus inter Portam Pighi, id est Fontis, usque ad Auream cum ducentis balistariis commixtis etiam Graecis contra ligneum castrum, pellibus boum contectum, oppositum accurate decertat. Paulus, Troilus, Antonius de Bochiardis fratres in loco arduo Miliandri, quo urbs titubabat, aere proprio et armis summa cum vigilantia noctu dieque <et spingardis horrendis, et balistis torneis> viriliter pugnam sustinent <qui tanta animositate, nunc pedes nunc eques defendunt, ut Horatii Coclitis vires repulsis hostibus aequare viderentur. Nam nec muri fracti concussione, nec machinarum turbine territi, aeternam sibi memoriam vindicant.> Theodorus Caristino, senex sed robustus Graecus, in arcu doctissimus, Theophilusque Graecus, nobilis Palaeologo litteris*

*eruditus… Calegaream concussam reparant proleguntque.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[122] *et pocho distante el nobile Mauritio Catanio era capitanio infra la porta pighi a la fonte fina a la porta aurea cum ducento balestrieri, cum alcuni Greci contra el castello et torre de legno coperta de cuori bouini diligentemente defendando. Paulo Troilo Antonio di Buzardi fratelli in loco arduo miliadro, doue pareua la cita piu debole, cum suo denari et arme cum summa uigilantia di et notte, cum spingarde, e balestre datorno uirilmente mantegniua la sua posta, et cum a nimosita, hora a piedi hora a cauallo quella deffende, come Oratio Cocle sul ponte, cum forze rebattando Turci, equaua la pugna, et minaccianti ruina, ne per trazer bombarde restaua de aquistarse gloria immortale. Daltra parte Theodoro Caristino, uechio ma robusto, arciero peritissimo, cum Theophilo Paleologo nobile Greco doctissimo.*

**SANSOVINO:**[123] *Et Paolo Troilo, & Antonio de Bocchiardi, fratelli, sosteneuano la pugna al Miliandro, da qual luogho la terra era in pericolo. Et stando giorno & notte alla difesa & spendendo del proprio, si portauano nobilmente, combattendo hora con spingarde, hora con fuochi, hora con balestre, con tanta animosità, & cun tanto cuore a piede & a cauallo, che cacciando gli inimici, poteuano pater tanti Horatij Cochliti, percioche non si spauentando nè per lo conquaessante del muro, nè per la moltitudine delle machine, s ’acquistarono una eterna memoria.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[124]
Μανουὴλ δὲ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Λιγουρίας φυλάττειν τὰ μέρη τῆς πύλης τῆς λεγομένης χρυσῆς μετὰ διακοσίων ἀνδρῶν τοξοτῶν τε καὶ μπαλαιστρῶν· εἶχον γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μέρει ἑλέπολιν ἐναντίαν, καὶ αὐτὴ μετὰ βουβάλων καὶ βοῶν δορῶν ἐνδεδυμένην.... Παύλῳ μὲν καὶ ᾿Αντωνίῳ καὶ Τρωΐλῳ τοῖς αὐταδέλφοις ἐνεμπιστεύθη, ἵνα φυλάττωσι τὸ Μυρίανδρον, ὅπου καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσιν ἡ πόλις ἦν ἐπικίνδυνος, καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππέοι τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Τουρκῶν ἐμάχοντο γενναίως καὶ ἀνδρείως καὶ συχνάκις...καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἆθλα καὶ γέρα μνήμης αἰωνίου ὑπῆρχον ἄξια. Θεοφίλῳ μὲν τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ, ἀνδρὶ ἐμπείρῳ πάσης πραγματείας καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας τε καὶ μαθηματικῆς εἰς ἄκρον γευσαμένῳ ἐπιστεύθη φυλάττειν κατὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς Πύλης τῆς λεγομένης Σηλυβρίας.... Θεοδώρῳ μὲν τῷ ἐκ Καρύστου, ἀνδρὶ πολεμιστῇ καὶ δραστικωτάτῳ καὶ τοξότῃ ἠσκημένῳ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ᾿Ιωάννῃ Γερμανῷ, ἀνδρὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου μηχανὰς καλῶς εἰδότι, ἐδόθη, ἵνα φυλάττωσι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς Καλυγαρίοις.

***Anonymous Barberini:***[125]
Καὶ τὸν Μαυρίκιο Γενουβῆζο τὸν ἔβαλε νὰ

> φυλάγη κοντὰ εἰς τὴν Μαυρέα Πόρτα μὲ καλὴ συντροφία Ρωμαίους μὲ μπαλαῖστρες· καὶ ἤτονε ἀνάντια τοῦ καστελλίου, ὁποὺ ἐκάμανε οἱ Τοῦρκοι, καὶ τὸ ἐπολέμα ἀνδρείως. Τὸ ὁποῖο καστέλλι ἤτονε ξύλινο.... Καὶ τὸν Παῦλο, Τρώϊλο καὶ τὸν ᾽Αντώνιον Πακκιάρδι ἐφυλάγανε τὸ μέρος τοῦ Μυλίανδρου, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖο Μυλίανδρο ἤτονε τὸ πλέο κίνδυνο τῆς χώρας. Καὶ ἐπολεμούσανε μέρα καὶ νύκτα, πότε μὲ φωτίες, πότε μὲ τὶς μπαλαίστρες, μὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ θάρσος πολύ.... Καὶ ἐκάμνασι ὡς ᾽Αχιλλέοι καὶ δὲν ἐφοβούντησαν...μηδὲ διὰ τίποτα. Καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος ὁ Καρυστηνὸς ἤτονε γέροντας, ἀμμὴ ἤτονε πολλὰ ἀνδρειωμένος εἰς τὸ δοξάρι, καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος ὁ Παλαιολόγος, σοφὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἄρχων.

vii. Some of the closest parallels are to be found in the following section dealing with the quarrel between the grand duke of Constantinople, Loukas Notaras, and the commander-in-chief, Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani, on the eve of the final Turkish assault. Linguistic parallels include the characterization of Notaras by Giustiniani: *o proditor, / o traditor, / o traditore,* with echoes in Pseudo-Sphrantzes: ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἀλάστορα καὶ ἐχθρὸν τῆς πατρίδος, while he avoids Giustiniani's threat to kill Notaras and fails to mention the other individuals named by Leonardo. Finally, the *Barberini Chronicle* follows Leonardo: ὦ τραδιτόρο καὶ ἐπίβουλε, but, like Pseudo-Sphrantzes, fails to mention the individuals involved in the defense. Could it be that both imitators are following an unidentified rendition of Leonardo, which had expunged those names? Equally important is the list of the reliable commanders, who are cited in the same order in all authors, except in the Greek imitators.

> **LEONARDO**:[126] *Interea capitaneus generalis Joannes Justinianus, totius fortunae observator, ut praesensit* [ex] *proclamatione Theucrum praesto daturum certamen, agebat confestim murorum, quos machina contriverat, reparationem; petivitque sibi a Chirluca* [= Κύρ<ιος> Λουκᾶς], *magno duce consulari, communes urbis bombardas quas contra hostes affigeret. Quas cum superbe denegasset: 'Quis me, capitaneus inquit, o proditor, tenet, ut gladio non occumbas meo?' Qua ignominia indignatus, tum quod Latinus exprobrasset eum, remissius post rei bellicae providentiam gessit <Graecique jam secretius quod Latinis salvandae urbis gloria dedita esset, odiose ferebant.> At capitaneus Joannes Mauricii Catanei praefecti, Joannis de Carreto, Pauli Bocchiardi, Joannis de Fornariis, Thomae de Salvaticis, L[e]odixii Gatilusii, Joannis Illyrici aliorumque ascitorum Graecorum consultu, acies munimentaque refecit. <Cujus providentiam Teucrus commendans: Quam vellem, inquit, penes me praefectum illum Joannem honorandum! Magnis hercle donis auroque multo corrumpere illum studuit: cujus inflectere animum nunquam potuit.>*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[127] *Infra questo tempo Joanne Zustignan capitanio general in la terra, che uedeua tutto el pericolo de la cita, come sentite la proclamatione facta per lo exercito del Turcho, che uoleua dar la battaglia general alla citade, cum sollicitudine riparo gran parte di muri ruinati. Insuper domando a Cir Luca Notara gran consegliero alcune bombarde da rebatter li inimici da la sua statione, et quelli cum superbia denego uoler dar. Al qual irato Joanne Zustignan disse o traditor, et che me tien che adesso non te scanna cum questo pugnal, da la qual uergogna disdegnato mega duca che uno Latino l hauesse improprato se portaua piu rimesso ale prouision de la cita, et Greci secretamente mal tolleraua che Italiani hauesse cura de difensar la citade. Ma li Capitanij infrascipti Joanne et Mauricio Catanio prefecti, Joanne del Careto, Paulo Buzardo, Joanne di Fornari, Toma do Saluadego, Ludouico Cateluso, Joanne Lirico et altri Greci, chiamati a tale consulto restarono a le statione, et refece le ruine*.

**SANSOVINO:**[128] *In questo mezzo il Capitano Generale Giouanni Giustiniano, osseruator di tutta la fortuna, come il Turco haueua madato per l'essercito dell'assalto ch'egli uolea dar alla terra, si mise incontanente riparar le mura ch 'erano stato sconosse dalla gran bombarda de nemici di fuori, e domando a Chirluca che gli fussero date le bombarde ch'erano nella città, per adoperlare contra i Turchi. Le quali hauendogli Chirluca negate superbamente. Et chi mi tiene disse allora il Capitano, o traditore ch'io non ti ammazzi con questa spada? perche sdegnatosi Chirluca che un Latino lo hauesse a quel modo ingiurato, la indi innanzi fu pigrissimo nel proueder alle cose della guerra, e i Greci piu secretamente ch'essi poteuano, compotauano odiosamente che i Latini hauessero quella storia di conseruar la città. Ma il Capitano Giouanni, per consiglio di Mauritio Cattano, dio Giouanni del Caritto, di Paolo Bocchiardo, di Giouanni de Fornari, di Tomaso de Saluatici, di Ludissio Cattalugio, di Giouanni Illirico, & di altri Greci fedeli, rifece gli ordini, & rafermo i bastioni. perche commendando il Turco la costui prouidenza, disse O quanto hauerei caro che quel Capitan Giouanni honorando fosse meco. Et ueramente ch'egli cercò di corromperlo con danari, & con grandissimi doni, ma egli non potè mai piegar l'animo suo gagliardo & i nuitto*.

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[129]
οι δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ δήμαρχοι πάντες, καὶ μάλισ-

> τα ᾿Ιωάννης ὁ ᾿Ιουστινιανός, οὐκ ἔπαυον πᾶσαν μηχανὴν ποιεῖν εἰς ἀντιπαράταξιν τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ δι᾿ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς τοὺς τείχους τοὺς ἐμπεσόντας ἐν τῷ τύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλεβόλεων ἐδιώρθωνον μυριοτρόπως. εἶτα ὁ ᾿Ιουστινιανὸς στείλας πρὸς τὸν μέγα δοῦκα τὸν Νοταρᾶν ἐζήτει ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτῷ ἑλεβόλεις τινάς, αἳ ὑπῆρχον ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι οὗ ἐφύλαττεν αὐτός. ὁ δὲ κὺρ Λουκᾶς ὁ Νοταρᾶς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν δοῦναι αὐτάς, λέγων ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι ἀνάγκη ἦν εἶναι αὐτάς. ὁ δὲ ᾿Ιουστινιανὸς ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐδεμία χρεία ἦν ἑλεβόλεις τοσαύτας εἶναι ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ὑδρείοις. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αἴτια ἦλθον καὶ εἰς λόγους νεωτερικούς, καὶ ὕβρεις ἐξέχεον ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν στομάτων εἷς κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου, καὶ ὁ ᾿Ιουστινιανὸς τὸν Νοταρᾶν ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἀλάστορα καὶ ἐχθρὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἐκάλεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐναντίας ὕβρεσιν ἑτέραις ἐνέπλυνε, ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς κατ᾿ ἰδίαν λέγει….

**ANONYMOUS BARBERINI:**[130]

> Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος καπετάνιος τῶν πολεμιστάδων, ὁποὺ ἤτονε, ὡς εἴπαμε, ὁ ᾿Ιωάννης ὁ Γιουστουνιᾶς, ἀκαρτέρειε ἀνδρείως τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πολέμου, ὁποὺ ἔμελλε νὰ κάμῃ ὁ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτης. Καὶ ἔκαμε καὶ ἐφτειάσανε τὸν τεῖχο, ὁποὺ ἤτονε μισοχαλασμένος ἀπὸ τὶς λουμπαρδὲς τῆς μεγάλης λουμπάρδας, ὁποὺ εἴχανε οἱ Τοῦρκοι. Τότε ἐζήτησε ὁ ρηθεὶς ᾿Ιουστουνιᾶς τὸν κὺρ Λούκα, ὁποὺ ἐκράτειε τὰ ἅρματα τῆς βασιλείας, ὅτι νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὶς λουμπάρδες, νὰ τὶς ἐβάλῃ ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ τειχία νὰ πολεμᾷ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. Καὶ ὁ κὺρ Λούκας τὶς ἀρνήθη καὶ ὁ Γιουστουνιᾶς τοῦ εἶπε· "῏Ω τραδιτόρο καὶ ἐπίβουλε, ἐδὰ σὲ σκοτώνω μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ ὁποὺ βαστῷ."

viii. In the following section the misfortune of the city and the exclamation of Leonardo are faithfully replicated in Languschi-Dolfin. Pseudo-Sphrantzes omits both while the *Anonymous Barberini* reproduces the ill fortune only, without mentioning the city, and omits the exclamation: *malo urbis fato, heu / per mala sorte de la cittade, oyme* ἡ κακὴ τύχη. Of further interest is the excuse that Leonardo provides for Giustiniani's conduct in the last battle. This excuse is repeated in Languschi-Dolfin, while Pseudo-Sphrantzes cites "inexperience," and the *Anonymous Barberini* speaks of fear: *inexpertus iuvenis / inexperto zouene* οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔμπειρος / καὶ ἐσκιάχτη νὰ μὴν ἀποθάνῃ. Leonardo's conditional clause, *qui si alium suo loco subrogasset, salus patriae non periisset*, is faithfully reproduced in Languschi-Dolfin: *chel se hauesse posto uno altro in suo loco, la salute de la patria non periua*; in Pseudo-Sphrantzes: οὔτε ἀντ᾿ αὐτοῦ εἴασέ τινα ἕτερον, ἵνα μὴ γεγονυῖα σύγχυσις γένηται καὶ ἀπώλεια; and even more literally in the *Anonymous Barberini*: ὁποὺ ἂν ἤθελε ἀφήσει ἄλλον εἰς τὸν τόπον του, δὲν ἠθέλανε ἐμπῇ οἱ ἐχθροί. The ensuing comment on the battle is reproduced: *pugnam inter haec arduam commitunt / la pugna da entrambe le parti se rinfresca*. It is echoed in Pseudo-Sphrantzes with τοὺς στρατιώτας συγκεχυμένους καὶ μεστοὺς φόβου. The *Anonymous Barberini* is, as always, more literal: καὶ ἐσκλήρυνε πολλὰ ὁ πόλεμος.

> **LEONARDO:**[131] *Inter haec, malo urbis fato, heu!, Johannes Justinianus sagitta sub assella configitur, qui mox inexpertus iuvenis sui sanguinis effusione pavidus perdendae vitae concutitur et ne pugnatores, qui vulneratum ignorabant, virtute frangantur, clam medicum quaesiturus ab acie discessit. Qui si alium suo loco subrogasset, salus patriae non periisset. Pugnam inter haec arduam committunt.*
>
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[132] *Infra el combatter per mala sorte de la cittade, oyme, che Zuane Zustignan capitanio uien ferito de freza sotto asella del scaijo, lo qual come inexperto zouene subito ueduto el sangue pauido de perder la uita, et acio li combattanti che non sapeua quello ferito rompesse la uirtu, ascosamente per medicarse se parte da la sua statione, chel se hauesse posto uno altro in suo loco, la salute de la patria non periua. La pugna de entrambe le parti se rifresca.*
>
> **SANSOVINO:**[133] *Et mentre ch'egli animaua i suoi a questo modo, ecco che per mala sorte della città, vien ferito Giouanni Giustiniano da vna saetta sotto l'ascelle, il quale come giouane non pratico, vedendosi tutto bagnato del suo proprio sangue & temendo di perder la vita, si sbiggoti tutto. Et accioche i combattenti che non sapeuano che fosse ferito, non rimettessero la virtù loro, si partì ascosamente dalla zuffa, per farsi medicare. Et certo s'egli hauesse lasciato qualch'vn'altro in suo luogho, la salute della patria non sarebbe perita. In questo mezo si combatteua atrocemente.*
>
> **PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[134] Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπλήγη τόξου βέλει ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσι ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα. Αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔμπειρος ὢν πολέμου καί, ὡς εἶδε τὸ αἷμα ῥέειν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὅλος ἠλλοιώθη καί, ἣν προέδειξεν ἀνδρείαν, ἐκ τοῦ φόβου ἔχασε καὶ ἀνωφελῶς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραξεν. Ὃς ἀνεχώρησεν, ὅθεν καὶ διήρχετο μετὰ σιωπῆς ζητῶν ἰατρούς, μὴ μνημονεύων τῆς γενναιότητος καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἣν ἀρχῆθεν ἔδειξεν. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπε τοῖς συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ οὐδέ, οὔτε ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἴασέ τινα ἕτερον, ἵνα μὴ γεγονυῖα σύγχυσις γένηται καὶ ἀπώλεια.
>
> ***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[135] Καὶ ἡ κακὴ τύχη ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐλαβώθη ὁ καπετάνιος Γιουστουνιᾶς μὲ μία σαϊττέα εἰς τὰ σαγόνια, καὶ ἔτρεχε τὸ αἷμας εἰσὲ ὅλο του τὸ κορμί. Καὶ ἐσκιάχτη νὰ μὴν ἀποθάνῃ, καὶ δὲν ἐμίλησε λόγον νὰ βάλῃ ἄλλον εἰς τὸν τόπον του, μόνε ἄφησε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἔφυγε κρυφὰ διὰ νὰ μὴν τζακιστοῦνε οἱ συντρόφοι του.... Καὶ ἐσκλήρυνε πολλὰ ὁ πόλεμος.

ix. The following passage furnishes very close linguistic parallels, but Pseudo-Sphrantzes has eloquently provided the greatest elaboration, as he reaches the climax in his narrative. Further, the *Anonymous Barberini* has compressed the narrative in regard to the Bocchiardi brothers. Languschi-Dolfin retains the comparison of John Illyricus-Sclavus/Schiavo-Dalmates/Dalmata to Hercules, which Pseudo-Sphrantzes omits but perhaps echoes in his characterization ὑπὲρ πάντα στρατιώτην, comparing Samson to the emperor. The *Anonymous Barberini* adds Achilles, his favorite hero from antiquity, and then misunderstands the matronymic of the emperor, Dragaš, and connects it by folk etymology with Greek δράκων/δράκος. Moreover, Leonardo's *ita* is translated by Languschi-Dolfin as *similmente*. Leonardo's memorable characterization of the emperor as *princeps patriae* is picked up by Dolfin as *el principe de la patria*, who further renders *e vita demigrat* as *finite la uita*. The exclamation of Paolo Bocchiardi, *Haa!, periit… civitas*, is rendered by Dolfin as *haime la cita e prexa*, and by Sansovino as *Oime la città e perdutta*. Pseudo-Sphrantzes' considerable amplification includes ἑάλω ἡ πόλις, while the *Anonymous Barberini* compresses the extensive narrative of its source(s).

> **LEONARDO**:[136] *Imperator insuper, ne ab hostibus capiatur: 'O quispiam, inquit, valens tyro propter Deum, ne maiestas vafris viris succumbat mea, gladio me transfigat?' Inter haec Theophilus Palaeologo, vir catholicus: 'Iam perdita urbe me, inquit, vivere non licet,' Theucrorumque pondus aliquamdiu sustinens et decertans securi discinditur. Ita Joannes Sclavus Illyricus, veluti Hercules se opponens, multos prius mactat, deinde gladio vitam finivit hostili. Se invicem post nostri, ut portam ingrediantur, compressi pereunt. Quibus innexus imperator cadens atque resurgens relabitur et compressione princeps patriae e vita demigrat. Perierunt igitur ex nostris, et Latinis et Graecis, se invicem conculcantibus in portae exitu, circiter octingenti. >Inde Teucri altum murum decurrentes, ex alto quos possunt lapidant cuneusque unis vocibus per antemurale descedens, in fugam omnes nostros compellit. Rumorem jacturamque ex fugientibus audientes Paulus Troilusque Bocchiardi, viri Latini, urbis cives, cum aliquot Graecis strenuis Latinisque equis insidentes, in hostes vadunt. Teucri, forte majorem numerum, quam essent autumantes, terga vertunt. Paulus in Teucrum urget equum lanceaque unum transfodiens caeteros in fugam vertit. Cum autem ex alto lapidibus obruerentur, ad Troilum: Haa!, periit, inquit, civitas nosque facile ab hostium multitudine circumdati, spem vitae perdemus. Haec cum diceret, securi ictus in vertice, fuso cruore una cum fratre ad Galatam confugit.<*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[137] *Lo Imperator acio non fusse prexo da Turci, o qualche ualente homo de nui, disse, acio la maiesta imperial non uegna in man de Turci cum suo gladio me occida. Ueduto Theophilo Paleologo, homo catholico, perduta la cita disse non me e licito piu uiuer, per bon spacio combattando cum Turchi fu morto, similmente Joanne Schiauo, come Hercules combattendo, prima che fusse morto, occise molti Turchi, li nostri nobili et Latini uolendo intrar in la porta, oppressi da la calcha molti perino, in fra li qual messedato lo Imperatore, cazando, et poi leuando recazette, et da la chalcha de le gente el principe de la patria finite la uita. Periteno adoncha di nostri tra Greci e Latini l uno sopra l altro conculchandossi da ottocento. Turci adoncha discorrendo per el muro alto lapidano de nostri che scontrano. Et addunati cum grandi cridori discendando per lantemurale messeno in fuga i nostri. Sentendo da quelli che fugiuano Paulo et Troilo Buzardi homini Latini et danno, et prender la terra cum alcuni strenui Latini et Greci montadi a cauallo arsaltano Turci; et ueduto quelli in mazor numero de quello lui credeua se misse a fuzir. Paulo spirona el cauallo intro i Turci et tranfisxo uno cum la lanza constringe li altri a fuzir. Et temendo no esser sepulto da piere disse a Troili: Haime la cita e prexa, et nui facilmente da tanti circumdati scapoleremo, imperho cerchamo de saluarsi, et cusi ferito Paulo cum el fratello fuzite in Pera.*

**SANSOVINO:**[138] *Et l'Imperadore per non esser proso, chi sarà, disse, egli, colui che m'vccida per l'amor di Dio, con la mia propria spada, accioche la Maestà mia non si sottoponga al vituperio de Turchi. In questo mezo Theophilo Paleologo, huomo cattolico, essendo già perduta la città, io diss'egli, non voglio piu viuere, & sostenendo vn pezzo la faria de Turchi & combattendo, fu diuiso per lo mezo da vna accetta. Cosi Giouanni schiauo Dalmata, opponendosi quasi come vn'ltro Hercole, ammazzò prima molti Turchi & poi finì la vita. E molti de Greci nel voler vscir della porta s'ammazzarono nella calca, tra qua li cacciatosi l'Imp. cadendo, & poi rileuandosi, ricadde, & clapestato dalla faria morì. Morirono adunque de e'nostri tra Greci & Latini forse ottanda calcando l'vn l'altro nel voler vscir di quella porta. Ora i Turchi scorrendo fu per l'altre mura, traheuano sassi all' in giù adosso a coloro che essi poteuano. Et discendendo vn groppo d'essi per l'antimuro, misero in fuga tutti i Greci. Ma sentendo il romore & la rouina di coloro che fuggiuano Paolo, & Troilo Bocchiardi huomini Italiani, & altri Cittadini della città montantia cauallo, si misero a correr adosa a Turchi, perche essi credendo che fossero maggior numero di quel ch'era si misero a fuggire. Paolo vedendo il pericolo, per non esser offesi di sopra da' sassi disse a Troilo. Oime la città e perdutta, & noi ageuolmente attorniati dal numero de' nimici, perdermo la speranza di poterne saluare, & cosi Paolo ferito sul capo da vna scare, si fuggi col fratello dopo il suo*

*riscatto a Pera. O gran marauiglia, o stupor infinito, a pena era leuato il Sole, che la città era in preda di Pagani.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[139]

Ὡς οὖν εἶδεν ὁ δυστυχὴς ὁ βασιλεύς ...δακρυχέων ἐπαρακάλει τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας...καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Σαμψὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ἐποίει...καὶ ὁ...Δὸν Φραγκῖσκος ὁ Τολέδος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐποίησεν...ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος Παλαιολόγος, ὡς εἶδε τὸν βασιλέα μαχόμενον καὶ τὴν πόλιν κινδυνεύουσαν, μεγαλοφώνως μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ κράξας εἶπε "θέλω θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν," καὶ συῤῥήξας ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ κραυγῆς τοὺς ὅσους εὗρε πάντας διεσκέδασε καὶ διεσκόρπισεν καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαλμάτης ἐκεῖ παρὼν ὑπὲρ πάντα στρατιώτην γενναίως τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσυμπλέκετο...καὶ ἕτεροί τινες στρατιῶται οὐκ ἀγενεῖς μαχόμενοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν πλησίον τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ, ὅπου τὴν ἑλέβολιν ἐκείνην κατεσκεύασαν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἑλέβολιν ἔστησαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως χαλάσαντες ἐκεῖθεν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρῶτον εἰσῆλθον...καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτάδελφοι Ἰταλοί, Παῦλος καὶ Τρωΐλος τοὔνομα, ἐν τῷ διατεταγμένῳ αὐτοῖς τόπῳ μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν γενναίως ἐμάχοντο...στραφεὶς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὁρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔσωθεν τῆς πόλεως λέγει τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ "ὦ φρίξον ἥλιε! ὦ στέναξον γῆ! ἑάλω ἡ πόλις, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοῦ πολεμεῖν παρῆλθεν ἡ ὥρα. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ ἂς φροντίσωμεν."[140] [140]

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI:***[141]

Καὶ ὠσὰν εἶδε ὁ βασιλεὺ ὅτι δὲν εἶχε ὀλπίδα, εἶπε: "Οἰμέ, δὲν ἔναι τινὰς νὰ μοῦ πάρῃ τὴν ζωήν μου, νὰ μὴ πιαστῶ σκλάβος εἰς τὸν ἐχθρό μου;".... Καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ ἐκαβαλλίκεψε μὲ τοὺς οἰκειακούς του, καὶ ἐδιάβη καὶ ἐμπῆκε εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Τουρκῶν, μαζὶ μὲ τὸν Θεόφιλο Παλαιολόγο, τὸν ἀνιψιό του, καὶ ἐκόψανε πολλοὺς Ἀγαρηνούς. Λέγουσι ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺ ἔκαμε ὡσὰν Ἀχιλλέας, διατὶ ἤτονε πολλὰ ἀνδρειωμένος, ὁποὺ τὸν ἐπαρανομίζανε Δράκο ἀπὸ τὴν δύναμι τοῦ κορμίου, ὁποὺ εἶχε, καὶ εἶπε: "Ἐπειδὴ ἐχάθη ἡ χώρα δὲ θέλω πλέο νὰ ζήσω." ...Τὸ ὅμοιο ἔκαμε καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ Νταλμάτας, καὶ ἔκαμε καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσὰν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ ἐσκότωσε πολλοὺς ἐχθρούς.... Καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀπάνω ἀπὸ τὰ τειχία ἐρρίχνασι τὰ λιθάρια καὶ τοὺς ἐτζακίσανε, διατὶ ἐλαβώσανε τὸν πρῶτο καπετάνιο τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὀνόματι Παῦλο, καὶ ἔφυγε.

x. To begin with, part of the following passage concerns the positions defended by Catarino Contarini, Girolamo Minotto – the *bailo* of Venice – Cardinal Isidore, and Loukas Notaras, among lesser-known commanders. Pseudo-Sphrantzes, it should be pointed out, began his list of the defenders with Contarini and has reversed Leonardo's order of presentation, as is his normal practice. The *Anonymous Barberini* has remained faithful to Leonardo's order throughout its register. In his discussion of Contarini, Pseudo-Sphrantzes has elaborated Leonardo's descriptive adverb *viriliter* by a relative

ὃς οὐ διέλιπε ποιεῖν τὰ ὅσα ἔξεστι στρατιώταις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐγενέσι.

Pseudo-Sphrantzes also added other details for the sector assigned to Contarini, which he may have derived from his own first-hand knowledge of Constantinopolitan topography. The *Anonymous Barberini* presents his frequent formula for Venetian noblemen, τζιντιλόμος Βενετζᾶνος, and, like Pseudo-Sphrantzes, makes mention of the harbor (a reference absent in Leonardo and another indication that the two Greek authors were consulting a lost Greek version of Leonardo's Latin letter). We should further remark that Pseudo-Sphrantzes alters the name Catarino to Giacomo/Jacob, perhaps because he could not think of a Greek equivalent. He further omits all reference to the Golden Gate but specifies the general neighborhood of Hypsomathia. Pusculo agrees with Leonardo's assignment of Contarini:[142] *Huic [Aureae porta ac geminis turribus altis] Catarinus adest Venetum de gente vetusta / Contarina, illi parebat multa iuventus*. The career of this valiant defender has not been researched by scholarship but Catarino Contarini had been active in the Levant and in the affairs of Constantinople for a period of time. In 1436, while he was trading in Tana, Contarini signed a contract with seven Venetians to search for buried treasure in the vicinity and thus he became one of the earliest figures to conduct organized archaeological excavations that involved over one hundred laborers and continued for a period close to seven weeks.[143] During the sack of Constantinople Contarini was captured and came close to being executed.[144] Finally, both Greek authors reproduce from Leonardo the information about Minotto and the imperial palace of Blakhernai.

As for Cardinal Isidore and Notaras, the *Anonymous Barberini* has duplicated Leonardo's order of presentation and, to a certain extent, his phraseology. Pseudo-Sphrantzes has altered the order. His listing is based on the bishop's letter, but he has appended his usual topographical elaborations, especially with regard to the districts of the capital with which he was quite familiar, such as the reference to Hagia Theodosia. Pseudo-Sphrantzes has suppressed the name of the Anemades towers, perhaps because in his copy it had already been corrupted to *Aveniades* (as in fact it was printed early on and is still to be found in *PG*) from *Anemades* (this correct form has been printed in *CC* 1). *Aveniades*, however, has been retained in Greek dress in the *Anonymous Barberini*, while Sansovino produces an intermediate form, *Aneniada*, clearly a misreading of the *m* in *Anemades* as two separate letters, *ni*. This omission by Pseudo-Sphrantzes can be attributed more to confusion, or even familiarity with the topography, than to neglect. While Sansovino prints *Aneniada*, Pseudo-Sphrantzes must have been aware that no "Aveniades" existed. The author of the *Anonymous Chronicle*, however, uncritically followed his source. By extension, Pseudo-Sphrantzes also neglects to mention that these towers had been repaired at the expense of Cardinal Isidore. All texts fail to mention the cardinal's name and only Pseudo-Sphrantzes qualifies him as "the cardinal of Russia," revealing beyond doubt that Isidore is meant. Once more, both Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the anonymous author of the Greek chronicle may have been following a Greek version of Leonardo's letter at this point, as they both fail to duplicate Leonardo's words of praise for Isidore. Leonardo's *Chirluca*, that is, κὺρ Λουκᾶς, is unquestionably a reference to Notaras. The anonymous author phonetically reproduced his name in Greek as τὸν κὺρ Λούκα, apparently unaware of proper accentuation, nor the grand duke's family patronymic, his title, nor his important position in the imperial administration. By contrast, Pseudo-Sphrantzes omits the first name, states the family name, and adds his proper title. As usual, he elaborates on the topographical details.

> **LEONARDO:**[145] *Catarinus inter Venetos clarissimus Contareno capitaneus Aureae porta et adiacentis turris usque oram maris, viriliter pondus sustinens, hostes impugnat. <Graeci perinde alii, suis distributi pugnaculis, …terramque in urbis gyro prosequebantur.> Palatii imperialis cura baiulo Hieronymo Minotto Venetorum commissa est. Cardinalis [sc. Isidorus], a concilio nunquam absens, Sancti Demetrii regionem ad mare defensabat. Catalanorum consul turrim ante Hippodromium tutabatur versus orientalem plagam. Chirluca [sc. Kyr Luca Notara] curam portus totiusque maritimae regionis invigilabat ad deferendum praesidium. Hieronymus Italianus, Leonardus de Langasco, Genuenses, cum multis sociis Chsyloportam et turres, quas Anemadas [PG: Aveniades; ms A: Aneamadas, Pertusi corr.: Anemadas] vocant impensis cardinalis [sc. Isidori] reparatas, spectabant. <Flamines monachique supra muros undequaque collocati pro salute patriae excubabant.>*

> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[146] *Catarin Contarini nobilissimo capitanio diffendeua la porta aurea cum le turre uicine fin apresso la marina uirilmente sostegnando rebateua li Turci insultanti. Et apresso lui Greci distributi per i muri da la parte de mar, et da terra atorno soccoreua. La cura del palazo imperial era comessa a Hieronymo Minoto bailo. Lo cardinal mai se basentaua, ma diffensaua la porta de san Dimitrj uerso el mar. El consolo de Catalani deffendeua la parte de leuante al ypodromo. Cir Luca Notara hauea la cura diffensar el porto e la marina. Hieronymo Italiano, Leonardo da Languasto Genoexe cum molti compagni la porta chsilo et le torre Anemande le qual el cardinal a sue spese hauea reparato diffensaua, i caloiari et papadi sui i muri redutti per salute de la patria se deffendeua.*

> **SANSOVINO:**[147] *Catarino Contarini, chiarissimo tra nobili Vinitiani, posto si tra la Porta Aurea, & fra terra, uicino fino al porto, sosteneua*

*ualorosamente gli inimici. Gli altri Greci poi sparsi chi quà chi là per diuersi luoghi della terra, s'affati cauano a far il debito loro. La cura del palazzo Imperiale fu data a Girolamo Minotto, Bailo de Vinitiani. Il Cardinale non mancando mai di consigliare, difendeua San Demetrio dalla banda del mare. Et il Consolo de Catalani guardaua la Torre che è dinanzi allo Hipodromo, dalla parte dell'Oriente. Chirluca haueua la cura del porto, & di tutta parte del mare. Girolamo Italiano, Lionardo di Langasio, Genouese, insieme con molti altri compagni difendeuano Csiloporta, & le Torri ch'essi chiamano i Ananiada, rifatte & riparate alle spese dei Cardinale. I frati e preti posti in diuersi luoghi o fu per le mura, sta uano uigilanti per salute della Patria.*

**Pseudo-Sphrantzes:**[148]

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ τῆς Ἐνετίας μπαΐλῳ τοὔνομα Ἱερωνύμῳ Μινότῳ ἐνεμπιστεύθη φυλάττειν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν τὰ ἀνάκτορα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖσε· τῷ δὲ τῶν καταλάνων ἀστάνδη ἐδόθη, ἵνα φυλάττη ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Βουκολέοντος ἄχρις ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κοντοσκαλίου· τῷ δὲ Ἰακώβῳ Κονταρίνῳ, ἵνα φυλάττη τὰ μέρη τῶν τοίχων τοῦ ἔξωθεν λιμένος καὶ ἕως ἐγγὺς τῶν Ὑψομαθίων, ὃς οὐ διέλιπε ποιεῖν τὰ ὅσα ἔξεστι στρατιώταις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐγενέσι...ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Λεονάρδος οἱ Λιγουρῖται, ἵνα φυλάττωσι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πύλης λεγομένης Ξυλίνης. Τῷ δὲ καρδηναλίῳ Ῥωσσίας ἐδόθη, ἵνα φυλάττη ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Κυνηγεσίου καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου, ὁ δὲ μέγας δοὺξ ὁ Νοταρᾶς ἵνα φυλάττη ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Πετρίου καὶ ἕως τῆς Πύλης τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[149]

καὶ ὁ Κονταρίνι, τζιντιλόμος Βενετζᾶνο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲ τὴν συντροφία του ἐφύλαγε τὴν πόρτα τὴν Ἀβρέα, εἰς τὸν λιμιῶνα. καὶ τοὺς ἐπίλοιπους Ρωμαίους τοὺς ἐδιαμέρασε εἰσὲ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς χώρας, εἰς τὰ τειχία. Καὶ τὸ παλάτι τὸ βασιλικὸ τὸ ἐπαράδωσε τοῦ Γερόλυμου Μινότου, τζιντιλόμου Βενετζάνου, μὲ τὴν συντροφία του, ὁποὺ ἤτονε μπάϊλος. Καὶ τὸν γαρδενάλε τὸν ἔβαλε καὶ ἐφύλαγε τὴν μερέα τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου, τὴν μερέα τοῦ γιαλοῦ. Καὶ τὸν κόνσολο τῶν Κατελάνων ἐφύλαγε τὸν πύργο, ὁποὺ ἔναι ἀνάντια τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου. Καὶ τὸν κὺρ Λούκα τὸν ἔβαλε καὶ ἐφύλαγε τὸν λιμιῶνα μὲ τὸ μέρος ὅλο τοῦ γιαλοῦ. Καὶ τὸν Γερόλυμον Ἰνταλιᾶνο καὶ τὸν Λινάρδο Γενουβῆσο τὸν ἔβαλε νὰ φυλάγη ἀντάμα μὲ πολλοὺς συντρόφους τὴν ξυλόπορτα καὶ τὶς πύργους, ὁποὺ τὶς κράζουνε Ἀβενιάδους, ὁποὺ ἤτονε μετακαμεμένοι καὶ τὶς ἐμπαλώσανε μὲ ἔξοδο τοῦ γαρδενάλε. Καὶ οἱ καλόγεροι καὶ οἱ παπᾶδες τοὺς ἔβαλε ἀπάνω, καὶ τοὺς ἐμέρασε εἰς πολλοὺς τόπους ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ τειχία, διὰ νὰ βιγλίζουνε, διὰ νὰ εἶναι ξαγρυπνοί.

xi. This last section is reserved for additional selections of short linguistic parallels and paraphrases, which we present without further comment. They also furnish striking parallels, but it should be emphasized that there are more counterparts throughout Pseudo-Sphrantzes' siege section. The language of these accounts is quite close and supplies more evidence that Leonardo has been the prototype. In the following instances, Leonardo's text is cited first, followed by

Languschi-Dolfin, Sansovino, Pseudo-Sphrantzes, and then the *Barberini Chronicle*, as warranted. Again, we present few specific linguistic parallels. Correspondences, renditions, translations, and paraphrases abound throughout the pertinent passages.

**LEONARDO:**[150] *rex qui ex colle circumspicit quod classis perit, blasphemat, urget equum in salum, vestimenta cum furore conscindit.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[151] *El signor Turcho, che desopra il monte uede perir l armada, biastema, spirona el cauallo in mar, squarza le ueste, gemisce.*
**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[152]
Ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς…μανεὶς καὶ θυμῷ ληφθεὶς βρυχώμενος…. Καὶ τὸν ἵππον κεντρίσας, ἦλθεν ἐντὸς τῆς θαλάσσης…καὶ τὰ πλείονα τῶν χιτώνων αὐτοῦ ἐβάφησαν ἐκ τῆς ἁλμυρᾶς θαλάσσης ὑδάτων.
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[153]
Καὶ ὁ σουλτάνος, ὁποῦ ἔστεκε ψηλὰ καὶ ἐκοίταζε…ἐβλαστήμα καὶ ἔκαμε τὸ ἄλογό του νὰ πάγη κατὰ τὸν γιαλό· καὶ δὲν εἶχε τί νὰ κάμη καὶ ἐξέσκιζε τὰ ροῦχα του.

**LEONARDO:**[154] *bene siquidem, si fata secundassent.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[155] *et bene se la fortuna on li aduersaua.*
**SANSOVINO:**[156] *& farebbe stato bene quando la forte lo hauesse uoluto fauorire.*
***Anonymous Barberini*:**[157]
καὶ καλὰ ἐφύλαγε, ἂ δὲν τὸν ἠθέλανε σκοτώσει.

**LEONARDO:**[158] *accurate decertat.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[159] *diligentemente defendando.*
**SANSOVINO:**[160] *combattendo arditamente.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[161] ἔργα ἄξια μνήμης ἐποίησε.
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[162] ἐπολέμα ἀνδρείως.

**LEONARDO:**[163] *buccinis jugiter et ululatibus Martem invitabant.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[164] *cum trombe et cridori continui accendeua et inuitaua ala pugna.*
**SANSOVINO:**[165] *con trombe, & con grida innitauano gli inimici alla battaglia.*
**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[166]
μετὰ σαλπίγγων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ φωνῶν ἀναριθμήτων…εἰς μάχην ἐκάλουν.
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[167]
καὶ ἐβάρειε τὶς τρουμπέτες καὶ ἐκάλειε τοὺς

ἐχθροὺς εἰσὲ πόλεμον.

**LEONARDO:**[168] *exspectabatur constituti Martis generalis insultus.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[169] *Expettando el constituto zorno de la battaglia zeneral.*
**SANSOVINO:**[170] *s'aspettaua il dì della batteria generale.*

**LEONARDO:**[171] *alii inopia accusabant.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[172] *hauer bisognoproueder alla inopia de la famiglia.*
**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[173]
Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο λέγοντες, ὅτι, διὰ τὸ μὴ
ἔχειν αὐτούς τι φαγεῖν ἢ τι πιεῖν.
**SANSOVINO:**[174] *Altri diceuano che essendo poueri, bisognaua che si andasseuo a guadagnare il pane.*

**LEONARDO:**[175] *O quorum anime forte damnantur, Manuelis Giagari dudum inopis, et Neophyti Hieromonaci Rhodii, si audeo dicere, praedonum non conservatorum rei publicae.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[176] *ma alcuni Greci, Manuel Jagari, et Neophito Jeronaco Rodiani, ladri corsari non curauano conseruar el publico.*
**SANSOVINO:**[177] *l'anime de quali hora son forse dannate cioè di Manuel Gregaro, già pouero, & di Neofito Hieromonaco da Rhodi ladroni, & non conseruatori della Republica.*
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[178]
λέγω ὁ Μανουὴλ ὁ Δράγαρος καὶ ὁ ἱερομόναχος,
ὁποὺ ἐσυβάστησαν οἱ δύο καὶ ἐκλέβανε τὰ φλωρία τῆς βασιλείας.

**LEONARDO:**[179] *Ergo proclamatum est in castris edicto, ut quarto Kalendis Maii, die videlicet Martis.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[180] *Adoncha de commandamento des Signor Turcho fu fatta proclama generale, che a quatro calende de mazo zoe Marti adi 28. mazo se dara la battaglia.*
**SANSOVINO:**[181] *Fu adunque bandito per tutto l'essercito, che a uentito di Aprile il Martedi.*
**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[182]
ἐμάθομεν βεβαίως, ὅτι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον
ὁ ἀμηρᾶς ἡτοίμασε χερσαῖόν τε καὶ ὑδραῖον πόλεμον.
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[183]
ἐβάλανε διαλαλημὸ εἰσὲ ὅλο τὸ φουσσᾶτο εἰς

τὶς 28 τοῦ Μαΐου μηνός, ἡμέρα τρίτη.

**LEONARDO:**[184] *O si audivisses voces ad caelum illatas, 'illala, Illala, Machomet Russullala,' scilicet quod Deus est et semper erit et Machometus est servus eius, quidem obstupuisses!*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[185] *Tuto lo exercito audito tal comandamento del Signor comincio a far festa et alegreza cridando li alla Macometh rossollola, cioe dio, e dio sara et Macometto e servo de dio, cum gran stupore.*

**SANSOVINO:**[186] *O se hauesse udite le uoci andon al cielo (Illalla, Illalla, Maumeth russollala, cioè che Dio è, & sempre sarà, & Macometto è suo seruo) certo che si fa rebbe stupito.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[187]

Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐχάρησαν λίαν, καὶ ἐν μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντες ἀλαλάξαντες, εἶπον κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων γλῶτταν· "Ἀλλά, ἀλλά, Μεεμέτη ῥεσούλ ἀλλά," τοῦτ᾽ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὁ Μαχούμετ ὁ προφήτης αὐτοῦ. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν τοσαύτη κραυγὴν ὡσεὶ ἦχον μέγαν θαλάσσης, ἐλογιζόμεθα τί ἄρα ἦν ἡ κραυγή.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI***:[188]

Τότε ἐφωνάξανε ὅλοι καὶ ἐκάμανε μεγάλον ἀλαλαγμὸν καὶ ἐλέγανε· "Ἰλαλά, Ἰλαλά, Μουχαμὲτ ρουσοὺλ Ἀλλά." Θέλει νὰ εἰπῇ· "Θεός, Θεός, ὁποὺ ἔναι πάντα, καὶ ὁ Μουχαμέτης, ὁποὺ ἔναι δοῦλός του."

**LEONARDO:**[189] *propter quod ascitis senatu, baronibus, belli capitaneis et commilitonibus ab imperatore universis.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[190] *Et per questo chiamatti tutti li baroni in consejo capitani j et condutieri dal imperator fece tal ringha.*

**SANSOVINO:**[191] *Et chiamato in Senato i Baronni, Capitani, e gli huomini di grado dall'Imperador disse a tutti queste parole.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[192]

συνάξας τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχομένους καὶ δημάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ ἑτέρους προκρίτους στρατιώτας.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI***:[193]

Τότε ἔκραξε ὁ βασιλεὺ ὅλους τοὺς ἄρχοντες καὶ τοὺς καπετανέους καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἄνδρες τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς ἐπίλοιπους τῆς χώρας.

**LEONARDO:**[194] *at ille salutis, gloriaeque suique oblitus, uti altam primo magnanimitatem, ita posthac pusillanimitatem ostendit. Debuit enim, si vir erat, a se ipse, vel saltem alium, qui stetisset loco sui, subrogare.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[195] *Ma quello dimenticato de la salute et gloria sua—cosi come da principio demonstraua uirilita, cosi dapoi monstra pusillanimita, doueua non poteua sofrir el dolor de la ferita, sel era uiril*

*non douea partirse de la sua posta, uel saltem poner altri in suo loco.*
**SANSOVINO:**[196] *Ma Giouanni dimenticato si viltà; quanta ch'egli haueua prima mostrata grandezza & fortezza d'animo. Percioche egli doueua non potendo, patir il dolor della ferita, & nõ partirsi s'era huomo, o metter qualch'vno altro in suo luogo che fosse stato huomo.*
**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[197]
μὴ μνημονεύων τῆς γενναιότητος καὶ τῆς ἐπιδηξειότητος καὶ ἀρετῆς ἣν ἀρχῆθεν ἔδειξεν.
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[198]
ὁποὺ ἔκαμνε χρεία νὰ στέκῃ καὶ νὰ πολεμᾷ ἕως νὰ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὴν τιμή του.

**LEONARDO:**[199] *refugit capitaneus in Pera, qui post Chium nauigans ex vulnere vel tristitia inglorium transitum fecit.*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[200] *fugissene in Pera lo qual dapoi nauigando a Chio da la ferita o piutoso da tristitia morite senza gloria.*
**SANSOVINO:**[201] *Il Capitano si fuggi in Pera, & poi nauigando a Chio, si morì senza gloria niuna, o per la ferita, o per dolore ch'egli si presse della sua fuggita.*
**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[202]
ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾷ περάσας αἰσχρῶς ἐκεῖ τελευτᾷ ἐκ τῆς πικρίας καὶ περιφρονήσεως.
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[203]
ἀμμὴ ὁ καπετάνιος ἔφυγε καὶ ἐδιάβη εἰς τὸν Γαλατᾶ· καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ ἐδιάβη εἰς τὴν Χίο λαβωμένος, καὶ ὕστέρου ἀπόθανε μὲ ἐντροπή.

**LEONARDO:**[204] *Crucifixum posthac per castra praeviis tympanis deludendo deportant; sputis, blasphemiis, obpropriis iterum processinaliter crucifigunt, pilum teucrale, quod zarchula vocant, capiti superponentes deridendo clamabant: Hic est Deus Christianorum! O Dei patientiam! Bene videris iratus, bone Iesu, ut pro peccatis nostris tantas iniurias iterum toleres indignatus!*
**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[205] *Dapoi tolseno Christi crucifixo, et cum timpani et tamburli cum sputi et blasfemie derisorie posto sopra la capo el xarcula ditto sessa turchesca cridando diceuano: questo e dio de Christiani, O patientia de dio, ben pari corozado, bon Jesu, che per li peccati nostri tanta iniuria toleri.*
**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[206]
ἀνοσιουργήματα πλεῖστα ἐποίουν ἄξια θρήνου οἱ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου προδρομοι. Ὢ τῶν σοφῶν Σου κριμάτων, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, ὡς ἀνερμηνεύεται καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστά εἰσι.
***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI*:**[207]
...καὶ κατεβάσανε καὶ τὶς σταυροὺς ἀπάνω ἀπὸ

τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλες τὶς ἐκκλησίες καὶ τοὺς ἐκαταπατούσανε.... Ὢ Θεέ μου, συμπάθησέ μου, ὁποὺ γράφω τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὶς ντροπές, ὁποὺ ἐκάμανε εἰς τὸ γένος τῶν χριστιανῶν. Ἂς σωπάσω! μεγάλη ὑπομονὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ!

**LEONARDO:**[208] *Parta autem victoria Theucri bacchanalia festosque dies celebrant.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[209] *Aquistata tanta uictoria el Signor Turco reducto in Constantinopoli celebro cum li soi feste baccanale.*

**SANSOVINO:**[210] *Acquistata la vittoria, i Turchi si misero a celebrar i Baccanali, & a far festa.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[211]

Ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς τῇ νίκῃ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ πλείστης κενοδοξίας πλησθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὀφρὺν ἐπαρθεὶς ὠμὸς καὶ ἀνελεήμων ἐφάνη.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI:***[212]

λοιπόν, ὡσὰν ἐκάμανε τὴ νίκη, ὥρισε ὁ σουλτάνος καὶ ἐκάμανε χαρὲς μεγάλες.

**LEONARDO:**[213] *Interea ex Chio in nostrum subsidium tres Genuenses armis, militibus frumentoque conductae naves, unam imperatoris, quae ex Sicilia frumento onusta adventarat, comitem ducebant. Quas ut mox vicinas urbi classis, quae extrinsecus excubabat, applicare vidisset, concite strepentibus tympanis, tubis sonantibus, intentibus nobis ivadit, fingens imperatoris navem expugnare velle.*

**LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[214] *In questo tempo mezo da Chio uenne in soccorso nostro tre naui genoese armate condutte cum formento. Una del imperator che de Sicilia ueniua carga del formento. Le qual essendo uedute aproximar alla citade da l armada turcha, che staua all guarda de fuora, leuate subito cum strepito de nachare tambure et trombe sonante verso loro andono nui uedando, fenzendo uoler expugnar la naue del imperator.*

**PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:**[215]

...πολιορκουμένης τῆς πόλεως νῆες τρεῖς Λιγουρῖται ἐκ Χίου φόρτον λαβόντες καὶ ἄνεμον τηρήσαντες τὸν πλοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐποιοῦντο. Διερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν εὗρον καθ᾽ ὁδὸν καὶ ἑτέραν μίαν βασιλικὴν νῆα ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰ σίτου ἐρχομένην...τριήρεις τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ ἰδόντες αὐτάς, ὥρμησαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόλου μέρος πολὺ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς, μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ κερατίνων σαλπίγγων κροτοῦντες, ἐλπίζοντες ἐν εὐκολίᾳ τάσδε τὰς νῆας σαγηνεῦσαι.

***ANONYMOUS BARBERINI:***[216]

Καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἤρθανε τρία καράβια Γενουβήσικα μὲ ἕνα τοῦ βασιλέως φορτωμένο στάρι, παξιμάδια καὶ ἄλλες τροφὲς διὰ βοήθειαν τῆς Πόλης ἀπὸ τὴν Χίο· ὁμοίως καὶ ἄρματα καὶ ἀνθρώπους εἰς βοήθειαν· καὶ τὸ καράβι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρχέτονε ἀπὸ τὴν Τζιτζίλια φορτωμένο. Καὶ ὡς ἤρθανε κοντὰ εἰς τὴν χώρα, τὰ εἴδανε οἱ Τοῦρκοι, ὁποὺ ἐφυλάγανε τὸ ἔμπα, καὶ ἐδιάβησαν ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ καράβια καὶ ἐπολεμούσανε.

## V. Some Correspondences among Pusculo, Languschi-Dolfin, and the Hypothetical Ignotus

In the following passage, Andronikos Kantakouzenos[217] and Contarini are linked together, while the reference to the band of "young men," *multa iuventus / molti zoveni*, demonstrates the dependence of the two authors upon each other. Both authors link the Greek defender Nikolaos Goudeles[218] with Battista Gritti.

> **PUSCULO**:[219] *Aurea porta datur ponto vicina sonanti / Cantacuzine tibi, duplici circumdata muro / Andronice, ac geminis hinc inde et turribus altis / castelli in morem conservans limina tuta. / Huic Catarinus adest Venetum de gente vetusta / Contarina, illi parebat multa iuventus. / Creduntur, Nicolae, tibi, praefecte, Gudello, / cui cognomen erat, Pegaeae limina portae. / Haud illo inferior Grittus Baptista fidelis / iungitur huic socius, Venetum decus, optimus illi / fulget in ore nitor fortique pectore virtus*.
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[220] *A la porta aurea verso mar mazor circumdata da do muri depudata ad Andronicho Catacusino, cum Cattarin Contarini cum molti zoveni. A la porta pagea Nicolo Guideli, apresso lui Batista Griti homo forte armato et animoso*.

Both Pusculo and Languschi-Dolfin name the Venetian *bailo*. They are also the only sources to mention and supply the name of Minotto's secretary from Vicenza.

> **PUSCULO**:[221] *Charsaeam servans Lontarius gente Briena / gaudet de socio clara de gente Fabruci, Cornaria. / Hic Venetus Cretem generosus habebat. / Fide, armis ambo tutantur sorte suprema. / Regia Hieronymo mandatur celsa Minotto / qui Venetis tunc urbe dabat pia iura Pelasga. / Huic comes et fidus Joannes scriba Georgus / iunctus adest, civem sibi quem Vincentia premit.*
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[222] *A la porta carsea Leondario Brion cum Fabricio Cornero Candioto. A la porta del palazo regia deputato Hieronymo Minotto, alhora bailo, cum Zanzorzi [= Zan Zorzi?] cancelliero de Uicenza.*

Emmanuel Palaiologos is known to us from another document that lists some noble refugees from Constantinople:[223] *Emanuel, Tomaso e Demetrio Paleologo con li suoi huomini*, but he is not cited by any other surviving source.

> **Pusculo**:[224] *Ast Xylina tenes, regis de gente vetusta / Palaeologe, prope est portum quae liminae portae, / Emmanuel.*
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[225] *A la porta xilina apresso il porto deputato Hemanuel Paleologo.*

"*Bamblacus/Zuan Blacho*" has been identified with a Palaiologos Tzamblakon.[226] Alternatively, it is quite possible to understand the name as "John Blachus." John is a very common given name and Vlakhos is a prevalent patronymic at the time. After the citation of Metokhites Palaiologos,[227] the concluding phrase, in Pusculo with an understood verb *habet*, while Languschi-Dolfin assumes the verb *era*, mentions the same individual, despite the faulty spelling. Is he Alexios Laskaris Philanthropenos, who was dispatched from Constantinople with an embassy to offer the crown to Constantine XI at Mistra in 1449?

> **PUSCULO**:[228] *Tibi diva tuam Theodosia servat / Bamblacus porta. Puteae Metochitus adstans / Palaiologos habet. Platea Philantrochus [CC* 1: *Philanthropus*].
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[229] *A porta Theodosia Zuan Blacho. Al pozo metochito era Theodoro Paleologo. Ala piaza Philanthropo.*

In the following passage both authors mention John Kantakouzenos, but Languschi-Dolfin then cites a "Longino." Is "Longino" simply an error or is it a misreading of the editor for "Cantacusino," as the source here is Pusculo, who mentions the two Cantacuzini? This is not the first time that a misreading of the manuscript has found its way into print. Another mistake involving the famous Cyriacus of Ancona, transforms the scholar/merchant/archaeologist/epigraphist into a companion and tutor of Mehmed II.[230] An emendation could be in order, which would change "Longino" to "Cantacusino" at this point. In the next selection, Languschi-Dolfin clearly knows of Andronikos Kantakouzenos.

> **PUSCULO**:[231] *Humilem indignatus haberi / tres vocat ad sese, quorum sine mente gerebat / Nil penitus, Lucam, geminosque Cantacusinos / Joannem Andronicumque, quibus tradiderat urbem, / seque ipsum ignavus.*
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN**:[232] *A la porta de Sancto Romano Joanne Catacusino et Androniko Longino, ma perito principal conseglier del Re.*

> **PUSCULO**:[233] *Furtim / detulit accelerans Machmetto nuntius audax / Angelus ex Galata Zacharias, atque suorum / consilia expandit,*

> *manebat quae incendiant naves.*
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[234] *Et questo intrauene per che tal deliberation fu per Anzolo Zacharia de Pera fato saper al Signor Turco dato segno che, quando se moureano da riua farano segno de fuogo da le mura de Pera.*

Similar is the phraseology in the passage dealing with the Turkish siege tower:

> **PUSCULO:**[235] *Lignea turris erat celsas educta sub auras / Moenibus intentans urbis, quam in margine fossae / Sustulerunt mediam portarum ad limina Teucri, / Ex Auro, atque Fonte notant quam nomina puro, / Qua murum oppugnare parant, fossamque replere / Hostes, ex alto jacta per concava terra, / Quam procul inde alii assidue testudine longa, / Cratibus ac tecti nocteque, dieque ferebant. / Haec loca servabant fortis Stornadus, et audax / Mollisrus, Venetus primus, Genuensis at alter, / Diruta bombardis. Aberat nec longius inde / Viribus haud impar, Grittus, qui tendere contra / Ut vidit munimenta diu, frustraque sagittis / Eminus et telis Latios obstare: ruinam / Igne meditatur subitam turrique: Latinos / Vocibus hortatur socios, civesque Pelasgos.*
> **LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:**[236] *ala porta aurea…doue Turci haueno erecta una torre lignea…se forzauano di et notte obtignir quella porta. A custodia de la qual era deputato lo audace Bernardo Stornado, cum Mauritio Cataneo Genoese et Batista Gritti, li quali uedendo cum forze non poter superar li apizono el fogo si grande, che Turci custodi abandonarono la torre finche tutto la materia fu consumata.*

> **PUSCULO:**[237] *Notare, te finis crudelior funere mansit. Namque videns gnatam raptam, puerumque turanno, / ac stirpe geminam cernens occumbere dulcem, / truncatam primo ante oculos, et sanguine sparsus, / sanguine natorum faciem, post occidis ipse.*
> **Languschi-Dolfin:**[238] *Ma Chirluca non scapolo la pena de la malitia sua, che nel suo conspetto fece occider do grandi sui fioli, laltro impubere zouenetto reservo a sua luxuria et lui in ultimo cum sui baroni fu decapitato.*

Turning to information that is supplied by Languschi-Dolfin alone, without an apparent source (excepting perhaps *Ignotus* or Diedo's *relazione*), we note the following chapters of Languschi-Dolfin that do not duplicate the information encountered in the other sources. A summary of the chapter titles, without the narrative, is provided here, as the passages are extensive:[239]

> *Come el Turcho hauea edifica un castello in bocca del bosforo et la naue*

> *che pericolo.*
> *Come fu lo excidio de Constantinopoli et a che modo.*
> *Come el gran Turcho fece un priuilegio a Genoesi per hauerli data Pera.*

These are not the only instances, as Languschi-Dolfin has worked into his narrative information that is not supplied by other known sources. A typical example is provided in his citation of an individual among the defenders by the name of da Drivasto, a crossbowman:[240]

> *Non tropo distant a porta cynagon, e deputato Gabriel Triuisani soracomito cum la zurma de do gallie a lui sottoposte cum Zorzi de Nicolo da Driuasto balestrier ualoroso.*

The unknown Da Driuasto may have been cited in the narrative of *Ignotus*. The presence of *Ignotus* is further betrayed in the following passage:[241]

> *Erano etiam in porto tre galliace de Romania capitano Ms. Aloise Diedo, et do gallie sotile s. Gabriel Treuisan et Zacharia Grioni, retignudi in soccorso della terra. Et perche se auetteno che insalutato, se uoleuano partir per conforto del populo de commandamento del imperator e del bailo, fono sescargate. Questa cosa fu molesta al capitano, mercanti et galliotti, che a questo modo li fusse rotto li priuilegij soi dal Imperator.*

Information on Diedo and Trevisan can be found in Leonardo and Pusculo in the same context, that is, the list of defenders and their positions on the fortifications and the harbor. Thus Pusculo includes the following statement:[242]

> *Gabriel Trivisanus habebat / Cui geminae Venetum parebant forte triremes. / Regis non ausus, rege referente, tueri / Tecta, maris Trepidus classi propriora paratae / Litora delegit, facilis fuga ferret ut ipsum. / Hunc delecta manus iuvenum stipabat et ingens / Murorum tractum complexa tenebat.*

Leonardo's statement is similar:[243]

> *Gabriel Trivisano, subtilium galearum praefectus, nobilis Venetus, cordatissime a porta Chinigo usque ad turrim Phanarii cum quadrigentis Venetis egregiis decertabat.*

Yet Languschi-Dolfin has added, in the same context, Grioni, who is absent in the equivalent passages of his known sources. Perhaps Grioni was present in the same context in the text of *Ignotus*.

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1 M. Philippides, “The Name Sphrantzes in Ubertino Pusculo,” Ὀνόματα: *Revue Onomastique* 13 (1989/1990): 208–211. On Sphrantzes, in general, cf. V. Grecu, “Das Memoirenwerk des Georgios Sphrantzes,” in *Actes du XIII$^{e}$ Congrès international des études byzantines* (Ohrid, 1961), pp. 327–341. For the printed redactions of the *Minus* and *Maius,* cf. V. Grecu, ed. and trans., *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477. In anexa Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos Cronica, 1258–1481,* Scriptores Byzantini 5 (Bucharest, 1966); the *Minus* of M. Philippides, trans., *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire. A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes 1401–1477* (Amherst, 1980); and of R. Maisano, ed. and trans. into Italian, *Georgii Sphrantzae Chronicon,* CFHB 29 (Rome, 1990). Other notable editions include the *Minus* of A. Mai, ed., *Classici Auctores* (Rome, 1837), and repr. in *PG* 156: cols. 1025–1080; the *Maius* of I. Bekker, ed., *Georgios Phrantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes,* CSHB (Bonn, 1838), with Latin translation, then repr. in *PG* 156: cols. 637–1022. The first two books of the *Maius* were edited in a critical edition by J. B. Papadopoulos, *Georgiii Phrantzae Chronicon,* Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1935). Another English translation, but limited to the chapters describing the immediate events concerning the siege and fall in 1453 from the *Maius,* was translated by Margaret Carroll, *A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of Constantinople 1453: The Sphrantzes Chronicle* (Amsterdam, 1985).

2 Cf., among others, V. Laurent, “Σφραντζῆς et non Φραντζῆς,” *BZ* 44 [= *Festschrift F. Dölger* (1951)]: 373–378; *idem,* “Sphrantzès et non Phrantzès. A nouveau!,” *REB* 9 (1951): 170–171; P. S. Nasturel, “Témoignages roumains sur les formes Sphrantzès et Phrantzès,” *REB* 19 [= *Mélanges R. Janin]* (1961): 441–444; and D. Nastase, “Les Débuts de la communauté oecuménique du Mont Athos,” *Σύμμεικτα* 6 (1985): 251–314.
3 Cf. Laurent’s two articles (*supra,* n. 2).
4 Laurent’s two articles (*supra,* n. 2). In addition, cf. Chrysa Maltezou, “Προσωπογραφικὰ Βυζαντινῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ξενοκρατουμένου Ἑλληνικοῦ Χώρου (μὲ Ἀφορμὴ τὸν Φάκελο Foscari 5 τῆς Βενετίας),” *Σύμμεικτα* (1983): 1–27, esp. 16.
5 Laurent, “Σφραντζῆς.”
6 Laurent, “Sphrantzès.”
7 I. Tsaras, “Σφραντζῆς, Φιαλίτης ἢ Φραντζῆς,” *Βυζαντινὰ* 9 (1977): 125–139.
8 On Pusculo, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.A.7.
9 Capranica, the bishop of Fermo, was a close friend of Bessarion. He wrote and published (in printed form, from the house of the brothers Antonio and Raphael de Vulterris, Rome, Nov. 19, 1472; repr. by Stephan Plack, Rome, 1480) a funeral oration for Bessarion entitled: *Oratio in funere Bessarionis Cardinalis habita*. On Capranica, cf. M. Miglio, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 19 (1976): 161–162.
10 Cf., e.g., the standard work, *FC*. Moreover, Stacton/Dereksen further neglects Pusculo. Pears made greater use of Pusculo’s text in his notable *The Destruction of the Greek Empire*.
11 *Minus* 35.9; for the text, cf. *infra*, p. 144.
12 2.319–322.
13 2.344. It should be added that this demonstration of the name “Sphrantzes” and not “Phrantzes” in the literary record receives further reinforcement from the archival record. Thus a document bearing the *tuğra* of Mehmed II Fatih and addressing Greek archons includes the form “Sphrantzes.” For this, cf. Miklosich and Müller, 3: 295: Τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθεντὸς καὶ μεγάλου

ἀμηρᾶ σουλτὰν Μουχαμὲθ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πάντ<α> ἡμετέρους τῆς αὐθεντίας μου ἄρχοντας· ἐν πρώτῳ εἰς [*sic*] ἄρχων κὺρ Σφραντζῆς μὲ ὅλους τοὺς ἰδικούς του.... We are grateful to Dr. Diana G. Wright for this reference; she also points out to us that the text of this document is not in Vienna, in spite of the statement of Miklosich and Müller. Furthermore, while the *Archivio* notes indicate that it is missing from the *busta,* Dr. Wright discovered it at the bottom, as it apparently had slipped out.

14 Laurent, "Σφραντζῆς," p. 378, n. 1.

15 Cf. E. Darkó, ed., *Laonici Chalcocandylae Historiarum Demonstrationes* (Budapest, 1922–1927), 2:5 [271B, 143P], p. 47. For earlier editions, cf. C. Clauser, ed., *Laonicis Chalcocondylae Atheniensis de origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem* (Basel, 1556 and 1562); *ibid.*, Corpus Historiae Byzantinae Parisinum (Paris, 1567); *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum Libri Decem*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1843); and recently for a partial translation: *Laonikos Chalkokondyles: A Translation and Commentary of the "Demonstrations of Histories" (Books I¬ III)*, N. Nicoloudis, trans., Historical Monographs 16 (Athens, 1996).

16 *Minus* 25.5–8.

17 *Minus* 35.9.

18 Cf. *infra*, nn. 29–34.

19 *Minus* 36.1–14; we will examine this passage in due course; cf. *infra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," sec. I.

20 *Maius* 3.9.2. This is the version that is published by Grecu, but he is in error. Grecu failed to add the negative particle οὐ before the word δυνατὸν that is demanded by the sense (as we have included it in the translation). The earlier edition of Bekker (p. 280) cites the phrase correctly as οὐ δυνατὸν ἦν. We therefore assume that this is a printer's error in the Grecu edition.

21 *Minus* 25.11.

22 On the chronology of the life of Sphrantzes, cf. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, esp. p. 17 f.

23 [Falier-]Papadopoulos, "Phrantzès est-il réellement l'auteur de la grande chronique qui porte son nom?," pp. 177–189.

24 *Idem,* "Ἰωάννης Ζ΄ ὁ Παλαιολόγος," pp. 257–262; *idem,* "Über 'Maius' und 'Minus'," pp. 323–331. The first investigator to identify Makarios as the most probable culprit was F. Dölger, "Ein literarischer und diplomatischer Fälscher des 16. Jahrhunderts: Metropolit Makarios von Monembasia," in *Otto Glaunig zum 60. Geburtstag, Festangabe aus Wissenschaft und Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1936), pp. 25–36 [= *Byzantinische Diplomatik* (Ettal, 1956), pp. 371–383].

25 R.-J. Loenertz, "La date de la lettre ύ de Manuel Paléologue et l'inauthenticité du 'Chronicon Maius' des Georges Phrantzès," *Echos d'Orient* 39 (1940/1942): 91–99; and *idem,* "Autour du Chronicon Maius," pp. 273–311.

26 J. B. [Falier-]Papadopoulos, "Ἡ περὶ Ἁλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἱστορία Λεονάρδου τοῦ Χίου," *EEBΣ* 15 (1939): 85–95.

27 G. T. Zoras, "Αἱ Τελευταῖαι πρὸ τῆς Ἁλώσεως Δημηγορίαι Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Μωάμεθ τοῦ Πορθητοῦ," *Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 9 (1958/1959): 510–538 (also published separately, under the same title, as a monograph [Athens, 1959]; and reprinted in Zoras, *Περὶ τὴν Ἅλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, pp. 71–102; cf. 538 (33, 102, respectively): Τὸ συμπέρασμα εἶναι ὅτι ἀμφότεροι αἱ δημηγορίαι *[sc.* of Constantine XI and of Mehmed II] οὐδέποτε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀποτελοῦν ἐφεύρημα

μεταγενεστέρων ἱστορικῶν, ἢ ὅτι, ἂν ἔγιναν, ἀπηυθύνοντο μόνον πρὸς στενὸν κύκλον συνεργατῶν καὶ ἦσαν βραχύταται, ὁπωσδήποτε δὲ ὅτι αἱ διασωθεῖσαι διατυπώσεις οὔτε εἰς τὸν Παλαιολόγον οὔτε εἰς τὸν Μωάμεθ ἀνήκουν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ Λεονάρδου καὶ τοῦ Κριτοβούλου. Ἐκ τῶν δύο τούτων πιθανωτέρα φαίνεται ἡ πρώτη ὑπόθεσις.

28 Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople: Bishop Leonardo,” pp. 287–300.

29 Carroll, “Notes on the Authorship of the ‘Siege’ Section,” 41: 28–44; 42: 5–22; 43: 30–38; and 44: 17–22.

30 Khasiotes, *Μακάριος*.

31 Philippides, “An ‘Unknown’ Source,” pp. 174–183; *idem*, “Patriarchal Chronicles,” pp. 87–94; and *idem*, “Σύγχρονες Ἔρευνες,” pp. 94–99. For a more recent and more encompassing investigation, cf. *idem*, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani,” pp. 189–227.

32 Maisano, “Il manoscritto Napoletano II E.25,” pp. 103–121. Maisano supervised the latest edition of the *Minus*: *Giorgio Sfranze Chronicon*.

33 Ganchou, “Le Mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène,” pp. 245–272; and, more recently, *idem*, “Sur quelques erreurs,” pp. 61–83. Cf., in addition, E. D. Dzhagatspanian. “Мировоззрение Византийского Историка XV b. *Кавказ и Византия* [The World Outlook of the Fifteenth-Century Byzantine Historian George Sphrantzes],” Георгия Сфрандзи 3 (1982): 45–63; *eadem*, “Некоторые Замечания по Поводу Авторства Большой Хроники Псевдо-Сфрандзи [Some Observations on the Occasion of the Authorship of the Major Chronicle of Pseudo-Sphrantzes],” *VV* 43 (1982): 45–63.

34 For the relationships of Leonardo to these texts, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.A.4; and Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo,” and fig. 1 for a stemma.

35 Additional correspondences can be detected in the parallel passages in Languschi-Dolfin.

36 Carroll.

37 Zachariadou. *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων*, ch. 2.

38 Khasiotes, *Μακάριος*, ch. 3; on the question of Pseudo-Sphrantzes’ linguistic abilities in Latin, cf. *infra,* n. 39.

39 The text and illustration are contained in the Greek *Codex II-C,* fols. 36v–37r; it was first noticed by S. P. Lampros, “Περιγραφὴ Κώδικος Νεαπόλεως II-C. 35 (*Cyrillus* 36),” *NH* 19 (1925): 38. For this manuscript and for a black-and-white photograph of the miniature by Santamaura (an activity for which he is not otherwise known, even though the miniature in question implies some experience in this sector), cf. I. K. Khasiotes, “ Ἕνα Ἰδιότυπο Εἰκονογραφημένο Κείμενο τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἁγιομαύρα (1578), *Ἑλληνικὰ* 19 (1966): 108–113. On Santamaura, cf. H. Omont, “Le dernier des copistes grecs en Italie: Jean de Sainte-Maure (1572–1612),” *Revue des études Grècques* 1 (1888): 177–191. A catalogue of the codices that he copied is included in M. Vogel and V. Garthausen, *Die griechichen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 193–198; and C. G. Patrinelis. *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* εως,” *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 8–9 (1958/1959): 63–124, esp. 106–107. Does the fact that Santamaura presented a bilingual *codex* (Greek facing Latin) to Pseudo-Sphrantzes mean that Pseudo-Sphrantzes was fluent in Latin? Or does it imply that Pseudo-Sphrantzes was learning Latin and Santamaura was helping him in his efforts with a bilingual text? An answer to these questions may assist in deciding the troubling questions concerning Pseudo-

Sphrantzes' fluency in Latin: was he working directly from the Latin text of Leonardo or from a contemporary translation of Leonardo into Italian (or even into Greek)?

40 Maisano, *Georgii Sphrantze Chronicon*, p. 127. Also cf. the seminal work on this codex by J. B. [Falier-]Papadopulos [Papadopoulos], "Bemerkungen zu dem cod. Hierosol. 38," *BZ* 38 (1938): 68–70.

41 J. B. [Falier-]Papadopoulos, "Le Manuscript B II 20 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Turin contenant la Chronique de Phrantzès," *Atti della R. Academia della Scienze di Torino* 66 (1931): 436–440. On Darmarios and Pseudo-Sphrantzes, cf. N. B. Tomadakes, Περὶ Ἁλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Δούκα-Κριτοβούλου-Σφραντζῆς-Χαλκοκονδύλη: Συναγωγὴ μετὰ Προλόγου καὶ Βιογραφικῶν Μελετημάτων περὶ τῶν Τεσσάρων Ἱστοριογράφων καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου (Athens, 1953; repr. Thessaloniki, 1993), pp. 148 ff.

42 Maisano, *Georgii Sphrantze Chronicon*, p. 127.

43 For a recent assessment of the *Neapol. II E 25*, cf. Maisano, *Georgii Sphrantze Chronicon*, esp. pp. 132–133.

44 The numerous codices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will not concern us, as they are not directly concerned with Pseudo-Sphrantzes and his accomplices. A list, with some evaluation of each manuscript, can be found in Maisano, *Georgii Sphrantze Chronicon*, pp. 127–129.

45 Cf., e.g., his activities in forging Palaiologan imperial chrysobulls: S. Binon, "L'histoire et la légende de deux chrysobulles d'Andronic II en fateur de Monembasie: Macaire ou Phrantzès?," *Echos d'Orient* 37 (1938): 274–311.

46 Khasiotes, Μακάριος, pp. 17 ff., has shown that the original signatures in documents that bear the name "Melissourgos" were later changed to "Melissenos." The descendants of Theodoros and Makarios continued this project of identifying the Melissourgoi with the Melissenoi in the following century.

47 This invented coat of arms is illustrated by Khasiotes, Μακάριος, p. 182 (without tincture); this coat of arms was described by C. De Lellis, *Supplimento a Napoli Sacra di D. Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo* (Naples, 1654); on the invention of this coat of arms, cf. Khasiotes, Μακάριος, p. 65, n. 4.

48 For a clear expression of this view and the problems concerned with the *Maius* and the *Minus*, cf. Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologus*, p. xliii.

49 Needless to say, Pseudo-Sphrantzes reports the purported speech of the emperor, which he has based, in an amplified form, on the text of Leonardo. The *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle*, Languschi-Dolfin, and Sansovino remain faithful to the Latin text of Leonardo, which they have translated without amplification or elaboration.

50 A clear example of western influence in the culture of the Palaiologan era can be seen in the Greek chivalric romances, some of which imply definite familiarity with their western counterparts; cf. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliterature* (Munich, 1971). Even in earlier periods Greek translations of Caesar, Cicero, Ovid, Boethius, Augustine, Anselm, and Thomas Aquinas had appeared. Thus a translation of Leonardo's letter into Greek, or the fact that a Latin letter was used as a source by Greek authors, should not come as a surprise. For the intellectual climate in the late period, cf. K.-P. Matschke and F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, and Böhlau, 2001).

51 The intention of Pseudo-Sphrantzes in the sixteenth century to pass himself off as a relative of George Sphrantzes, which resulted in his actual alteration of the information supplied in the *Minus*, is pursued by Tomadakes, "Περὶ Ἁλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," pp. 150–152. On Goudeles, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 89.

52 *Minus* 23.5: καὶ ὅτι στοχάζεται [*sc.* Constantine XI] πρὸς τὸν Γουδέλην Νικόλαον. Καὶ ἂν ἀρεστὴ ἔνι ἡ συντροφία, νὰ γένηται καὶ μέσον ἡμῶν συμπεθέριον, ὁ υἱός μου τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα.

53 *Maius* 3.14.

54 *PG* 159: 935 [*CC* 1: 153].

55 Fol. 318 [20].

56 Ch. VII [104].

57 3.5.4.

58 20.

59 *Maius* 3.5.6: On this, cf. with caution, A. N. Rothbauer, “Einige Bemerkungen zum ‘Chronicon Maius’,” *BZ* 48 (1955): 293–296.

60 *Maius* 3.9.12.

61 For Pseudo-Sphrantzes’ activities in Spain, cf. Khasiotes, Μακάριος, pp. 49–53.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 51, n. 1, which points out that a great deal of research is still needed on these personages at the court. Some individuals such as Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), Pedro da Candia (the lieutenant of Francisco Pizzaro in the conquest of Peru), are well known, but others – artists, clerics, and soldiers with Greek origins – have not been studied. For the time being, cf. A. A. Kyrou, Οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως καὶ ὁ Δομήνικος Θεοτοκόπουλος (Athens, 1938), pp. 321 ff.; and G. Marañon, *El Gredco y Toledo* (Madrid, 1963), pp. 161–165.

63 For the active community of Greek copyists (if not downright counterfeiters) in Spain at this time, cf. Khasiotes, Μακάριος, p. 51, n. 1; C. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du Fonds Grec de l’Escurial* (Paris, 1880); and P. A. Revilla, *Catálogo de los codices griegos de la Biblioteca de el Escorial*, 1 (Madrid, 1936), pp. ix–cxxviii. A close associate of Pseudo-Sphrantzes was the well-known forger (as well as a copyist of the *Maius)* Andreas Darmarios; on this forger (by whose circle the *Taurin. B II 20 [gr. 102 bis]* codex of the *Maius* was copied) and his connections with Pseudo-Sphrantzes, cf. *supra*, n. 41; and Tomadakes, Περὶ Ἁλωσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, pp. 148 ff.

64 Khasiotes, Μακάριος, p. 176; on this Spanish family of Naples, cf. B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza* (Bari, 1949), esp. pp. 236–237.

65 The manuscripts that are associated with Pseudo-Sphrantzes himself and that date from 1572 to 1576, that is, *Ambros. P 128, sup. (gr. 641)*, and *Taurin. B 11 20 (gr. 102 bis)*, include a fictional genealogy which is usually not printed in modern editions of the main text of the *Maius* but is relegated to the *apparatus criticus* (e.g., Grecu’s edition); for scholarly purposes we include part of it here: Ἦν συγγένειαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ῥηθέντος Ἱσπανοῦ Φραγκίσκου τοιούτως εἶναι ἱστοροῦσι: εἷς ἀφ᾽ αἵματος τῆς ὀσφύος τοῦ περιφανοῦς βασιλέως κὺρ Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ ἀπογόνων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας κὺρ Ἀλεξίου Ἀγγέλου Κομνηνοῦ ἀπογόνων πρέσβυς σταλεὶς ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖ ῥῆγαν τῆς Καστιλλίας καὶ ἕνεκεν τινῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ τῆς συγχύσεως τῆς γενομένης τότε παρὰ Ἰταλῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὄπισθεν οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι· καὶ ὁ ῥὴξ αὐτὸς τῆς Καστιλλίας γυναῖκα ἐπιφανῆ συγγενῆ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῷ συνέζευξεν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Τολέδου πόλει υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας ἐγέννησε καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς τὴν ἐπονυμίαν ἔλαβε...λοιπὸν χάριν περιπάτου θεωρίας τυχόντος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἀενάως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἐκέλευσεν προσμένειν τοῦτον καὶ ὁμότραπεζον εἶχεν.

66 Cf. the previous note and the concluding sentence of the Greek passage.

67 Tafur, *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur*; Letts, *Pero Tafur*.

68 149 [English translation in Letts, p. 123]: *Alli fallé muchos castellanos é de otras naçione de los latinos à suledo del Emperador….*

69 139 [English translation in Letts, p. 117]: *…é embi é por un trujaman del Emperador, que llamavan Juan de Sevilla, castellano por naçion; é dizen quel Emperador, allende de ser Trujaman, porque le cantava romanҫes castellanos en un laud.*.

70 151 [English translation in Letts, 125]: *É despues de quinçe dias pasados de mi llegada, el Emperador ovo de partir, par se acordar con el Papa, en las galeas de veneçianos, é fuì mucho mandado é asaz rogado por él que feziera, salvo que me escusé diziendo, que me era forçado de ver primero toda la Greçia é la Turquia é áun Tartaria*. On the foreign guards of the emperor, known as "janissaries" to the Greek authors, who borrowed the term from the Turkish corps of Christian converts to Islam, cf. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Les 'janissaires' de l'empereur byzantin," in *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii BombaciDicata* (Naples, 1982), pp. 591–597.

71 Tafur 153–154: *é él partiose con grant estado; é levava consigo dos hermanos suyos é ochoçientos onbres, todos los mâs fijosdalgo; é él dia que partio de Constantinopla, se fizo una grant fiesta é salieron con él todos religiosos con la proçesion fasta lo embarcar, é muchos le acompanaron una jornada de alli por la mar, é yo fui con él*. Tafur's details are matched by Silvestros Syropoulos, *Les "Mémoires" du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438–1439)*, ed. and trans. V. Laurent (Paris, 1971), 4.1, who also uses the same occasion to describe yet another sign of divine wrath over this imperial journey: συνήλθομεν…ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι αἰγιαλῷ καὶ πλῆθος λαοῦ συνῆλθεν ἐκεῖσε…. Τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς πάλιν προσωρμίσθησαν τὰ κάτεργα εἰς τὸν Κυνηγόν, καὶ περὶ τετάρτην ὥραν εἰσῆλθε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κάτεργον, καὶ εὐθὺς πάλιν σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο, σύμβολον δευτέρας θεομηνίας. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄριστον φιλοτίμως παραπλεύσασαι αἱ τριήρεις ἦλθον μετὰ κρότων καὶ σαλπίγγων….

72 *CC* 1: 46.

73 *Ibid.*, 38: [by the hand of Marco Barbaro, dated *1453 adi 18 Luglio]: Dopo presa la città, il Turco fece far cride, che chi avesse case in Costantinopoli gli dicesse, che egli le faria consegnare, et molti grechi et latini andarono a dirli dove erano le sue case, fra quali fu il nostro Bailo, et il Consolo Taragonense, et in vece delle case, il Turco feceli tagliar la testa, a esso consolo, et a doi altri de suoi, et al bailo nostro e suo fiol, et doi altri nostri nobeli.*.

74 *Supra*, nn. 39 and 41.

75 E.g., *FC*, pp. 84, 93, and 150, reports a variant of this name as Peré Julia, which ultimately derives from the text of Pseudo-Sphrantzes; as "Pere Julia," the Catalan consul also appears in *MCT*, p. 97. G. Schlumberger, *La Siège, la prise et le sac de Constantinople en 1453* (Paris, 1915; repr. 1935), p. 275, also reports the consul's name in the form Pedro Guliano, and he is not corrected by his learned translator and commentator into Modern Greek, S. P. Lampros, *Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος καὶ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (Athens, 1914; repr. 1996), who produces the name in Modern Greek dress as Πέτρος Ἰουλιανός (p. 406). Cf. E. G. Protopsaltes, *Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσαταντινουπόλεως* (Athens, *sine anno*).

76 *PG* 159: 935 and 943 [CC 1: 150, 166–168], respectively.

77 Fol. 318 [20], and fol. 322 [33], respectively.

78 Ch. VII [103] and ch. XIV [114].

79 3.5.4 (Grecu relegates the phrase "to Consul Pedro Guliano" to the *apparatus criticus*).

80 21.

81 *CC* 1: 140.

82 Cf., e.g., J. Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle. Activité économique et problèmes sociaux* (Paris, 1961), pp. 290–300.

83 E.g., Pears, p. 263: Flatanelas; *FC*, pp. 100, 102: Phlatanelas; and Stacton/Dereksen, pp. 208 and 212: Flantanelas.

84 *PG* 159: 931 [CC 1: 140].

85 Fol. 316 [13].

86 Ch. IV [100].

87 3.5.1.

88 17–18.

89 3.4.9, p. 386.

90 *PG* 159: 928 [CC 1: 132].

91 Fol. 315 [10].

92 Ch. I [96].

93 3.4.12.

94 *PG* 159: 928–929 [CC 1: 134]; the section within < > is omitted by *CC* 1 but can be found in *PG* 159: 928.

95 Fol. 315 [10–11].

96 Ch. II [pp. 96–97].

97 15

098 *PG* 159: 934 [CC 1: 148]. The phrase within < > is omitted by *CC* 1.

099 Ch. VII [103].

100 3.5.4.

101 20.

102 Descriptions of this memorable bridge and of the comparison of Mehmed II to Xerxes are also encountered in other sources. Cardinal Isidore expressed admiration for Mehmed's bridge in his letter to Cardinal Bessarion (*CC* 1: 72): *Aliud iterum mirabilius est machinatus, quod et Xerxes quondam fecisse memoratur: pontem siquidem construxit et fabricavit maximum a mari Sanctae Galatinae usque ad moenia Cynegi, quod duplo maius est spatium quam illius Hellespontiaci olim pontis a Xerxe fabricati, per quem non modo pedites verum etiam equites multi simul traducebantur*. Leonardo has similar information and also compares this bridge to Xerxes' fording of the Hellespont in 480 BC. It is not a question of Isidore and of Leonardo copying from each other's text, as they wrote their letters unaware of each other's work. The comparison to Xerxes must therefore derive from their conversations during the siege. The two ecclesiastics were close friends and Leonardo was in awe of Isidore. Surprisingly, Xerxes also makes his appearance, in the same context, in the narrative of Doukas, who is very unlikely to have read Leonardo or Isidore; this reference in Doukas probably suggests the popularity of this comparison; moreover, Doukas compares Mehmed to Alexander the Great and calls him the "modern Macedonian"; cf. Doukas 37.8: Τίς οἶδε τοιοῦτον ἢ τίς ἤκουσεν; Ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν θάλασσαν ἐγεφύρωσεν καὶ ὡς ξηρὰν ὁ τοσοῦτος στρατὸς ἐπάνω ταύτης διῆλθεν. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ νέος Μακεδών…ὕστατος τὴν θάλασσαν ἐγεφύρωσεν.

103 *PG* 159: 931 [not in *CC* 1].

104 Fol. 315 [12–13].

105 Ch. III [99].

106 3.5.3.

107 17.

108 On the subject of pirates, corsairs, and *condottieri* in the service of the Greek emperor in 1453, see M. Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani, the Genoese *Condottiere* of Constantinople in 1453," *BSEB*, n.s. 3 (1998): 13–53; and *infra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," nn. 76–79.

109 *PG* 159: 931–932 [CC 1: 140]; the section within < > is omitted by *CC* 1 but can be found in *PG* 159: 931–932.

110 Fol. 315 [14].

111 Ch. IV [100–101].

112 3.6.2.

113 18.

114 [Falier-]Papadopoulos, “Ἡ περὶ Ἁλώσεως,” p. 92; this suggestion was not adopted by Grecu in his edition of the *Maius*.

115 On this gate and the siege, cf. *infra*, ch. 9: “Land Operations,” nn. 74 ff.

116 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 28 ff.

117 On this topic, cf. I. K. Khasiotes, *Ἕλληνες στὶς Παραμονὲς τῆς Ναυμαχίας τῆς Ναυπάκτου· Ἐκκλήσεις, Ἐπαναστατικὲς Κινήσεις καὶ Ἐξεγέρσεις στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Χερσόνησο ἀπὸ τὶς Παραμονὲς ὡς τὸ Τέλος τοῦ Κυπριακοῦ Πολέμου (1568–1571)* (Thessaloniki, 1970), pp. 101–105.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 102; and *idem*, Μακάριος, p. 84. The patriarchal document that exonerates Pseudo-Sphrantzes has been published by Miklosich and Müller, 5: 157–158; as has been acutely observed by Khasiotes, Ἕλληνες, p. 102, n. 2, Patriarch Metrophanes III had probably not signed because he was away from Constantinople at the time.

119 The activities of the surviving Bocchiardi brothers after the sack are cited in R. Predelli, ed., *Regesti dei Commemoriali* 5 (Venice, 1901), Book XV, no. 73, pp. 142–143; and *PaL* 2: 127, n. 62. Their service during the siege is briefly mentioned, in addition to Leonardo and Languschi-Dolfin, in a contemporary anonymous Venetian poem entitled: *Questo è ’l lamento de Costantinopoli*, lines 241–244 (CC 2: 304, under “Bo<ch>iardi”). On the Bocchiardi brothers, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants,” nos. 15–17.

120 On the controversies regarding the specific location and the parameters of the *Mesoteikhion*, cf. W. K. Hanak, “The Constantinopolitan *Mesoteikhion* in 1453: Its Topography, Adjacent Structures and Gates,” *BSEB*, n.s. 4 (1999): esp. 72–76. In addition, cf. *infra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications,” sec. III.

121 *PG* 159: 934 [CC 1: 148]; the sections within < > are omitted by *CC* 1 but can be found in *PG* 159: 934.

122 Fol. 317 [19].

123 Ch. VII [103].

124 3.5.4–5.

125 20.

126 *PG* 159: 936 [CC 1: 152]; the section within < > is omitted by *CC* 1 but can be found in *PG* 159: 936.

127 Fol. 318 [20–21].

128 Ch. VIII [104].

129 3.7.2.

130 22.

131 *PG* 159: 940 [*CC* 1: 160].

132 Fol. 320 [28].

133 Ch. X [111 (instead of the correct p. 110, as in the Gennadeios copy of Sansovinos book pages 110 and 111 are reversed].

134 3.9.7.

135 28.

136 *PG* 159: 941 [*CC* 1: 162–164]. The section within < > is omitted by *CC* 1 but can be found in *PG* 159: 941.

137 Fol. 320 [29–30].

138 Ch. XII [112–113].

139 3.10.

140 On the Bocchiardi survivors, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants,” nos. 15–17.

141 18–20.

142 6.206–207.
143 Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, pp. 150–155.
144 Barbaro includes him on his list of the Venetians captured by the Turks but who also were ransomed and returned to Venice (*nobeli da Veniexia, i qual fo prexoni in man del turco, tuti tornò Veniexia*). Stefano Magno reports that Contarini returned by August 16 and that he provided some information on the fate of the Minotti (*NE* 3: 300): *Adì agosto* [1453], *el venne con un grippo Cattarin Contarini da Constantinopoli, il quale se haveva scosso; per lo quale fùeso della morte dada al bailo et suo fiolo et recuperation de i altri nostri Venetiani, et hebbe notitia del muodo del perder della cittade*. On Catarino, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants,” no. 40.
145 *PG* 159: 934–935 [*CC* 1: 148–154]. The sections within > < are omitted by *CC* 1 but can be found in *PG* 159: 935.
146 Fol. 318 [19–20].
147 Ch. VII [103–104].
148 3.5.4.
149 20.
150 *PG* 159: 931 [*CC* 1: 140].
151 Fol. 316 [14].
152 3.5.1.
153 18.
154 *PG* 159: 934 [*CC* 1: 148].
155 Fol. 317 [19].
156 Ch. VII [103].
157 20.
158 *PG* 159: 934 [*CC* 1: 148].
159 Fol. 317 [19].
160 Ch. VII [103].
161 3.4.9.
162 20.
163 *PG* 159: 935 [omitted by *CC* 1].
164 Fol. 317 [20].
165 Ch. VIII [104].
166 3.5.6.
167 21.
168 *PG* 159: 935 [omitted by *CC* 1].
169 Fol. 317 [20].
170 Ch. VIII [104].
171 *PG* 159: 935 [omitted by *CC* 1].
172 Fol. 317 [20].
173 3.6.4 (with corrections for the erroneous accentuation printed in Grecus edition).
174 Ch. VIII [104].
175 *PG* 159: 936 [omitted by *CC* 1].
176 Fol. 317 [22].
177 Ch. VIII [106].
178 23.
179 *PG* 159: 938 [*CC* 1: 156].
180 Fol. 320 [24].
181 Ch. IX [108].
182 3.8.1.
183 25.
184 *PG* 159: 938 (which prints *vehementer* instead of *quidem*) [*CC* 1: 158].
185 Fol. 320 [25].

186 Ch. IX [108].

187 3.7.10.

188 25.

189 *PG* 159: 938 [omitted by *CC* 1].

190 Fol. 320 [25].

191 Ch. IX [108–109].

192 3.8.3.

193 26.

194 *PG* 159: 941 [*CC* 1: 162].

195 Fol. 320 [29].

196 Ch. XII [112].

197 3.9.7.

198 29.

199 *PG* 159: 941 [*CC* 1: 162].

200 Fol. 320 [29].

201 Ch. XII [112].

202 3.9.7.

203 29.

204 *PG* 159: 942 [*CC* 1: 166].

205 Fol. 321 [31].

206 3.10.4–5 (with corrections of the errors in Grecus printed text).

207 32.

208 *PG* 159: 942 [*CC* 1: 166].

209 Fol. 322 [31].

210 Ch. XIV [114].

211 3.11.3.

212 32–33.

213 *PG* 159: 931 [*CC* 1: 158–160].

214 Fol. 316 [13].

215 3.5.1.

216 17.

217 On this individual, cf. Ganchou, “Le Mésazon”; and *idem*, “Sur quelques erreurs,” p. 68.

218 On Goudeles, cf. our comments, *supra*, sec. III; and Ganchou, “Le Mésazon,” pp. 257–258.

219 4.151–161 [*CC* 1: 206].

220 Fol. 317 [17].

221 4.169–176 [*CC* 1: 208].

222 Fol. 317 [17].

223 There survives a document that lists the number of refugees from the sack; its Italian versions have been published by K. D. Mertzios, “Περὶ Παλαιολόγων και Ἄλλων Εὐγενῶν Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν,” in *Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου* (Athens. 1933), pp. 355–372; also cf. *idem*. “Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Διαφυγόντων,” pp. 171–176.

224 4.179–181 [*CC* 1: 208].

225 Fol. 317 [17].

226 Ganchou, “Sur quelques erreurs,” pp. 62–64.

227 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

228 4.190–192 [*CC 1*: 208].

229 Fol. 317 [17].

230 This erroneous notion, that Cyriacus was with Mehmed II at this time, has been

discussed; cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” nn. 207–210.

231 4.488–492 [omitted by *CC* 1].

232 Fol. 317 [17].

233 4.585–588 [omitted by *CC* 1].

234 Fol. 317 [16].

235 4.694–710 [omitted by *CC* 1].

236 Fol. 317 [18].

237 4.1070–1074 [omitted by *CC* 1].

238 Fol. 321 [32].

239 Fol. 313 [4–5]; fol. 313 [5–8]; and fol. 322 [34–35], respectively. The passages are quoted in full by Languschi-Dolfin.

240 Fol. 317 [17].

241 Fol. 317 [14–15].

242 4.181–188 [omitted by *CC* 1].

243 *PG* 159: 935 [*CC* 1: 150].

# Chapter 4

# Myths, Legends, and Tales: Folk History

# I. Troy and Constantinople

In 1581 Francesco Sansovino published one of his leading studies,[1] titled: *Venetia Citta Nobilissima*. This work includes the author’s descriptions of the narrative painting of Venice’s Great Council Hall. The painting was begun by Gentile Bellini in 1474 to replace, with oil on canvas, the *trecento* fresco cycle then in existence. The undertaking took considerable time and its first phase was not completed before 1523. In addition to Gentile Bellini, other artists became involved: Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio, Titian, and Vivarini. In the custom of the period, it included portraits of well-known individuals. Carpaccio’s “section” portrayed the ritual of the consignment of the ducal umbrella. In spite of the purely Venetian character of the scene, Carpaccio went out of his way to include a number of Greek scholars, who had come to Venice as refugees after the gradual annexation of Greece by Ottoman Turkey and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. According to Sansovino’s description, these well-known scholars were Janos Argyropoulos, Demetrios Chalcondyles (= Khalko[ko]ndyles), Theodore Gaza, George Trapezountios (so designated and erroneously identified as “George of Trebizond”), and Manuel [= Emmanuel] Chrysoloras. They were all dressed, as Sansovino notes, *alla greca* with *capelli in capo*. These were important figures who contributed much to the education of Venetian noblemen in the *studia humanitatis*. Carpaccio labored on this painting in 1511, by which year nearly all of these scholars were already dead, with the possible exception of Khalkondyles, who appears to have been still alive, at least at that moment.[2] In fact, as has been justly noted,[3] this portrayal of the five Greeks “constituted a virtual chronology of Hellenic studies in *quattrocento* Italy.” The complete monumental *opus* was eventually destroyed in the fire of December 20, 1577. Portraits of these famous individuals were included in the engravings executed by Tobias Stimmer for Paolo Giovio’s book.[4] It would not be surprising if we were to discover that Stimmer had actually seen the Venetian paintings before their destruction and included elements of the lost work in his engravings.

Manuel Chrysoloras’ commanding personality contributed considerably to the introduction of the ancient Greek language to Renaissance Europe.[5] He wrote the first grammar of ancient Greek, which played an instrumental role in the circle of the new intellectuals of the Italian Renaissance, the humanists, who went to great lengths in their quest to learn Greek. Chrysoloras’ tome, Ἐρωτήματα or *Quaestiones*, was printed and reprinted, once Guttenberg's invention of the printing press began to replace the manuscript with the modern book. Thus there are numerous examples of early *incunabula* editions of this handbook and for a long time it served as the most basic tool available to humanists who wished to study Greek.[6]

Chrysoloras was a Greek by birth, traveled widely throughout Europe, accepted Catholicism, and died abroad. His career prefigures the professional lives of various Greek scholars who had abandoned their homeland in search of comfortable professorial positions in the humanistic environment of Renaissance Italy. Under less fortunate circumstances in subsequent years, other Greek intellectuals sought to escape the economic hardships of their homeland and its precarious position under the constant threat of annexation by the Ottoman Turks. They came to Italy in an endless stream, searching for comfortable professorial chairs. At first, this wave of migrating intellectuals from Constantinople was welcome. Thus George Gemistos Plethon, the famous Neoplatonist philosopher and the most original thinker of the Greek Middle Ages, received a warm welcome in Florence as a member of the Greek delegation that participated in the famous Council of Florence in 1438/1439. His presence in Florence revived the study of Platonism in Italy. Chrysoloras had paved the way, as his student, Leonardo Bruni, the Chancellor of the *Signoria* at Florence, had already translated about six works of Plato in the early decades of the *quattrocento*. And during Plethon's visit, Candido Decembrio attempted to complete a translation of Plato's *Republic* that his father, Uberto, had begun earlier. Plethon himself established personal contacts with important humanists such as Nicolaus Cusanus, Cardinal Cesarini, Ambrogio Traversari, Poggio Bracciolini, Leon Battista, Peter of Calabria (Pietro Vitali), Ugo Benzi, and Paolo Toscanelli. At Florence Plethon gave a series of lectures on the differences between Aristotle and Plato, which had an important impact, as Marsilio Ficino later claimed that they inspired the formation of the Platonic Academy that was established by Cosimo de' Medici.[7]

Under the influence of such Greek scholars Constantinople came to be regarded by Italian humanists as a living museum, a virtual library of Alexandria, and western intellectuals entertained hopes of discovering in Constantinopolitan private and monastic libraries manuscripts of classical texts that had been lost to Europe since the beginning of the Middle Ages. This unfulfilled hope provided the basis for the famous lamentations over the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who was destined to become Pope Pius II. The sack of 1453 eliminated, to his dismay, this museum in one day and he voiced expressions of sorrow over the event on a number of occasions. His remarks underscore the distinguished role that Constantinople had played for western humanists, as the Greek capital had stood for so long as the only remaining bridge between their world and ancient wisdom:[8]

> *…nemo Latinorum satis videri doctus poterat, nisi Constantinopoli per tempus studuisset. Quodque florente Roma doctrinarum nomen habuerunt Athenae, id nostra tempestate videbatur Constantinopolis obtinere. Inde nobis Plato redditus, inde Aristotelis, Demosthenis, Xenophontis, Thuchididis, Basilii, Dionisii, Origenis et aliorum multa Latinis opera diebus nostris manifestata sunt, multa quoque in futurum manifestanda sperabamus…. Nunc ergo et Homero et Pindaro et Menandro et omnibus illustribus poetis secunda mors erit. Nunc Graecorum philosophorum ultimus patebit interitus*.
>
> …no Latin could ever be considered educated, unless he had studied in Constantinople. The famous name that Athens enjoyed when Rome flourished was held by Constantinople in our own age. From there returned to us Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Thucydides, Basil, [Pseudo-]Dionysius [the Areopagite], Origen, and many others that became available to the Latins nowadays. There were many other works, which we hoped to uncover… But now this will be the second death of Homer, of Pindar, of Menander, and of all the illustrious poets. This will be the final passing of the Greek philosophers.

Elsewhere the future pope laments the loss of manuscripts:

> *Quid de libris dicam, qui illic erant innumerabiles, nondum Latinis cogniti? Heu, quot nunc magnorum nomina virorum peribunt? Secunda mors ista Homero est, secundus Platoni obitus. Ubi nunc philosophorum autpoetarum ingenia requiremus? Extinctus est fons Musarum*.
>
> What am I to say about the innumerable books that were there, still unknown to the Latins? Alas, will the name of such great men perish now? This is the second death of Homer, the second passing of Plato. Where shall we seek philosophical and poetical genius? The Fountain of the Muses has run dry.

To a great extent, the fears expressed by Aeneas Silvius were real. From a different source we discover that manuscripts appropriated by the Turks quickly were destroyed, sold for pennies, or disposed of irreverently in the early hours of the sack.[9]

As the Greek Empire under the Palaiologan dynasty lost its momentum in the High Middle Ages, in the reigns of the last three emperors, the Greeks became completely dependent upon western financial institutions and on western military support in their struggle against the Ottoman Turks.[10] A new attitude emerged and produced an unflattering picture of a typical Greek scholar clutching bits and pieces of ancient manuscripts in an endless search for better circumstances. These were the homeless individuals, the men without a country, whose capital has been practically reduced to the status of a beggar client. During the course of the *quattrocento*, Europe hosted two Greek emperors and numerous emissaries of the Constantinopolitan court in search of financial and military aid. In the beginning, when Chrysoloras and Emperor Manuel II made their way to the west, to the far west, as far as the Greeks were concerned, the novelty of the spectacle of a Greek emperor visiting Italy, France, and England created a sensation and evoked pity. But as these state visits became more frequent and the accompanying requests for aid multiplied, the begging Greeks were viewed increasingly as pests than as dignified emissaries of an ancient culture that they were seeking so desperately to preserve. Furthermore, during the reigns of the last two Palaiologoi, when there was a virtual exodus of Greek intellectuals to the west, the Italians encountered a flood of Greek refugees invading their shores. At the same time Constantinople itself became totally dependent on Venice and other states for support. So extensive was the subordination of Constantinople to the west that during the siege of 1453, the Greek emperor, Constantine XI Dragaš Palaiologos, had to rely mainly on his Venetian allies and on his Genoese mercenaries to defend his city against the Turkish sultan. By then Constantine XI's capital had become a dying city. Large segments of the population had migrated elsewhere and whole neighborhoods had been abandoned. In the period before the fall, with a steadily declining population, Constantinople became a shadow of the former magnificent capital of the Middle Ages.[11] When it came to the actual defense, the emperor had few resources at hand. The west was clearly aware of these acute problems, but little was done to help the Greeks. After the fall, when Europe confronted a new configuration of states in the Levant, belated plans called for future crusades and Constantinople assumed the position that Jerusalem had enjoyed in earlier days when crusades had been fashionable. After 1453, however, the days of the crusades had subsided, and the image of the victorious Turk dominated the scene.[12]

In this general climate, marked by despondency and depression, European humanists struggled to view the fall of Constantinople in a scholarly context. While the image of the Turk as a savage barbarian continued to be employed in popular literature, a few intellectuals attempted to bring the Turks into the humanistic sphere. In time, the

Turk was rehabilitated in some circles, and was even welcomed within the world of the humanists as a long-lost relative. Since the late fourteenth century, the Turks had been viewed as descendants of the ancient Trojans. The Latin term employed to designate a Turk was not only *Turcus* but also *Teucrus*. *Teucri* was, of course, the well-known term that in his *Aeneid* the celebrated Vergil had used in antiquity for the Trojans.[13] This notion gained momentum after 1453.

The Italians were not unique in the formation of this attitude. Troy had been claimed as the ancestor of many cities in Europe, including Venice, as we shall presently see, and even the Greeks of Constantinople, with their archaizing tendencies, had always employed classical terms, which no longer held valid meaning, to indicate contemporary ethnic groups. Thus the Albanians were often styled "Illyrians"; the Slavs were called "Thracians," "Sarmatians," or "Tribalians"; the Mongols had been renamed "Scythians"; and the Hungarians were assigned the Roman appellation, "Pannonians."[14] Similarly, educated Greeks in Constantinople had long employed the classical term "Persians" for the Turks. While *Teucrus* gained momentum in the west, it should be emphasized that not all humanists accepted this equation. For example, Francesco Filelfo[15] and Nikolaos Sekoundinos, the Greco-Italian interpreter who brilliantly translated Latin conversations into Greek and Greek speeches into Latin during the Council of Florence,[16] never employed the term *Teucrus*. After the fall of Constantinople some humanists uncovered another classical connection in the sack itself. It was then said that in 1453 the Ottoman Turks avenged the sack of Troy that had taken place in antiquity, and that in 1453 Mehmed II, the Turkish sultan, acted in retaliation for the murder of Priam and his family by the Achaean Greeks of the Bronze Age.[17]

Views expressed by some defenders of Constantinople in 1453 assisted in the creation of this notion. Ubertino Pusculo, an Italian scholar and a humanist from Brescia, was an eyewitness to the events. He had traveled to Constantinople before the commencement of hostilities in order to perfect his Greek, as others had done before him,[18] following the advice of Chrysoloras, who had urged his students to visit the Greek capital if they wished to achieve proficiency in ancient Greek, which they could then put to good use and translate Greek texts into Latin. Chrysoloras, we should recall, was one of the first advocates to encourage the translation of the Greek classics. In fact, it has been observed with justification[19] that Chrysoloras was the father of translations. He did not favor the word-for-word translation, or as he called it, *verbum de verbo;* his method is better described as being translation *ad sensum*, which his students adopted. Chrysoloras' student, Leonardo Bruni, employed for the first time, as far we can see, the word *traducere* and *traductio* to indicate our term “translation.”[20]

Ubertino Pusculo became an eyewitness to the chaotic situation that preceded the siege. During the onslaught, he seems to have fought on the walls along with other Italians and during the sack he was captured by the Turks, as he himself records in a biographical couplet at the end of his work. We restate this elegiac *coda*, which furnishes the following information:[21]

*Brixia me genuit civem, Ubertinum Puscula honesta*
*gens tulit: haec ausus talia qui cecini.*
*Me Constantini studiis urbs dulcis habebat,*
*cum cecidit bello: barbara praeda fui.*

> I Ubertino, was born a citizen of Brescia. I am a member of the honest family of Pusculo. I participated in the events that I relate. I was in the pleasant city of Constantine [Constantinople] when it fell in the war. I was booty of the barbarian [Turks].

Pusculo found his way to the island of Rhodes, which was protected by the Order of the Knights of Saint John. Departing from the Hospitallers, Pusculo returned to Italy. There he sought employment in the service of an influential personality, the cardinal Santa Croce Angelo Capranica,[22] and dedicated a scholarly poem that he had written to the cardinal’s brother.

As regards his poem on the siege, Pusculo was a participant who had seen, met, and even conversed with many Italian and Greek defenders, whose activities, operations, and positions on the walls he meticulously noted in his work. Needless to say, his poem is of the utmost value for the historian. Pusculo’s work was printed in the eighteenth century,[23] but that inferior edition used only the manuscript housed in Venice’s Marciana Library. The same text, without improvements, was reprinted in the nineteenth century.[24]

Pusculo was the quintessential Renaissance scholar. As a humanist, he took care to dress his epic poem in a classical toga. In his Vergilian mode, Pusculo used consistently the term *Teucri* for the Turks, equating them with Vergil’s Trojans. Not once did he employ the term *Turci*. His description of the sack bears a strong resemblance to the sack of Troy as described by Vergil in Book IV of the *Aeneid*.

Pusculo was not the only humanist poet to present contemporary Turco-Byzantine material in classical tones. The son of Francesco Filelfo, Giovanni Mario (also cited as *Giammario* and as Ἰωάννης Μάριος by his father), wrote an epic poem, the *Amyris*, the *Emir’s Epic*. In this poem, Filelfo had praise for the Turks and for the sultan, whose title he reproduces as “emir.” The poem had been commissioned by an Anconitan merchant, Othman di Lillo Ferducci, who was very proud of his ties to the house of Sultan Murad II According to Giovanni Mario, the Turks were the descendants of the Trojans and his Vergilian hexameters suggest that they punished the Greeks for injustices perpetrated in antiquity. In his last book, however, Filelfo appears to change his mind and urges a crusade against the Turks.[25]

Thus humanists equated fifteenth-century Constantinople with ancient Troy, and in their view the Greeks of Constantinople were destined to suffer at the hands of "these modern Trojans" the indignities experienced by the ancient Trojans during the sack of their city by the Greek Achaeans. The humanists even concluded that the sack and devastation of the Greek capital in 1453 was a justified act of revenge intended to correct past injustices. Thus the circumstances of the sack of Troy and its drama were repeated.[26] Tales were then invented to accommodate this fiction, even though their details violated historical reality. The parallel was so popular that it even entered Greek humanistic circles and the last Athenian historian, Laonikos Khalkokondyles,[27] a relative of Demetrius Chalcondyles, the humanist professor in Italy, makes reference to it. Khalkokondyles probably completed his detailed account of the origin and rise of the Ottoman Turks while resident in Italy, where his own relative, Demetrios, had been well established as a successful professor of Greek in Florence.[28] Laonikos had contacts with humanistic circles, and his work echoes the popular equation in circulation without elaborate details:[29]

> …δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ ξυμφορὰ αὕτη μεγίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῷ πάθει, καὶ τῆ τῶν Ἰλίου παραπλησίαν γεγονέναι, δίκην γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἰλίου ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς Ἕλλησι – πασσυδὶ ἀπολουμένοις…τὴν τίσιν ἀφῖχθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς πάλαι ποτὲ γενομένης Ἰλίου ξυμφορᾶς.
>
> It looks as if this disaster [= the sack of Constantinople] surpassed in suffering all others throughout the world. And it was similar to the sack of Ilium [= Troy]. The Greeks were destroyed by the barbarians [= Turks]. who came to exact vengeance from the Greeks for the sack of Ilium [= Troy].

Thus the image of the Turk as an avenger of old wrongs was created. In the west, once the parallel was fashioned, more analogies and similar circumstances were sought and even created. It is clearly a case where history is forced to repeat itself, stretched out on a Procrustean bed to produce the desired image. In stories and tales that circulated after the fall, the participants in the siege and sack seem to re-enact the roles of their ancient counterparts in the sack of Troy.

Constantine XI, who had fallen in a desperate struggle against the sultan's janissaries at the Gate of Saint Romanos or nearby at the western walls,[30] appears in humanistic literature as Priam, the king of Troy who sought sanctuary in a sacred precinct during the sack, after the Greeks had descended from the horse and had opened the gates of Troy. The cold facts of history clearly and unambiguously state that Constantine XI and his courtiers perished in the vicinity of the walls in a heroic last stand. Yet historical reality was raped; facts were twisted to recreate the old story of Troy. Tales claimed that Constantine XI had perished under circumstances reminiscent of his ancient predecessor, Priam, who, in the company of his family, had fled to the temples of Zeus and Athena. It was said that on May 29, 1453, the Greek emperor, along with his wife and children, sought sanctuary in Hagia Sophia. The entire family was dispatched indoors, by the very altar of the famous church.[31] It makes no difference that the historical Constantine XI had neither wife nor children, and that he died defending his capital at the walls. This fiction is expressed in a sixteenth-century verse chronicle ascribed to Hierax, an official at the patriarchate of Constantinople, who relates the last moments of the emperor and of his supposititious wife and fictitious children:[32]

> Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος κράτωρ δέ, ὁ Δράγασις τοὐπίκλην, ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ τῷ ναῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας
>
> …
>
> καταφυγὼν ὁ δυστυχὴς σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις, μεταλαμβάνει τῶν φρικτῶν Κυρίου μυστηρίων αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ παῖδες ὁμοῦ καὶ δοῦλοι.

> The unfortunate Emperor Constantine, also known as Dragaš… sought refuge, together with his wife and children, in the Church of God's Wisdom [= Hagia Sophia]. There he, the children with him, and his servants, all partook of the awesome sacraments of the Lord.

In this account, then, death came to him and his family on sacred ground, as Priam and his family had perished on sacred ground in antiquity. Thus at some point between 1453 and 1500, a tale had been enlarged, stating that Constantine had a wife, a worthy descendant of Priam's queen Hecuba, and children. The tale was not easily dismissed by scholars of the sixteenth century. Martinus Crusius was convinced of the existence of the last empress and asked a learned official at the patriarchate to inquire further. He, however, failed to uncover any evidence, as he states in a letter to Crusius:[33] βασιλίσσης ὄνομα ὑστάτης οὐκ οἶδα. ἠρώτησα γὰρ πολλοῖς, καὶ οὐδείς μοι εἶχε ἀληθείας ῥήματα ἢ γραφὴν δεῖξαι, "I know not the last empress' name. I asked many people but no one could tell me true words or show me a written document."

Constantine XI's "wife," in another tale, survived the sack and became a concubine of the sultan, a fate many Trojan women suffered after the sack of Ilium. This tale fabricated a grand finale: the emperor's queen was pregnant and gave birth to a son of Constantine XI. This imperial prince converted to Islam and went on to become sultan of the Turks. This popular tale[34] concludes with the observation that all Osmanli Turks have Christian origins and are virtual descendants of the last Greek emperor, providing the motif for "the revenge of the vanquished":

> Ὅταν οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐπῆραν τὴν Πόλη καὶ ἐσκοτώθηκεν ὁ βασιλιᾶς μας, ὁ σουλτάνος ἐπῆρε γυναῖκά του τὴ βασίλισσα. Μὰ ἡ βασίλισσα ἦταν γγαστρωμένη μὲ τὸ βασιλιᾶ, ἔξι μηνῶν…καὶ ἐγέννησε ἡ βασίλισσα καὶ βάφτισε τὸ παιδὶ καὶ τό βγαλε Παναγῆ…κ᾽ ἐγίνηκε αὐτὸ [*sc.* τὸ παιδὶ] σουλτάνος…οἱ σουλτάνοι εἶνε σπορὰ χριστιανική.

> When the Turks took the city and our emperor was killed, the sultan married our empress. But the empress was six months' pregnant with the emperor's child… the empress gave birth and baptized the child who received the name Panages… and in time he became sultan… the sultans have Christian origins.

The humanistic reading of historical reality further affected Constantine XI. Not only was he given a wife and children in order to match the circumstances of the royal family of ancient Troy, but there is one particular description of the last Greek emperor that sought to identify him physically with the king of Troy. Adamo di Montaldo wrote an account of the fall of Constantinople sometime after 1470. Almost twenty years had elapsed since the sack and the image of Constantinople/Troy had by then been widely circulated. Adamo describes the last moments of the Greek emperor and, perhaps unwittingly, equated him with Priam when he described Constantine XI at the moment of his death as a *senex*, "an old man," a term that no other author employed to describe Constantine:[35] *Senex ut tantae calamitati subjectam jam urbem intellexit*, "the old man realized that the city was in great danger." In 1453 Constantine XI was not a young man, but even by late medieval standards he was not quite old either. The emperor had been born in 1404 or 1405 and was thus forty-nine or forty-eight years of age at the time of his death. In the climax that Adamo builds up in his narrative the equation between old Priam and the Greek emperor asserts itself and Constantine is described as *senex*. In the vast corpus of documents, literary accounts, lamentations, marginalia, and annotations dealing with the siege and the fall, Adamo remains unique in assigning old age to Constantine, while antiquity had reserved this very description for King Priam.[36]

Furthermore, the artistic record is more realistic. There are no portraits of Constantine XI depicting his true features and all artistic portrayals of the last Greek emperor are fictitious, for none was executed by an artist who had actually seen or had met Constantine. Nevertheless, the emperor is never portrayed as elderly. The famous miniatures of the Modena manuscript, which include portraits of every Byzantine emperor from Constantine the Great to Constantine XI, depict him as a man in middle age, unlike the surviving portraits of his father, Manuel II, which present him realistically as an old man, when indeed he was advanced in age.[37] Thus Constantine was transformed into Priam, as both king and emperor are identified with their cities and, more importantly, with the very death of their cities. As Ovid suggests in his poem,[38] *Troia simul Priamusque cadunt*, "Troy and Priam fell together."

Pusculo, the epic poet on the siege, who had seen Constantine with his own eyes, attempts to equate the Greek emperor with Priam, and at the same time to conjure up a Trojan image. Pusculo views the events surrounding the fall and its historical causes by means of an ancient Greek interpretation. Evidently, he thought highly of the Greek emperor and placed the blame for the loss of the city squarely on the advisors of Constantine and on their ruinous policies that brought God's wrath, the nemesis of the ancient Greeks, upon the last emperor of Constantinople. In this context he characterized the emperor as *egregius*, "distinguished," and as *felix*, "happy," whose good fortune was, in time, overwhelmed by his stubborn and hubristic refusal to bring his subjects back to the Church of Rome.[39] Constantine, in Pusculo's view, paid no heed to the frequent admonitions of Pope Nicholas V. The pope thus re-enacted the role of the Sophoclean Teiresias in the tragedy *Oedipus Rex*. In Pusculo's view, Constantine XI, like another Oedipus, becomes, as the blind seer of Thebes declares,[40] τυφλὸς τά τ᾿ ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ᾿ ὄμματα, "blind he is, in his ears, in his mind, and his eyes." Unheeded prophecies were also in evidence before the sack of Troy. In light of the dominant comparison between Troy and Constantinople, the warnings of Pope Nicholas V were presented as the modern counterpart of the divine warnings to the Trojans. Thus Pusculo states:[41]

> *Heu nimium de te vates [= pontifex] Nicolaus [V] hoc ipsum*
> *Antistes cecinit summus; dum saepe vocaret*
> *Te [sc. Constantinum], sibi praedixit tempus patriaeque tibique Hic fore;*
> *cum lacrymans: Vereor ne numen Achivis,*
> *dixit, opem neget....*

Alas, the highest prophet [= pope] Nicholas [V] most often warned

> you. He often predicted for you [*sc*. Constantine XI] that this time would come for you and your homeland. With tears in his eyes he said: “I fear lest the deity [= God] deny help to the Achaeans [= Greeks].”

The classical allusions are evident here. The pope is assigned an ancient title *vates*, usually reserved for seers and prophets.[42] This title was given to the famed priestesses and female prophets of Apollo in antiquity, and it is now assigned to the pontiff of the Vatican. At this point, we might recall Cassandra, the famous prophetess of Troy, who warned the Trojans about Helen and who predicted the coming disaster a number of times. She was the daughter of King Priam and she had been loved by the god of prophecy, Apollo.[43] Since Cassandra refused Apollo’s favors, the god deprived her of persuasion and her warnings were never taken seriously. A late epic poet, Quintus Smyrnaeus, whose manuscript, the *Codex Hydruntinus*, was discovered by Cardinal Bessarion in a convent at Otranto in Calabria, explains it in the following manner:[44]

> Οἵη δ᾿ ἔμπεδον ἦτορ ἔχεν πινυτόν τε νόημα / Κασσάνδρη, τῆς οὔποτ᾿ ἔπος γένετ᾿ ἀκράαντον, / ἀλλ᾿ ἐτήτυμον ἔσκεν· ἀκούετο δ᾿ ἔκ τινος αἴσης / ὡς ἀνεμώλιον αἰέν, ἵν᾿ ἄλγεα Τρωσὶ γένηται.
>
> Cassandra had a strong heart and a sound mind, and her words always came true. But, by decree of Fate, they were always like an empty wind, so that grief might come to the Trojans.

The fate of Cassandra during the sack of Troy was told in a popular poem of antiquity, entitled Ἰλίου Πέρσις. It was part of the epic cycle that dealt extensively with the Trojan war, of which Homer’s *Iliad* was only a segment, and was in fact the concluding poem of the cycle. Although this poem has not survived *in toto*,[45] there are numerous references to it in Greek and Latin literature, and the frequent depictions of the events it describes in art suggest that it enjoyed immense popularity. The poem dealt with the conclusion to the Trojan Cycle and also provides a transition to the next cycle, the Νόστοι or *Returns*, which give accounts of the unhappy homecoming of most Achaean victors. The *Odyssey* was part of that cycle. An ancient prose summary of the Ἰλίου Πέρσις. survives and furnishes an outline of the events that are of interest to us. During the sack of Troy, Cassandra, we are told, ran into Athena’s temple seeking sanctuary and embraced the statue of Athena. Ajax, one of the Greek warriors, pulled her off the statue and raped her before the statue of Athena on sacred ground.[46] The event is frequently depicted in ancient art.[47] This sacrilege committed by Ajax angered Athena, who abandoned her support of the Greeks. She prepared for them an unfortunate homecoming, as the surviving ancient summary of Proclus indicates: ἔπειτα ἀποπλέουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ…μηχανᾶται, "then the Greek sailed away and Athena… devised their destruction." The rape of Cassandra during the sack was apparently a climactic episode in this lost poem and one of the events that emphasized the horrible fate reserved for the inhabitants of Troy.

The humanists who had observed a parallel in the sack of Troy to the contemporary sack of Constantinople also sought to isolate an echo of the incident involving Cassandra. The problem, of course, was that there had been no Cassandra in 1453. After all, Constantine XI did not have a daughter. The echo had to be invented. Consequently, a *quattrocento* Cassandra made her entrance into the records of the period. The earliest notice of her is encountered in a German source. Two refugees from the sack of 1453 gave a *relazione* of the event. Their names were apparently Thomas Eparkhos and Joseph Diplovatazes, as we may restore the actual Greek names behind the transmitted and corrupted forms in the conclusion of the document. The two refugees report a tale[48] involving a fictitious daughter of the emperor:[49]

> *Item: als er nu erfur daz der Keisser zu Constantinopel erslagen waz, do nam er den grossen herzogen der an dez Keissers Stat was und slug seinem Kinden dem Knaben dis Kopf ab, dar nach im selber auch Kopf ab. Da nach, nam er sein Tochter, gar eine schone, und legt sie auf dem hohen Altar Sant Sophia und ein Crucifix unter ir haubt, und lebt da mit unzuchtiglichen.*
>
> Item: When now he [Constantine XI], who had been the emperor of Constantinople, was killed, he [*sc*. Mehmed II] then took the grand duchess of the imperial state who was with child, a son of the crown, to whom the title was given. Afterward, he [*sc*. Mehmed II] took his daughter, a very beautiful [girl], led her on to the high altar of Hagia Sophia and before a crucifix married her and lived with her unchastely.

The same tale is also taken into account in a letter composed a few months after the sack by Filippo da Rimini, who was the Venetian chancellor on the island of Corfu. At the end of 1453, da Rimini wrote a short account of the fall to a friend in Italy. His narrative presents only the bare facts of the siege.[50] Yet in the section on the sack da Rimini reserves a few sentences for the following incident:[51]

> *Cum enim victoria tumens Teucrorum rex omnia quaereret quibus*

> *animum suum expleret ad obpropria omnis generis inferenda sanctae religioni nostrae, celeberrimum Sophiae fanum profanandum prae ceteris cum duxisset, ibi immitis bestia ab miti virgine pudorem extorquens gloriatus est tum ultum Troianae virginis vicem in templo Palladis defloratae.*
>
> The king [= sultan] of the Turks, excited with his victory, gave vent to his urges and committed unspeakable deeds of all sorts against our religion. In the most famous Church of Hagia Sophia he, like a savage beast, deflowered a chaste virgin and he glorified [his act] by saying that it was his revenge for the Trojan virgin who had been deflowered in the temple of Pallas [Athena].

Da Rimini links the carnage of 1453 to the sack of Troy and views it as an act of revenge. In order to create an exact parallel to the ancient tale, da Rimini's anonymous virgin had to be transformed into the daughter of the emperor; after all, Cassandra was King Priam's daughter. The only problem with this parallelism was that Constantine XI did not have any daughters. Da Rimini most probably was aware of this fact and went no further. Yet other humanists in the west had no qualms about inventing, consciously or unconsciously, an imperial princess. Soon after the sack, Matthieu d'Escouchy, probably following up on rumors that escalated through Eparkhos' *relazione*, reports that the Turks committed numerous atrocities and that Sultan Mehmed II raped the daughter of Constantine XI. D'Escouchy provides graphic details and states that Mehmed II did his utmost to persuade this Greek princess to convert to Islam, but she preferred death to apostasy. By his order she was then stripped and decapitated. Her head was dispatched to her surviving uncle.[52] There is further elaboration. Matthias Doring enters the following note in his continuation of Engelhaus' *Chronicle*, stating that the sultan raped the daughter of the emperor on the very altar of Hagia Sophia:[53]

> *Imperator Turcorum…cepit eam* [*sc. Constantinopolim*] *et populum redegit in servitutem imperatoremque et filium et filiam captivos duxit ad ecclesiam magnam Sancte Zophie, in cuius altari, prout famabatur, filiam stupravit patre et fratre inspicientibus; quo facto et patrem et filium et filiam immaniter in frusta concidi iussit.*
>
> The emperor [= sultan] of the Turks seized it [Constantinople] and enslaved its population. He led the emperor, his son, and his daughter to the great church of Hagia Sophia. It is said that on its very altar he violated the daughter while her father and brother looked on. Next he savagely ordered the father, the son, and the daughter to be dismembered.

A similar report is also found in Leonardo Benvoglienti. In this account the most noble virgin is raped together with her brother on the altar and then they both are put to death:[54]

> *Aiunt, qui praesentes fuere, spurcissimum illum Turchorum ducem… apud summam aram sanctae Sophiae propalam videntibus omnibus nobilissimam virginem etfratrem eius adolescentem regalis sanguinis constuprasse ac deinde necari iussisse*.
>
> Those who were present relate that the most foul lord of the Turks [= sultan]… ordered a most noble virgin and her young brother, members of the imperial family, to be violated. Then they were killed on the highest altar of Hagia Sophia, in public, before all.

Thus a Cassandra was discovered in 1453. The parallelism is striking. This purported daughter of Constantine XI was brought to Hagia Sophia, the most esteemed of churches in Constantinople. She was then raped on the very altar, as Cassandra had sought sanctuary in a temple in Troy and was raped in the vicinity of the statue of the goddess, or even on top of it, according to some accounts. Furthermore, both Priam in antiquity and Constantine in the *quattrocento* were believed to be present at the scene. The iconography of a daughter being violated before the eyes of her own father is a familiar theme for us from antiquity. While most literary texts suggest that Priam was killed at the temple of Zeus before Cassandra was raped in the temple of Athena, ancient artists brought the two incidents together, adding more pathos to the scene by portraying the rape of the daughter before her old father.[55] The situation in 1453 is similar.

Constantine XI, the last Greek emperor of Constantinople, has always been a popular figure in Greek folklore. After the sack and in the ensuing centuries of the Μαρμαρωμένος Βασιλιάς, the centuries of Turkish domination, the tragic figure of the last emperor was the subject of a great number of tales. He became, in the folklore of the enslaved Greeks, an avenger who was destined to return in order to lay claim to his empire. According to these tales, Constantine was snatched from his doom by an angel of the Lord and was turned into stone to become the Τουρκοκρατία, “the emperor who was turned into stone” of folk tales. These popular stories state that he went to sleep in a stone chamber in the vicinity of the walls, awaiting the same angel to return from heaven at the appropriate time to awaken him and give him back his sword in order to recover Constantinople from the Turks.[56] The endless elaborations within these stories is understandable, as the Greeks nostalgically looked back upon a lost period of independence.[57] What is interesting here is that the west and its humanists also contributed to the dissemination of this legend, for they saw in the sack of Constantinople in 1453 a replay of the ancient drama. Thus the legend presents us with an almost international basis, as western humanists unwittingly contributed to its development.

The historian might ask: what of the real Constantine XI? History, in his circumstance, has been affected by a story that reaches all the way back into antiquity, and adds the unhappy predicament of another city, and the fate of its ruling family, to Constantine's own dramatic circumstances. Constantine eventually becomes identified with an image of national resurrection, who, the tales declare, will be literally revived and will lead an army of Greeks to vanquish their oriental foe. Troy was destroyed in antiquity by the Achaean Greeks. In 1453 Constantinople was destroyed by the "descendants of the Trojans," a notion that became popular and was even exploited by Sultan Mehmed II, who styled himself as "the avenger" appointed by God:[58]

> καὶ ἀφικόμενος [*sc.* Mehmed II] ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον κατεθεᾶτο τά τε ἐρείπια τούτου καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῆς παλαιᾶς πόλεως Τροίας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν θέσιν…προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τοὺς τάφους ἱστόρει, Ἀχιλλέως τέ φημι καὶ Αἴαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἐπῄνεσε καὶ ἐμακάρισε τούτους τῆς τε μνήμης καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὅτι ἔτυχον ἐπαινέτου Ὁμήρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ· ὅτε καὶ λέγεται καὶ μικρὸν συγκινήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπεῖν· "ἐμὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς οἰκητόρων ἐν τοσούτοις περιόδοις ἐτῶν ἐκδικητὴν ἐταμιεύετο ὁ θεός…."

> And when he [= Sultan Mehmed II] came to Ilium [= Troy] he viewed its ruins and the remnants of the ancient city of Troy, its size and its position …in addition, he spoke of the tombs of the heroes, of Achilles, of Ajax, and of the others, I mean, whom he called "blessed" because of their lasting fame and of their deeds and because they were praised by the poet Homer. It is related that he nodded his head and said: "After the passage of so many years, God appointed me to be the avenger of this city of its inhabitants…."

Yet Constantine, it was prophesied, would return in person, as Mehmed II had appeared to avenge Priam. The old tale demanded that Greeks become Trojans and that Turks become Greeks. In time the Greeks would come back once more to remove the modern Trojans. It is a confusing tale of reversing identities; yet it is based on a system of balances in the universe, as the Olympian gods had ordered long ago and as the humanists demanded in the *quattrocento*.

Finally, we should not overlook a similar circumstance that also transformed the only active European ally of Constantinople in 1453 into a relative of the Turks. Venice, which had been instrumental in the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204, had become by 1453 the only firm ally of the Greek emperor and had supplied troops, ships, and provisions for the spirited defense against the Turks.[59] In its state propaganda, Venice had always emphasized its traditional ties with Byzantium in an effort to raise her prestige throughout the Middle Ages. After all, Venice was in the extreme minority: an Italian city-state that could not boast of Roman origins. This situation, however, was remedied by scholars and humanists who were feverishly seeking an academic solution; in fact, this scholarly elaboration had begun long before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Eventually, it was concluded, Venice had true Trojan origins and her territory had been settled by Trojan refugees who had fled from the sack of their city back in the Bronze Age. This fiction was first propagated in the twelfth century by the anonymous authors of the *Chronicon Gradense* and the *Chronicon Altense* (collectively known as *Origo civitatum Itali[a]e seu Venetiarum*), which proposed, as the founding father of the Venetians, the Trojan Antenor himself. This connection was further reinforced by a folk etymology, seeking a linguistic link between the word "Venetian" (*Venetici* or *Enetici*) with the Trojan refugee and founder of Rome, Aeneas.[60] A poem by Pace da Ferrara, composed *ca*. 1300, provides a full treatment of Venice's glorified Trojan past:[61]

*Tutus ad Adriaticas veniens Anthenor in oras*
*Providus Illyrici coepit amoena sinus.*
*Euganeosque fugans, Henetos, Troasque locavit,*
*Et Venetum genti nomen utrique dedit*
*Pluraque cum starent Venetae fundamina gentis,*
*Tentavit pelagi subdere iura sibi.*
*Urbs quoque paulatim mediis fundatur in undis*....

> Antenor [from Troy] arrived safely on the shores of the Adriatic / and with foresight he settled the pleasant bays of the Illyrian Sea. / He drove out the Euganeans and settled the Eneti [= Venetians] and the Trojans, / and named both people "Venetians." / After the foundations of the Venetian nation were established, / he tried to bring the laws of the sea under his control. / Gradually a city was established in the middle of the waves..

By the mid-fourteenth century this notion had already spread, as a German traveler, Ludolf von Südheim, declared in his travel book that *Venetia ex lapidibus Troiae est aedificata*, "Venice has been built with stones from Troy."[62]

What has been designated[63] the "irrefutable proof" of Venice's Trojan ancestry was finally produced in a grand manner soon afterwards, in the 1360s, when the miniaturist Giustino di Gherardino da Forlì lavishly decorated a manuscript containing the legend of the Trojan ancestry and further illustrated the *Historia Troiana* by Guido de Columnis (delle Colonne).[64] In his miniatures the Achaean Greeks are identified with the contemporary Greeks of Constantinople, as they wear Byzantine dress and bear the well-known hat favored by Greek emperors in the late Palaiologan era, the so-called σκιάδιον, while the Trojans bear the Phrygian cap and display eastern, or even Mongol, battle gear.

Thus an interesting situation emerges as far as the historical record is concerned: the Byzantine Greeks, the descendants of the Bronze Age Achaeans, are defended in 1453 by the descendants of their ancient enemies, the Venetian Trojans, who are the progeny of Antenor. They are waging war against the Turks, also the descendants of the ancient Trojans, who have come to avenge the rape of Troy. Thus Constantinople is transformed into medieval Troy and the process will be repeated in the remote future, as millennial lore and popular prophecies assert that the Greeks will also return and will recover Constantinople. We are confronting a complicated picture with role reversals in which ancient victims demand justice and “new” victims will avenge themselves in the future, all swimming in a sea of confusion that involves ancestors, origins, and motives. How could such a confusing humanistic panel co-exist with the actual historical reality? Somehow it did and it even inspired future generations.

Was it because the sack of Constantinople in 1453 amounted to the greatest act of vengeance over the fate that another city had experienced in antiquity, whose story forms the foundation for western literature? Was it perhaps because such battles transcend the boundaries of time, as the human mind finds fascination with scenes that eliminate one army in a single day? A number of examples come to mind effortlessly, in addition to the sack of Troy itself: the Spartan Leonidas and his three hundred against the Persian hordes at Thermopylae, or even General George Armstrong Custer at the Little Big Horn? Or was it because the human mind would like to see a repetition of old events, as the past seems to prefigure the future and human beings demand that history repeat itself?

No matter what the answers are, for the Greeks under the Ottoman Turks, the last emperor of medieval Hellas refused to die. Like Priam of old, he lost his family and his city. In time, the Wheel of Fortune (or has it been transformed into the Wheel of History?) will turn and the last emperor will return to complete his interrupted reign. Constantine Palaiologos refuses to die and his last heroic act before the ancient fortifications of Constantinople on May 29, 1453, will be to mount a steed and ride into the realm of mythology, to a Greek Avalon. There he will await the καιρὸς, the proper time, when an angel from heaven will descend and will give him back his sword to reclaim his city. He is not dead but sleeping and his myth declares that he will be revived. As the Turk avenged Troy, Constantine XI will avenge Constantinople, and all will be again as it once was.

In the folk mind this is the turn of the “Wheel of History.” Or has it been transformed into the “Wheel of Mythology?” Myth and wishful thinking by humanists preoccupied with antiquity remade Constantine XI into Priam with a twist: the new Priam would come back. Constantine XI in the guise of Priam even advances to the heroic pedestal, equal in stature to that of Arthur of Britain, of Barbarossa, or of a messiah. So too, a grand fantasy emerges, put together by people who could see no immediate salvation but had to rely on the prophecies and on the glories of the past. We are clearly confronting the nucleus of a potent myth that attracted to itself, over the subsequent centuries, ancient Mediterranean notions of death and resurrection. It further adapted contemporary attitudes to its fabric and blossomed with national aspirations and unrealistic dreams of recreating the lost grandeur of the medieval Greek empire of Rome. This tale offers a rewarding myth that understands the past as future and condemns the future to repeat the past. And myths, as we all know, seldom lie.

## II. Prophecies, Omens, Signs, and Portents

Another factor played a part during the siege and greatly affected both the defenders and the attackers in a similar manner. It contributed its share to the general climate and colored the atmosphere accordingly. In modern terms this factor would have been considered part of psychological warfare and morale. In 1453, it was seen as divine will that manifested itself in various forms in order to indicate the course of events and to foretell the future. All affected parties took advantage of it, and it resulted in increasing or reducing the morale of both sides at various times. Belief in, even addiction to, prophecies was one of the major characteristics of western and eastern society in the Middle Ages, but among the Greeks it had assumed marked proportions, especially as the millennial empire was grinding to a halt.[65]

Some prophecies are ancient; others are clearly *vaticinia post eventum*. But all of them have preserved for us a rich folklore that allows an insight into the folk psyche of those difficult times, especially among the defenders. One of the most ancient strata takes us all the way back to the Justinianic era,[66] itself an age that proved fertile ground for the sowing of miracle stories and legends. Procopius, the historian and a contemporary of Justinian I, was already aware of such tales growing around the bronze equestrian statue of this emperor in the seventh century.[67] This colossal statue of Justinian I was erected at the Forum of Augustus. It portrayed Justinian in the imperial stance: his left hand held the *orbus* or *globus crucifix*, while his right arm pointed to the east. Procopius preserved the early interpretation of the symbolism involved in this work of art:[68] the orb stood for the world and the cross on it for the power over the world granted to the Byzantine emperor by God.[69] The gesture of the right arm was taken as a sign that the emperor would put a stop to the advance of the eastern barbarians.[70]

In the following centuries this original explanation was modified to suit new circumstances. After the Persian threat had been obliterated along with the Sassanid state, the raised arm of Justinian I was supposed to indicate that the Muslim Arabs would advance no farther. And later, when the Turks emerged as the major threat to the Greek state, a new version of the same gesture appeared.[71] By the second quarter of the fifteenth century the *orbus* had fallen to the ground and it was commonly referred to as “the apple,” whose fall was seen as an omen predicting the loss of Greek territory and the growing might of the Turks.[72]

Understandably, elements in this interpretation also found appeal among the Turks, who modified the tale of the apple even further, turning it into their own legend of “the red apple,” the *kizil elma*.[73] For them the “apple” symbolized political and military supremacy over Christian infidels. Among the Greeks, however, “the red apple” was understood as a reference to the place of origin of the Ottoman Turks, thought to be located far away in the interior of the Asiatic continent. Thus the mythical cradle of the Turks came to be known among the Greeks as “the lone apple tree.” And of this place the anonymous author of an early lamentation on the fall of Constantinople in 1453 was aware:[74]

> Καὶ νὰ δοξάζεται Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης,
> Κι οἱ ἀσεβεῖς νὰ σφάζουνται καὶ νἄχουν πόνον μέγαν,
> Παντάπα νὰ ᾽ξεριζωθοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν ῾Ρωμανίαν,
>
> …
> Νὰ ᾽πᾶσιν ἀπεκεῖ ποὺ ἦλθαν ἕως Μονοδενδρίου….

> Let Christ, the king of glory, be glorified. / Let the impious [= the Turks] be slaughtered and experience great pain. / Let them be totally uprooted from Romania [= the Greek empire] / … / Let them go back to their place of origin, as far away as the lone tree….

Another ancient legend was even heard by the Castilian Pero Tafur, who visited Constantinople in 1437–1438.[75] Tafur relates an interesting yarn in relation to the siege of Constantinople in 1422 by Murad II:[76]

> *Dizen que vino el Turco á la çercar é la tuvo en grant estrecho…é toda vía el Turco continuando en su propósito, dizen que vieron por ençima del muro andar un onbre á cavallo, é preguntó á un griego, que allí tenía preso, ¿qué maravilla era aquella que cada noche veyen aquel cavallero por en?a de las almenas yr corriendo á cavallo é armado? Dixo: señor, los griegos dizen que creen que, quando Constantino edificó esta yglesia, andavan en la lavor della muchas gentes…é que un dia…quel maestro mayor mandó á un niño…aguardar las ferramientas; é que, quendando allí, le apres?#x00F3; un onbre á cavallo muy fermoso é le dixo: … anda, non ayas miedo, que yo te prometo que yo guarde la yglesia é la çibdat fasta que tú vengas; é qué niño se fué, é despues, con miedo que uvo de amena? que le fizieron, nunca bolvió, ansí que quedó el cavallero en guarda de la promesa que fizo. É este se dize que es el Angel….*

> They say that the Turk [Murad II] came and greatly oppressed the city…and as the Grand Turk went on with his attempt, they told

> him that they had seen a man riding a horse on the wall and he then asked a Greek captive what this marvel was which they saw every night, an armed horseman riding on the fortifications. He said: Lord: so the Greeks say. When Constantine built his church, he used many people as his laborers and one day the master-builder ordered a child who was there to guard the implements. He did as he was told. A very handsome man on a horse appeared to him and said: '...Go without fear and I promise you that I will guard the church and the city until you return.' The child did so, and a very handsome man on horseback appeared and the child left but did not return at all, because he feared punishment. And so the horseman remained in accordance with the promise that he had made. And they say that he was an angel....

Tafur wrote this account long after his visit and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. He concludes this passage with an indirect comment on the later siege of 1453: *...pero poderse ía dezir agora quel niño era venido, é el Angel avíe dexado su guarda, pues todo es tomado é ocupadó pero por aquella vez el Turco se partió*..., '...yet it can be said now that the child had come back and that the angel has left his post, for the city has been captured and is under occupation; but back then the Turk departed....' Similarly, echoes of the same popular legend are encountered in an anonymous Greek lamentation on the fall of Constantinople in 1453:[77]

Ὁ κόσμος τῆς Ἁγιᾶς Σοφιᾶς, τὰ πέπλα τῆς τραπέζας,
τῆς παναγίας, τῆς σεπτῆς, τὰ καθιερωμένα,
τὰ σκεύη τὰ πανάγια καὶ ποῦ νὰ καταντῆσαν·
Ἄρα ἔβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὡς ἦτον τεταγμένος,
ὅστις καὶ ἔταξεν ποτὲ τοῦ πάλαι νεανίσκου·
Εἶπεν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι ἕως ὅτου νὰ ἔλθῃς.
Ὁ νεανίας ἔρχεται, ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπῆλθεν.

> The decorations of Hagia Sophia, the consecrated covers of the all-holy altar, the all-holy vessels, where did they end up? Was the angel watching, as he had been instructed to do, the one who long ago had promised the young man by saying: 'I will not leave before you return.' The young man has returned; the angel has departed.

Twenty-six years after Murad's siege, in the reign of Constantine XI, George Scholarios, the leader of the anti-unionists' faction in Constantinople and the first patriarch (Gennadios II) under the Ottoman sultan, had occasion to recall this "miracle" of 1422. He insisted that God could be prevailed upon to perform the same miracle once more, if the Greeks repented and turned away from the Latin Church by repudiating the union that had been declared in Florence in 1439. The defensive program that Scholarios suggested to save Constantinople in 1453 concerned divine intervention. In a letter to the emperor he recalls the events of 1422 and then puts forth his "plan": all-night vigils, chanting, and the burning of incense.[78]

Among the defenders, Cardinal Isidore, who had a lively interest in the occult,[79] also preserved for us some tales that were of interest to him. Isidore links the destruction of the walls by artillery to a prophecy that predicted the fall of Constantinople:[80]

> *Tunc autem intelleximus perfectum esse atque impletum vetus oraculum, quod diu nostris annalibus servatum est, dicens: "Vae tibi, civitas septicollis, cum te adolescens obsederit, et tua moenia fortissima demolita fuerint."*
>
> Then we understood that the ancient oracle had been fulfilled and had come to its completion. It has been preserved in our chronicles and declares: "Woe to you, city of the Seven Hills, when a young man will lay siege to you and your mighty walls will be demolished."

Isidore also refers to another prophecy that must have become timely immediately after the sack and the death of Constantine XI:[81]

> *Animadverte, quaeso…qualis et quanta fuerit illustrissimi Constantine dictae Urbis fundatoris…quae sicut ab ipso Constantino, Elenae filio, fuit tunc fundata, ita nunc ab ipso Constantino, alterius Elenae filio, miserabiliter est amissa.*
>
> I ask you to consider the beauty and magnitude of the city that had been named after its founder, the most illustrious Constantine…it had been founded in antiquity by Constantine himself, the son of Helena. And now it has been miserably lost by Constantine himself, the son of another Helena.

Barbaro, who also alludes to the same prophecy, confirms that this coincidence was not just the product of Isidore's interest in the occult:[82]

> *L'altra profetia che dixe, quanto che el se troverà uno imperador che abia nome Costantino, fio d'Elena, soto quelo imperio el se perderà Costantinopoli.*
>
> Another prophecy declared that in the reign of an emperor called

> Constantine, the son of Helena, Constantinople would be lost.

In addition, Nestor-Iskander also mentions the prophecy:[83] И збысться реченное: Ко[н]стянтиномъ създася и паки Ко[н]стянтиномъ и скончася, “and the prophecy came to pass: ‘A Constantine created it and once again a Constantine ended it.’”

Other prophecies also declared that the end of a millennium was fast approaching. Nestor-Iskander has preserved one that supposedly dates back to the origins of the city. It declares that the city’s end has been prefigured at its very foundation. Nestor-Iskander speaks of a duel between an eagle and a snake[84] that was observed by Constantine the Great and his master builders:[85]

> И се змий внезаапу вышедъ изъ норы, потече по мѣсту, и абіе свыше орелъ спадъ змія похвати и полетѣ на высоту, а змій начатъ укрѣплятись въкругъ орла. Цесарь же и вси людіе бяху зряще на орла и на змію; орелъ же възлетѣвъ изъ очью на долгъ часъ и паки явися инзлетающь и паде съ зміемъ на тожъ место, понеже одоленъ бысть отъ змія.

> And this snake suddenly came out of a hole and raced over the place. At the same moment, an eagle having escaped from aloft descended, snatched the snake, and flew on high. But the snake began to gather its strength around the eagle. The emperor and all the people observed the eagle and the snake. Having flown from sight for a long time, the eagle appeared again flying low and fell with the snake on that place, because it had overpowered the snake.

Those present managed to capture the eagle and to kill the snake.[86] Then Nestor-Iskander explains the meaning of this ominous sign. It predicts the fall of Constantinople and its eventual recovery by the Christians:[87]

> …и бысть цесарь во ужасѣ велицемъ, и созвавъ книжинки и мудреци сказа имъ знаменіе, они же поразсудивъ сказаша цесарю: се мѣсто Сед[ь]мохолмыи наречется и прославит[ь]ся и возвеличит[ь]ся въ всей вселеннѣй паче иных градовъ, но понеже станеть межи дву морь, и бьенъ будеть волнами морьскими, — поколебнимъ будеть. А орелъ — знаменіе крестянское, а змій — знаменіе бесерменское, и понеже змій одолѣ орла, являетъ, яко бесерманство одолѣтъ хрестьянства. А понеже крестьяане зміа убиша, а орла изымаша, являетъ, яко напослѣдокъ пакы хрестьянство одолѣетъ бесермерменства и Сед[ь]мохолмаго пріимутъ, и въ немъ въцарят[ь]ся.

> The emperor was in great dread. He summoned his scribes and sages, to whom he recounted the sign. They deliberated and gave their interpretations to the emperor: This place will be called Seven Hills and will be glorified and exalted above other cities throughout

> the world. But, since it stands between two seas, it will be struck by the waves of the seas; it will be shaken. The eagle is a sign of Christianity while the snake is a sign of the non-Orthodox. Since the snake overpowered the eagle, it reveals how Mohammedanism will overwhelm Christianity. But since the Christians killed the snake and captured the eagle, it reveals how again in the end Christianity will overpower Mohammedanism, will receive the Seven Hills, and will be enthroned in it.

Throughout his narrative, Nestor-Iskander utilizes apocalyptic tales that ultimately derive from Methodios of Patara and Leo the Wise, sources that were also popular in Kievan Rus', with profound implications for later Russian annalistic writings.[88] More important for our purposes are Nestor-Iskander's observations on a sign predicting doom, as it must derive from his original diary and is part of the lore of the siege of 1453:[89]

> Въ 20 же первый день маіа, грѣхъ ради нашихъ, бысть знаменіе страшно въ градѣ: нощи убо противъ пятка освятися градъ весь, и видѣвши стражи, течаху видѣти бывшее, чааху бо Турки зажгоша градъ, и вскликаше веліимъ гласомъ. Собравшимжеся людемъ множѣмъ, видѣша у великіа-церкви Премудрости Божіа у верха изъ воконъ пламеню огненну велію изшедшу, окруживщу всю шею церковную на длъгъ часъ. И собрався пламень въ едино пременися пламень, и бысть, яко свѣтъ неизреченный, и абіе взятся на небо. Онѣмъ же зрящимъ начаша плакати грько въпіюще: Господи помилуй! Свѣту же оному достигшу до небесъ, отверзошася двери небесныя, и пріявше свѣтъ, пакы затворишась.

> On the twenty-first day of May there was, for our sins, a frightful sign in the city. As a consequence, on the eve of Friday, the entire city was illuminated. The sentinels, who saw the light, ran to see what had happened, for they were under the impression that the Turks were burning the city. They cried with a great voice. Many people gathered and saw on the Church of the Wisdom [= Hagia Sophia], at the top of the window, a large flame of fire issuing forth. It encircled the entire neck of the church for a long time. The flame gathered into one; its flame altered, and there was an indescribable light. At once it took to the sky. Those who had seen it were benumbed. They began to wail and cried out in Greek: "Lord have mercy!" The light itself has gone up to heaven; the gates of heaven were opened; the light was received; and again they were closed.

Nestor-Iskander then states that the imperial court, along with the population, became very frightened upon viewing this portent and the emperor asked the "patriarch"[90] for his interpretation. The patriarch replied that the departure of the light for heaven signified that "God's grace and generosity have gone from us. God wishes to hand over our city to the enemy.”[91] Then Nestor-Iskander goes on to identify the light with the Holy Spirit and notes the general confusion within the city:[92] Во второй же день, егда услышаше людіе отшествіе святаго Духа, абіе растаяшася вси, и нападе на нихъ страхъ и трепетъ, “on the second day, when the people heard of the departure of the Holy Spirit, all became stupefied; fear and alarm fell upon them.”

The departure of the Holy Spirit must have been on the mind of the besieged. Kritoboulos, who was not an eyewitness, but had spoken to participants in the siege on both sides, also makes mention of “the departure of the deity” but he does not associate it with the light surrounding Hagia Sophia as mentioned by Nestor-Iskander.[93] Kritoboulos associates it with an unusual darkness that fell upon the city for an entire day:[94]

> …τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἕωθεν νέφος βαθὺ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν περιεκάλυψεν ἀπὸ πρωΐας βαθείας ἕως ἑσπέρας. Τοῦτο πάντως ἐδήλου τὴν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν τελείαν ταύτης ἐγκατάλειψιν καὶ ἀποστροφὴν· νέφει γὰρ τὸ θεῖον κρυπτόμενον καὶ παραγίνεται καὶ πάλιν ἀπέρχεται. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω. Καὶ ἀπιστείτω μηδείς· πλεῖστοι γὰρ οἱ τούτων μάρτυρές τε θεαταὶ τῶν ξένων καὶ ἀστῶν.
>
> …on the following [day], at daybreak a deep cloud covered the entire city from very early in the morning until evening. This sign declared everywhere that the deity had departed from the city. She was left totally by herself as the deity irrevocably turned away from her. When the deity comes or goes away, it does so within a cloud. And so it happened. Let no one doubt it. There are so many witnesses, both residents and foreigners.

This darkness mentioned by Kritoboulos is also described by Nestor-Iskander, with a number of varying details. Most importantly, it occurred in the evening. Once more the clerics were frightened and became convinced that the fate of the city had been sealed:[95]

> И яко уже о седмой године тоя ночи, начатъ наступати надъ градом т[ь]ма веліа: воздуху убо на аерѣ огустившуся, нависеся надъ градомъ плачевнымъ образомъ ниспущаше аки слезы капли велицы, подобные величествомъ и взоромъ буйвалному оку, черлѣ̀ны, и терпяху на земли на долгъ часъ, яко удивитися всѣмъ людемъ, и въ тузѣ велицѣй и во ужасѣ быти. Патріархъ же Анастасіе вскорѣ събравъ весь клирикъ и синклитъ, поиде къ цесарю и рече ему, Свѣтлѣйшлй цесарю, вся прежереченная о градѣ семъ добрѣ вѣси, тако и отшествіе святаго Духа видѣ.
>
> And when it was seven o’clock that night, a great darkness began to gather over the city; the air in the atmosphere thickened. Descending as deplorable figures to the size of tear drops, like

> glances from the majestic buffalo, it hung over the city. Bright red, it lingered on the ground for a long time. In fright and great sorrow did all of the people observe [it]. Soon afterwards, Patriarch Athanasios gathered all clerics and the senate, went to the emperor, and said to him: "Most serene emperor: You know everything about the aforementioned seventh good city. So you saw the departure of the Holy Spirit."

The most organized account of the portents can be found in Barbaro. The Venetian physician reports most of the tales that were known to him and he further observes that the fall of the city could only occur when three signs had been observed:[96]

> *Et anche l'eterno Dio volse dar questa cordial sententia per adimplir tute profetie antiche, e masima la prima profetia, che fè san Costantin, el qual xe a cavalo suxo una colona aprexo de la giexia de Santa Sofia de questa zità, che profetia con la man, e dixe: "De qua vignerà chi me desfarà," mostrando la Natolia, zoè la Turchia. L'altra profetia che dixe, quando che el se troverà uno imperador che abia nome Costantin, fio d'Elena, soto quelo imperio el se perderà Costantinopoli; l'altra profetiza che dixe: "quando la luna farà signal in cielo, de lì a pochi zorni i Turchi averà Costantinopoli;" sì che tute tre queste profetie si son stade, zoè i Turchi passò la Gretia, el se ha trovado l'imperador che ha nome Costantin fio d'Elena, la luna hano fato signal in zielo, tuto son adimplido, sì che Dio cusì hano determinado de dar questa cussì fata sententia contra cristiani, e masima contra l'imperio de Costantin.…*

> And yet the eternal God wished to pronounce this cruel sentence to fulfill all the ancient prophecies and especially the first prophecy that was foretold by Saint Constantine, who stands mounted on his horse on a column near the Church of Hagia Sophia and prophesies with a gesture of his arm and says: "This is the way my conqueror will come," as he points towards Anatolia, that is to say Turkey. The other prophecy states that when an emperor with the name of Constantine, the son of Helena, is enthroned in the empire, Constantinople will be lost. And the other prophecy declares that the Turks will seize Constantinople a few days after the moon gives a sign in the sky. So now the three prophecies have been fulfilled. That is to say, the Turks have crossed into Greece, the emperor whose name is Constantine and he is the son of Helena, has been enthroned, and the moon has given a sign in the sky. All the prophecies have been fulfilled and God decided to pronounce His fatal verdict against the Christians and especially against the empire of Constantine.…

Indeed one may observe that Barbaro's citations of prophecies of doom in the narrative are related in direct proportion to his own forebodings. The earlier part of his narrative avoids any predictions or quotations of oracles. In fact the first time he mentions a prophecy is after twenty-six printed pages of his narrative, and marks the date of April 21 in his account.[97] Gradually, as his despair increases, he begins to cite signs of divine wrath. His remarks on the intervention of the divine increase as we approach the end of the siege and probably reflect his psychological condition. His attitude could probably match the psychological profile of other defenders. He mentions again a divine prophecy in connection with the operations of May 12. On that night the Turks launched a serious attack upon the sector of the Blakhernai but were repelled precisely because it was not the appropriate time for the prophecy to be fulfilled:[98]

> *A dì dodexe pur < de = mazo a l'ora de la meza note vene a le mure del palazo, da Turchi cinquanta milia ben in ordene, circondando tuto el palazo de questi cani Turchi con grandisimi cridori segondo lor so costume, e cusì de sonari de nacare e de tamburli; i diti Turchi per questa note i dè una granda bataia a le mure de questo palazo, che quaxi la maxor parte de queli de la tera veramente si credè perder questa note la zitade. Ma il nostro misericordioso misser Jesù Cristo non volse, che questa note si devese perder cusì vilmente questa zitade, et anche Dio si volse che le profetie fosse adimplide. La qual profetia profetizò santo Constantin, che fo el primo imperador che avesse Costantinopoli, el qual profetizò che mai Costantinopoli non se perderia mai per in fina che la luna non levasse scura….*

> On May 12, about the hour of midnight, fifty thousand Turks in proper formation attacked the walls of the palace and these dogs, the Turks, surrounded the entire palace with the greatest noise, in accordance with their custom, sounding drums and tambourines. The aforementioned Turks also launched such a great attack against the walls of the palace that night that the majority of the defenders in the territory believed that truly the city would be lost that night. But our merciful lord Jesus Christ did not wish for the city to fall so cheaply that night and again God wished that the prophecies be fulfilled. Saint Constantine had pronounced this prophecy, when he was the first emperor of Constantinople, and he prophesied that Constantinople would not be lost as long as the moon did not rise clothed in darkness….

Barbaro's sign manifested itself ten days later, on May 22, on which date he notes and accurately describes a lunar eclipse, which he took to be the definite sign mentioned in the prophecy:[99]

> *Pur ancora in questo zorno de vintido de mazo, a una hora de note el parse uno mirabel segnal in zielo, el qual segno fo quelo che dè ad intender a Costantin degno imperador de Costantinopoli, che el suo degno imperio sì se aprossimava al finimento suo, come con efeto è stato. Questo segnal si fo de questa condition e forma: questa sera a un hora de notte levò la luna et havea hozi el suo tondo, levando questa luna la dovea levar tuta tonda, ma questa luna si levò come quela avesse abudo tre zorni, la qual puoco parea, e iera l'aiere sereno come uno cristalo neto e mundo; questa luna si durò a questo muodo zerca hore quatro, e poi a puoco a puoco quela si se andò fazando el suo tondo, e a ore sie de note, tuta si fo compida de far el suo tondo.*
>
> On the same day of May 22, at the first hour of night appeared a miraculous sign in the sky to tell the respectable emperor of Constantinople that his respected empire was approaching its end, which, in effect, came to pass. This sign had the following appearance and shape: that evening, at the first hour of the night, the moon rose. As it was full, it should have been a complete circle. But this moon rose as if it were a three-day moon: little of it appeared, even though the atmosphere was calm, like a clear, polished crystal. The moon persisted in this form for about four hours and then, little by little, it completed its full circle. By the sixth hour of the night it had formed its complete circle.

This sign caused concern in both camps. But it seems to have affected the defenders especially, who viewed it as a bad omen. Barbaro includes his observations on the effect of the eclipse:[100]

> *Abiando noi tuti cristiani e pagani, aver visto questo mirable segno, l'imperador de Costantinopoli forte se spauri de questa cosa, e cusì feze tuta la sua baronia, e questo perché Griexi avea una profetia, che dixea, che Costantinopoli mai non se perderia per fina tanto che la luna non mostrasse segnal in zielo in nel suo tondo, sì che questa si iera la paura che avea Girexi. Ma Turchi si fexe una gran festa per el suo campo per alegreza de questo segnal, perché a lor i parea aver vitoria, sì come fo anche ben el vero.*
>
> When we Christians and the heathen saw this miraculous sign, the emperor of Constantinople conceived great fear (as did his entire retinue of barons), because the Greeks knew of a prophecy which declared that Constantinople would always endure provided that the moon, in its full circle, did not give a sign in the sky; this was the reason for the terror that came upon the Greeks. But the Turks celebrated a great festival throughout their camp, out of joy for this sign, because it predicted victory for them, which turned out to be

true.

Perhaps it should be pointed out that it is really in western narratives, with Catholic affiliations, that we find a great deal of attention paid to prophecies. The Orthodox secondary accounts, as well as Nestor-Iskander, as we have seen, focus their attention on signs that were closely associated with their church. Kritoboulos and Nestor-Iskander are interested in the departure of the Holy Spirit and in signs that indicate divine wrath, without mentioning prophecies. The only Greek secondary narrative to mention prophecies is Doukas. There are two that he cites in connection with the siege and the fall. The first we will have occasion to examine.[101] It relates the supposed advice that ambassadors from John Hunyadi gave to the Ottoman artillery corps so that the cannon could bring down the walls. While we are not certain that the incident is historical, Doukas suggests that the ambassadors did so in order to bring about the fall of Constantinople, as a prophecy had declared, and that this event would be advantageous to their lord John Corvinus Hunyadi.

More important for our purposes is the second prophecy that Doukas mentions, which indeed played a significant part for the population of Constantinople at the beginning of the sack and also contributed to the suffering of the non-combatants. In the early hours large crowds sought refuge in the church of Hagia Sophia, a church that had been avoided by the Orthodox since, in their view, the Catholics had contaminated it in December 1452, when the formal celebration of the union of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches had taken place. Since that fateful day it had been seen as the abode of demons and a pagan temple:[102]

> Καὶ ἡ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία ὡς καταφύγιον δαιμόνων καὶ βωμὸς Ἑλληνικὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλογίζετο. Ποῦ κηροί; Ποῦ ἔλαιον ἐν ταῖς λυχναψίαις; Τὰ πάντα σκοτεινὰ καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων. Ἔρημον τὸ ἅγιον τέμενος ἐφαίνετο, προσημαῖνον τὴν ἐρημίαν, ἣν ὑποστῆναι μέλλει μετ᾽ ὀλίγον διὰ τὰς παραβάσεις καὶ ἀνομίας τῶν κατοικούντων.

> And the Great Church [= Hagia Sophia] was considered by them to be a refuge of demons and a Hellenic [= pagan] temple [after the celebration of the union]. Where were the candles? Where was the oil for the lamps? Everything was in darkness and there was no one to prevent it. Deserted seemed the holy church to be and it pointed to its future abandonment that it was going to suffer a short time afterwards, on account of the transgressions and lawlessness of the inhabitants.

After the Turks entered the area of the Pempton and individual defenders abandoned their positions and fled to the harbor, the pursuing Turks were making a careful and slow advance into an unfamiliar city. Word spread along their path that the city had fallen:[103]

> Τότε στῖφος πολὺ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ᾤχετο τὸν δρόμον τὸν ἀπάγοντα ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.... Πρωΐας γὰρ οὔσης, ἔτι λυκοφεγγούσης τῆς ἡμέρας, τινὲς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ τῶν Τούρκων καὶ τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔφθασαν φεύγοντες τοῦ καταλαβεῖν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ προμηθεύσασθαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. Διαβαίνοντες οὖν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ περαιοῦντες τὸν κίονα τοῦ Σταυροῦ, αἱματόφυρτοι ὄντες ἠρωτῶντο παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν· τί ἄρα τὸ ἀποβάν; Ὡς ἤκουσαν τὴν ἀπευκταίαν ἐκείνην φωνήν· ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως πολέμιοι κατασφάττοντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑβρίσαντες καὶ ἐξουθενήσαντες ὡς ἀπαίσιον μηνυτήν, ὄπισθεν δὲ τούτου ἕτερον καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄλλον, ὅλους αἱμοφύρτους, ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἐν χείλεσιν τὸ ποτήριον ὀργῆς τοῦ Κυρίου.
>
> Then a great horde of the impious [= Turks] took the road that leads to the Great Church [= Hagia Sophia].... It was early in the morning, still twilight when some Romans [= Greeks] who had managed to flee and reach their houses, as the Turks were entering and the citizens were fleeing, in order to look after their children and their wives. As they went by the region of the Bull and reached the Column of the Cross, some women who saw them covered in blood asked: “Well, what has happened?” When they heard that ill-omened shout “the enemy is inside the walls and is slaughtering the Romans [= Greeks],” at first they did not believe it but even cursed and blamed them as if they were the bearers of bad news. But behind them there was another and another, all covered in blood, so they realized that the Lord’s cup filled with His wrath had reached their lips.

At that time large crowds remembered the sanctity of the Great Church and flocked to its vicinity:[104]

> Πᾶσαι οὖν γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες, μοναχοί, μονάζουσαι ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔθεον βαστάζοντες ἐν ταῖς ὠλέναις τὰ νήπια αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, ἀφέντες τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν τῷ βουλομένῳ χωρεῖν. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀγυιὰν ἐκείνην πεπυκνωμένην πλήρης ἀνθρώπων.
>
> All the women and men, monks, and nuns ran to the Great Church [= Hagia Sophia]. They, both men and women, were holding in their arms their infants. They abandoned their homes and left them for anyone who wished to take possession. What a spectacle! That street was crowded, full of human beings.

Doukas cites the specific reasons why such a large crowd converged on the famous landmark of the city, once it had become known that the Turks had overrun the sector of the land walls by the Pempton and the Adrianople Gate:[105]

> Τὸ δὲ προσφεύγειν ἐν τῇ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς πάντας, τί; Ἦσαν πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀκούοντες παρά τινων ψευδομάντεων, πῶς μέλλει Τούρκοις παραδοθῆναι πόλις καὶ εἰσελθεῖν ἐντὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ κατακόπτεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄχρι τοῦ κίονος τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταβὰς ἄγγελος φέρων ῥομφαίαν παραδώσει τὴν βασιλείαν σὺν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ ἀνωνύμῳ τινι ἀνδρὶ εὑρεθέντι τότε ἐν τῷ κίονι ἱσταμένῳ, λίαν ἀπερίττῳ καὶ πενιχρῷ καὶ ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ· λαβὲ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ταύτην καὶ ἐκδίκησον τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου. Τότε τροπὴν ἕξονται οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταδιώξουσιν αὐτοὺς κόπτοντες καὶ ἐξαλάσουσιν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς μερῶν ἄχρι ὁρίων Περσίας ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Μονοδενδρίῳ.... Καὶ αὕτη ἦν ἡ φυγὴ τῆς ἐν τῇ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσόδου. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ὁ ὑπερμεγέθης ἐκεῖνος ναὸς πλήρης ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κάτω καὶ ἄνω καὶ ἐν τοῖς περιαύλοις καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὄχλος ἀναρίθμητος. Κλείσαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας εἱστήκεσαν τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες.

> What was the reason that compelled all to flee to the Great Church [= Hagia Sophia]? They had been listening, for many years, to some pseudo-soothsayers, who had declared that the city was destined to be handed over to the Turks, who would enter in large numbers and would massacre the Romans [= Greeks] as far as the Column of Constantine the Great. After this an angel would descend, holding his sword. He would hand over the kingdom, together with the sword, to some insignificant, poor, and humble man who would happen to be standing by the Column. He would say to him: “Take this sword and avenge the Lord’s people.” Then the Turks would be turned back, would be massacred by the pursuing Romans [= Greeks], and would be ejected from the city and from all places in the west and the east and would be driven as far as the borders of Persia, to a place called the Lone Tree[106] .... That was the cause for the flight into the Great Church [= Hagia Sophia]. In one hour that famous and enormous church was filled with men and women. An innumerable crowd was everywhere: upstairs, downstairs, in the courtyards, and in every conceivable place. They closed the gates and stood there, hoping for salvation.

Doukas ends his description of this sad event with a bitter comment in regard to the folly of the Greeks and their former contemptuous attitude towards the Great Church, which, they believed, had been contaminated by the Latins and the Catholic ritual at the celebration of the union:[107]

Ὦ δύστηνοι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὦ ἄθλιοι, τὸν ναόν, ὅν ἐκαλεῖτε χθὲς πρὸ τοῦ χθὲς σπήλαιον καὶ βωμὸν αἱρετικῶν καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰσέρχετο ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐντός, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῇ διὰ τὸ ἱερουργῆσαι ἔνδεον τοὺς τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀσπαζομένους, νῦν ἕνεκα τῆς ἐπελθούσης ὀργῆς ὡς σωτήριον λύτρον ἐνδύεσθε; Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς ἐπελθούσης ἐκίνησεν ἂν τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑμῶν πρὸς εἰρήνην· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοσαύτῃ περιστάσει εἰ ἄγγελος κατήρχετο ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ ἐρωτῶν ὑμᾶς· εἰ δέχεσθε τὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, διώξω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἂν συντίθεσθε. Εἰ δὲ καὶ συνετίθεσθε, ψεῦδος ἂν ἦν τὸ συντιθέμενον. Ἴσασιν οἱ εἰπόντες πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν· κρεῖττον ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας Τούρκων ἢ Φράγγων.

O unfortunate Romans [= Greeks]! O wretched men! You now flocked to that church, seeking a sanctuary of salvation, on account of the impending the righteous wrath, the very church that yesterday and the day before you used to call a cave of heretics; not a single individual among you would dare enter to avoid contacting the pollution that the ones who embraced church union had brought about with their holy rites. Even the righteous wrath failed to move your hearts to the path of peace. In this predicament that you found yourselves, if an angel were to descend from heaven and ask you: “Will you accept church union and a road to peace, if I drive the enemy out of the city?” You would reject him. Even if you agreed, your consent would be false. They knew it well those who, a few days earlier, had said: “It is much better to fall into the hands of the Turks than into the hands of the Franks [= western Catholics].”

## III. The Last Imperial Tomb: Vefa Meidan?

Early in the day on May 29, 1453, the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI, observed the departure of his *condottiere*, Giovanni Giustiniani, who had been wounded. Giustiniani had been the nucleus of the defense in a critical sector. As the warlord and his seasoned troops departed the stockade at the Pempton, it became obvious to all that the struggle had been lost and the Ottoman janissaries were about to overrun the demolished defenses in the sector of the Fifth Military Gate.[108] At this crossroad Constantine XI joined his troops in battle and was never seen again. With him fell the empire that claimed direct descent from the Roman state.

No details on the emperor's last stand are known. It is certain that he was involved in the last phase of the struggle near the fortifications by the Gate of Saint Romanos. Presumably, he perished in the ensuing m?#x00E9;e but the particulars on his death are shrouded in mystery. A cardinal fact remains: no eyewitness author whose work still survives was anywhere near the emperor at this crucial moment. All members of the imperial retinue were slain and there were no survivors to provide accurate reports. Besides, eyewitness authors, who were at the walls but were not in the vicinity of this sector and who pretend to know of this matter, present conflicting evidence. Some stories are clearly fabrications or are tales based on probability. Other accounts simply reproduce rumors that were in circulation following the sack.[109] If any individuals survived the last stand, they have left no written record of their experience.

Some authors would have us believe that they witnessed with their own eyes the emperor's death, even though it is apparent that they were stationed elsewhere. Others, with a flair for the dramatic, have let their imagination run wild. Five critical passages present the following "information":

**BARBARO**:[110]

> *De l'imperador mai non se potè saver novella di fatti soi, ní vivo, ní morto, ma alguni dixe che el fo visto in nel numero di corpi morti, et qual fo ditto, che el se sofegà al intra'che fixe i Turchi a la porta de san Romano. In mrg. Add. fu de ser Marco: L'imperator pregava che li suoi l'amazasse et si messe nella furia con la spada, et cascò et rilevò, poi recascò, et cosi morì.*

It was impossible to discover any news of the emperor, whether he was alive or perished. Yet some said that his body was seen among the many corpses. It was also said that he had hanged himself as the Turks were making their entry through the Gate of Saint Romanos. Added on the margin by the hand of Marco [Barbaro]: The emperor begged his attendants to kill him. In a rage he rushed into the mêlée, sword in hand. He fell, rose again, then fell once more, and perished.

**LEONARDO:**[111]

*Imperator insuper, ne ab hostibus capiatur: 'O quispiam,' inquit, 'valens tyro propter Deum, ne maiestas vafris viris succumbat mea, gladio me transfigat.' …imperator cadens atque resurgens relabitur et compressione princeps patriae e vita demigrat.*

So that he would not be captured by the enemy, the emperor said: 'For God's sake, let a valiant soldier pierce me with his sword so that my majesty will not succumb to wicked men.' …the emperor fell, rose again, and then fell once more. The prince of the land suffocated in the press and ended his life.

**PUSCULO:**[112]

*Rex ut forte caput galea nudatus inani / Inclinans oculos intra tentoria fessos / Carpebat somnum, / Magno clamore citatus / Exilit, eque fuga cives revocare laborans / Ense petit nudo Teucros, solusque repugnans / Increpitat socios, tres ipsoque aggere truncat / Ianizaros. Tandem media inter tempora grandi / Vibrato cecidit gladio. Caput abstulit unus / Ex humeris.*

The emperor removed his helmet and, closing his weary eyes, he slept for a while within his tent. Awakened by a great deal of shouting, he rose and attempted to check the rout of the citizens. With drawn sword he attacked the Turks and fought alone. He called his allies and killed three janissaries by himself. Finally, he was dealt a deadly blow by a mighty sword. Someone severed his head from the shoulders and took it away.

**BENVENUTO:**[113]

*Item: quod audivit* [*sc. Benvenutus*] *ab uno trumpeta quod inperator Grecorum fuit interfectus et eius caput super lancea Turcorum domino pr<a>esentatum.*

Item: He [*sc*. Benvenuto] heard from a trumpeter that the emperor of the Greeks had been killed and that his head, mounted on a

> lance, was presented to the lord of the Turks.

**SPHRANTZES:**[114]

> Καὶ τῇ κθῃ Μαΐου, ἡμέρᾳ γῃ, ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχῇ ἀπῆρε τὴν Πόλιν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἁλώσει τῆς Πόλεως καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης αὐθέντης μου καὶ βασιλεὺς κὺρ Κωνσταντῖνος σκοτωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, ἐμοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὑρεθέντος τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ἀλλὰ προστάξει ἐκείνου εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν δῆθεν ἄλλου μέρους τῆς πόλεως, ἰού, ἰού.

> On May 29, a Tuesday, during the third hour at the beginning of the day, the sultan seized the City. At that time and capture of the City my late master and emperor, Lord Constantine, was killed and perished. I was not at his side at that hour, as, by his command, I was in another part of the City. Alas! Alas!

This brief entry by the hand of Sphrantzes strongly supports the view that no member of Constantine's immediate retinue survived the last stand that took place in the vicinity of the Gate of Saint Romanos and that Sphrantzes himself had been unable to uncover any facts during his captivity.

It is perhaps in the Slavonic account of Nestor-Iskander that we encounter a very early, probably the earliest, indication pointing to the ingredients that eventually would coalesce and form one of the legends. His version of the death of the emperor does not contain any similarities to other extant sources. Nestor-Iskander clearly reports oral tales that had come into existence among survivors shortly after the fall. His narrative contains rumors that attached themselves, permanently as it turns out, to the lore that surrounded the last emperor of medieval Byzantium and his heroic last stand:[115]

> И всѣдъ на фарисъ, пойде къ Златымъ вратамь, чаяше бо стретити безбожнаго. Всѣхъ же воинъ собрашеся съ нимъ до трею тысящь, и обрѣте во вратѣхъ множество Турокъ стрегущи его, и побивше ихъ всѣхъ, пойде во врата, но не можааше пройти отъ многаго трупіа. И паки срѣтоша ихъ множество Турокъ, и сѣчахуся съ ними и до нощи. И тако пострада благовѣрный царь Ко[н]стянтинъ за церкви божіа и за православную вѣру….

> Having saddled a *pharis* [an Arabian horse], he [*sc*. the emperor] went to the Golden Gate, for he hoped to encounter the godless man. He gathered about him all of the troops, up to three thousand. He found, at the Gate, many Turks guarding it; he killed them all. He went into the Gate but was not able to pass through against the many troops. And again a multitude of Turks encountered them. They fought until nightfall. And so the Orthodox emperor Constantine suffered for the Church of God and for the true faith….

A popular interpretation of the events eventually came into existence, according to which Constantine's last moments occurred in the vicinity of the Golden Gate, that is, in the southern sector of the land fortifications, and not in the northern area about the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton. We learn of such details from oral tales that were compiled at the end of the nineteenth century.[116] The origins of this tradition are obscure but they may date at least as far back, prior to the 1470s, as the tale of Nestor-Iskander suggests. It is possible that the legendary aura associated with the Golden Gate contributed to this tradition, as it was through this gate that victorious Byzantine emperors had made their triumphal entries into the capital. The legends made it only natural to imagine that the resurrected Constantine XI would pass through the Golden Gate in his eventual moment of glory. During the last two centuries of Constantinople's independent existence this gate was bricked up (pls. 1 and 2) and in the early Ottoman period it was eventually incorporated into the curious structure that still survives and is known as Ἑπταπύργιον or Yedi Kule, "the Fortress of the Seven Towers" (pl. 3). It is occasionally stated[117] that this gate still remains superstitiously bricked up to our own days, thus testifying to the strength of the tradition claiming that the last Greek emperor is destined to march triumphantly through this gate to reclaim his imperial city. The fact is that this tale of the "bricked-up" gate may have been created by Greeks, who knew that the Turkish name for it was Kapalı Kapı, that is, the "closed gate." In fact, the Greeks had bricked it up long before the fall and the Ottomans simply did not bother to reopen it.[118]

We can reach only one conclusion concerning the manner of Constantine's death: it was unknown to the survivors. Rumors did spread but there was nothing substantial and no story contained sufficient details of historical value. It is conceivable that Constantine perished in the mêlée in the sector of the Saint Romanos Gate-Pempton, fighting against the janissaries in a vain attempt to rally his routed troops. Alternatively, his own soldiers may have trampled him, while he and his surviving vanquished troops were rushing to enter into the city through the Pempton Gate that had been reopened for Giustiniani's withdrawal. Doukas, who was not an eyewitness, states:[119] οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν [*sc.* οἱ [*sc.* Τοῦρκοι] ὅτι ὁ βασιλεύς ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς κοινὸν στρατιώτην τοῦτον θανατώσαντες ἀφῆκαν, "they [*sc.* the Turks] did not realize that he was the emperor. They killed him as if he were a common soldier and left him."

Soon after the entry of the sultan into the city, a search was initiated to ascertain the whereabouts of the Greek emperor. It is not at all certain, however, that a proper identification of the emperor's remains was ever made. Once more, our sources supply conflicting statements. Some of the most important eyewitness accounts do not even speak of any search. Their silence may, in the final analysis, reflect reality. When the alleged scrutiny commenced, Barbaro was aboard his galley that was about to set sail for the Aegean archipelago. He would not have had any direct knowledge of the search that allegedly was ordered by the sultan and of its results. Clearly, Barbaro had heard only vague and unreliable rumors brought on board by fellow refugees before the official entry of the conqueror into the city. Barbaro, therefore, has no tangible evidence to contribute. His silence, therefore, may suggest nothing more than ignorance. By the time Barbaro's galley passed through the Sea of Marmara, Sphrantzes had been enslaved and herded with the rest of the human spoils to the large Ottoman camp established outside the Theodosian Walls. In theory, at least, Sphrantzes was present in the vicinity of the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector and was in a position to learn of the search for the emperor. This subject must have been of great concern to him, for it involved the remains of his friend and hero. The same postulation is correct of Leonardo and Pusculo, both of whom had also been captured and were detained in the vicinity of the capital. Another captive, Cardinal Isidore, had been wounded during the sack. He states that the sultan viewed the head of the emperor:[120]

> *…qui iam ab hostibus vulneratus ac trucidatus fuerat eiusque caput Turco postea domino datum est, qui eo viso plurimum exultavit atque illi petulanti ludibrio improperavit et continuo in Andrinopolim triumphandum misit.*
>
> …he [*sc*. the emperor] was wounded and slaughtered by the enemy. Afterwards his head was given to the lord of the Turks; he looked at it with the greatest joy. Without delay it was mocked and sent to Adrianople to celebrate his triumph.

How accurate is Isidore's report? Did he personally inspect and recognize Constantine's head? Perhaps not; after all, he had been wounded and his own face was covered with bandages. And, besides, his sight could have been temporarily impaired. And as soon as he was ransomed he went into hiding, for the sultan was actively searching for him. His report provides few verifiable details. It is possible that Isidore, too, is repeating rumors and gossip then circulating among the unfortunate prisoners in the Turkish camp. Or, perhaps, he heard this story after he was ransomed, while hiding in Pera. The fact remains that the cardinal was not present in the city when a head was displayed and was said to be the emperor's. In all likelihood, the cardinal never saw the grisly trophy. A seventeenth-century Italian report survives in manuscript form in Naples and states that the emperor's head was displayed mounted on a lance.[121]

It could be argued that these prisoners were preoccupied with more immediate matters: their personal survival, and that they were not in the vicinity of the sultan's entourage, which would have received the order for the search to locate the Greek emperor's remains. Had an investigation uncovered definite evidence and had the slain emperor's remains been given a decent burial, at least one of the reliable surviving sources would have mentioned it. Above all, Sphrantzes would not have passed over this affair in silence. It was his custom to cite by name the resting places for all deceased members of the imperial family.[122] Would he have made an unprecedented exception in the case of his own dear friend, Constantine XI? Sphrantzes had endured his period of captivity in Constantinople. During this sad interval in his life he would have accumulated reports of the search, of the identification, and of the grave. Indeed, he would have exerted himself to discover the tomb of his dear friend. Yet he fails to report anything. Any *argumentum ex silentio* is necessarily perilous but, in this case, we have no other means, short of drastically emending Sphrantzes' authentic text, to explain the silence of this crucial eyewitness source.

The plain fact is that we hear of resting places for Constantine XI only after the mid-sixteenth century. Martinus Crusius himself, who was curious about this matter, did not know of any burial site. Crusius' learned correspondent at the patriarchate, Theodosios Zygomalas, who was also a classical scholar of notable merit, does not write of any grave site associated with Constantine XI, and when he was asked about it, he proved unable to display any tomb to Stephen Gerlach, to whom, however, he pointed out the spot near the walls where the emperor had perished.[123] Before him, the Greco-Italian Theodoro Spandugnino (Spandounes) states that there had been no grave.[124] Spandugnino spent time in Constantinople, toured the antiquities, and investigated various matters pertaining to the siege and the fall. Later texts and secondary reports present us with accounts of detailed searches, of proper identification of the emperor's remains, of a decent burial, and of supposed gravesites. According to the unreliable Pseudo-Sphrantzes, numerous severed heads were cleaned, but the features of the emperor could not be identified beyond doubt. Eventually, a body wearing greaves and socks bearing imprints of the imperial eagles was discovered and it was concluded that this corpse must be that of to the emperor:[125]

> Ὡς οὖν ἡ πόλις ἑάλω, ὁ ἀμηρᾶς ἔνδον εἰσελθὼν εὐθὺς πάσῃ σπουδῇ ζήτησιν ἐποίει περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, κατὰ νοῦν μὴ λογιζόμενος ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ μόνον μαθεῖν ἢ ζῇ ἢ τέθνηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς. Καί τινες μὲν ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι ἔφυγεν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔλεγον εἶναι κεκρυμμένον, ἄλλοι δὲ τεθνάναι μαχόμενον. Καὶ θέλων πιστοθῆναι ἀληθῶς ἔστειλεν, ἔνθα τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἔκειτο σωροειδῶς χριστιανῶν τε καὶ ἀσεβῶν· καὶ πλείστας κεφαλὰς τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἔπλυναν, εἰ τύχῃ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν γνωρίσωσι. Καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν γνωρίσαι αὐτήν, εἰ μὴ τὸ τεθνεὸς πτῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως εὑρόντες, ἐγνώρισαν αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν περικνημίδων ἢ καὶ πεδίλων, ἔνθα χρυσοῖ ἀετοὶ ἦσαν γεγραμμένοι, ὡς ἔθος ὑπῆρχε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. Καὶ μαθὼν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς περιχαρὴς καὶ εὐφραινόμενος ὑπῆρξε· καὶ προστάξει αὐτοῦ οἱ εὑρεθέντες Χριστιανοὶ ἔθαψαν τὸ βασιλικὸν πτῶμα μετὰ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς.

> After the city was captured, the sultan entered and immediately showed great concern about the emperor. He was extremely anxious to find out whether the emperor was still alive or dead. Some individuals came forth and said that he had escaped; others said that he was hiding in the city; others that he had died fighting. And as he wanted to find out exactly what had happened, he sent to the place where the bodies of the slain were lying in heaps, Christians and impious together. They washed the heads of many corpses, in case they recognized the emperor's head. But they proved unable to recognize it. They did find the corpse of the emperor, which they recognized from the imperial greaves and shoes, which had been imprinted with golden eagles, as it was the custom with the emperors. When the sultan found out, he rejoiced greatly and became cheerful. By his order the Christians who found the corpse there buried the emperor with imperial honors.

No details of this macabre discovery and can be authenticated. That a rudimentary investigation actually took place is probably true, as the sultan would presumably desire to ascertain the fate of his adversary. The most reasonable version of this obscure matter is encountered in a chronicle that was composed at the patriarchate in the early sixteenth century,[126] which may have preserved authentic details dating back to the oral reports of the survivors of the sack. This annalistic version knows of a search and even speaks of an identification. But, again, no details of historical value can be derived or salvaged. In this text, it will be noted, there is no mention of imprinted imperial eagles, of decent burial, of imperial honors, or of a specific grave:[127]

> Ὕστερον δὲ πολλῆς ζητήσεως γεναμένης περὶ αὐτοῦ, φοβούμενος ὁ αὐθέντης μήπως ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐστὶ καὶ πορευθεὶς φέρῃ ἐκ τῆς Φραγγίας λαὸν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, εὗρον γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεγνώρισαν αὐτὴν ὅ τε Μάμαλις καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὕτως ἡσύχασεν.

> Later the sovereign [= sultan] feared that if he were still alive and

> had escaped he might bring an army from the lands of the Franks against him. After a thorough search for his remains, they found his head. Mamalis and other noblemen recognized it and he relaxed.

This anonymous chronicler has preserved an account that circulated among the Greeks in the sixteenth century and his report may not have historical value. On the other hand, he has included obscure details, such as the name of the man who supposedly recognized the emperor’s corpse. The identity of Mamalis is unknown.[128] The name “Mamalis” may have Turkish origins. In a note to the manuscript the author understood the name to be a Greek version of a Turkish “Imam Ali,” who may perhaps have been a Greek renegade at the Porte:[129]

> ὕστερον δὲ ὡσὰν ἐπάρθη ἡ πόλις ἐγίνη ζήτησις διὰ τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὸ τοῦ σουλτάνου, διότι ἐφοβεῖτο νὰ μὴν φύγη καὶ πάγει εἰς τὴν φραγγίαν καὶ λάβη βοήθειαν καὶ ἔλθη καὶ τὸν πολεμήση καὶ ηὗραν τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἐλεεινοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν ἤφεραν τὸν σουλτάνον· καὶ ἐγνώρισε αὐτὴν ὁ ἄρχων ὁ ἰμὰμ ἀλῆς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες· καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὁ σουλτάνος ἐχάρη μεγάλως.

> Later after the city had fallen the sultan ordered a search for the emperor, because he was afraid that he had left and gone to the west to summon help and to wage war against him. And so they found the head of the pitiable emperor and brought it to the sultan. The lord Imam Ali and other lords recognized it. The sultan was informed and rejoiced greatly.

Of an earlier date is the anonymous Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *Lamentation of Constantinople*, whose ill-educated author was in all likelihood a survivor of the sack and composed his poem soon after the event, perhaps within one year. He also knows of a search, but of no definite results:[130]

> Καὶ ποῦ ὁ αὐτοκράτορας βασιλεὺς τῶν ῾Ρωμαίων; / ῏Ω Κωνσταντῖνε βασιλεῦ, Δράγαζη τὸ ᾽πινόμι, / Εἰπέ μου ποῦ εὑρίσκεσαι, ἐχάθης, ἐκρυβήθης; / Ζῆσαι ἢ καὶ ἀπέθανες ἐπάνω ᾽ς τὸ σπαθί σου; / ῞Οτι ὁ σκύλος, ὁ ἀμηρᾶς ὁ Μαχουμὲτ ὁ κράτωρ, / ῾Οποῦ αὐθέντευσε λοιπὸν τὴν ἄτυχον τὴν Πόλιν, / Πολλὰ γὰρ ἐψηλάφησε τὰ κομμένα κεφάλια, / Καὶ τὰ κορμία ἐδιέγερνεν λέγω τὰ κεκομμένα, / Τὸ ᾽γύρευεν οὐδὲν ηὗρε, οὐκ οἶδα τίς ἡ χρεία, / Νεκρὸν σῶμα λέγω τὸ σὸν τί τὄθελεν ὁ σκύλος, / ῏Η τὴν τιμίαν κεφαλήν, ᾽φθέντα, τὴν ἰδικήν σου.

> Where is the emperor and ruler of the Romans? / O Emperor Constantine, also called Dragaš, / tell me: Where are you? Did you vanish? Were you hidden? / Are you alive or did you die, with sword in hand? / After that dog of a sultan, Lord Mehmed, / took possession of the luckless city, / he examined the severed heads / and searched through the bodies, the slain men, I mean. / He did

> not find what he was looking for. What need did he have to do this? / I mean, what did that dog want with your dead body / or with your precious head, my lord?

The anonymous folk poet then addresses the duke of Burgundy, pleads for a crusade that would recover Constantinople from the Turks, and states:[131] ὁ φίλος σου ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ποσῶς εὑρέθη, "no trace of your friend, the emperor, was ever found."

It would have been to the advantage of the sultan to identify the remains of his adversary. Then Mehmed II could assume the undisputed possession of Constantinople as a sultan-caesar, a title that he claimed in the period following the conquest. Thus it becomes likely that, in the absence of identifiable remains, the sultan eventually selected a severed head and announced that it had been the emperor's. Few survivors could have, or would have, contradicted him. Further, Pseudo-Sphrantzes, but no other account, speaks of a decent burial of the emperor's remains. This is probably an invented detail by Makarios Melissenos-Melissourgos. It is to be expected that if the emperor's remains had been identified beyond doubt and he had been given a public burial, "with imperial honors," as Pseudo-Sphrantzes states, the Greeks of Constantinople would have never forgotten the true site of their last emperor's grave. In the centuries after the sack the emperor's grave was sought time after time and a number of possible sites eventually emerged. Of course, none bore the stamp of authenticity. Indeed all alleged graves belong to the realm of fiction, of deliberate forgery, of fabrication, or even of wishful thinking.

One of the most popular legends alleges that the resting place of Constantine XI, to which countless Greek pilgrims piously flocked and paid their respects in the nineteenth century, was located in the courtyard of an inn at Vefa Meidan (pl. 4). The transmitted account in regard to the etymology of the name is that the neighborhood, in general, has been designated after the local mosque, the Vefa Camii, a place of worship that housed the remains of a folk-saint named Sheyh Muslihiddin Vefa, whose tomb, or *türbe,* bears the date of 1491. The first time this site is mentioned in print in connection with Constantine XI was in 1847, when C. Parmenides produced the following observations:[132]

> Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, κάτω τοῦ σεραγίου, ὑπάρχουσι παλαιά τινα χάνια, χρησιμεύοντα εἰς διαφόρους βαναύσους ἐργασίας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὡς στάβλοι ἵππων. Ἐντὸς λοιπὸν τοιούτου καταγωγίου, εἰς ὕπαιθρον γωνίαν, λυχνία τις ἀναπτομένη αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ Τούρκων διασκορπίζει ἀμυδρὸν φῶς εἰς μνημεῖον τι. Παράδοσις παλαιοτάτη...ἀναφέρει ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἔρημον τοῦτο μνῆμα κεῖνται τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ τελευταίου χριστιανοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως βασιλέως. .

> In Constantinople, below the seraglio, there exist some old inns that are used by laborers of all sorts and further serve as horse stables. Within such a lowly building, in an uncovered corner, there is a lamp that is lighted daily by the Turks, which pours a few rays on a monument. A very old tradition…reports that within this desolate monument the bones of the last Christian emperor of Constantinople are to be found.

A few years later A. D. Mordtmann published his popular account on the siege and the fall of Constantinople.[133] The learned Mordtmann concluded his account of the memorable events of the morning of May 29, 1453, by repeating essentially the same information that had been reported by Parmenides, with a few romantic additions.[134] Echoes from these simple statements reverberated throughout the next half-century, as Mordtmann's passage was reproduced in local guide pamphlets and countless visitors and pilgrims devoutly flocked to the site. Elaborations upon this passage in the popular literature began to appear. Typical among them is the following description of the site:[135]

> Εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν χάνιον, πλησίον τοῦ ὁποίου εὑρίσκετο ὁ τάφος, κατοικοῦσι σήμερον ἐπαῖται ῥυπαροί· ὁ μονόλιθος δὲν ὑπάρχει· τέσσαρα μικρὰ ὑπομέλαινα μάρμαρα ὑπάρχουσιν εἰς τὰς γωνίας, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ στρῶμα χώματος…ἐξέλιπε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἰτέα, καὶ ἡ κληματίς, καὶ ἡ ῥοδῆ· μόνον δὲ κυρτόν τι καὶ χαμηλὸν δένδρον ἀπέμεινε. Πλησιέστατα τοῦ χανίου εὑρίσκεται μέγας τις τάφος, ἔχων σιδηροῦν κιγκλίδωμα ἑνούμενον καθ᾽ ὕψους· εἰς τοῦτον ἐτάφη ὁ φονεὺς τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου.

> In the old inn, in whose neighborhood was the grave, live impoverished beggars nowadays. There is no tombstone. At the corners there are only four small, rather dark, marble slabs and in the middle there is a bed of dirt…gone are the willow, vine, and rose bush. Only a bent, low tree is left. Very close to the inn there is a large grave, surrounded by an iron fence, which is joined at the top. This is the grave of the man who killed Constantine.

Thus not only Constantine's tomb had been located, but that of his executioner also. Clearly, elaboration upon the tale and the site had been at work and some people began to express doubts about the site's authenticity. In 1862, N. Dragoumes visited and described the site; he then added an important observation: there had never been a lamp over the grave:[136]

> Ἔν τινι χανίῳ κατὰ τὸ Βεφὰ Μεϊδάνι κειμένῳ, σώζεται μνημεῖον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἡ παράδοσις λέγει τάφον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ τελευταίου. Τὸν τάφον τοῦτον ἐπισκέπτεται ὅστις θέλει καὶ ἐνίοτε ἱερεὺς Ἕλλην ἔρχεται φέρων λιβανωτὸν καί, ἀναγιγνώσκων τὸ τρισάγιον, καθαγιάζει τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος

> αὐτοκράτορος. Τὸν τάφον τοῦτον ἐπισκεφθεὶς μετὰ πολλῆς κατανύξεως, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐπιστασίας, δὲν εὗρον κατὰ πάντα ὁποῖον περιγράφει ὁ Μόρντμαν.... Περὶ δὲ τὸν τάφον δὲν φαίνονται οὔτε ροδέαι οὔτε ἀγρία ἄμπελος οὔτε ἰτέα, ἀλλὰ ταπεινόν...δένδρον πρὸ ἑνὸς ἔτους φυτευθὲν ἀντικατέστησεν τὴν ἄλλοτε ὑπάρχουσαν...ἰτέαν. Πρὸς τούτοις ὁ φύλαξ μὲ ἐβεβαίωσεν, ὅτι ποτὲ λύχνος δὲν ἀνήπτετο ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου.

> In an inn near Vefa Meidan there survives a monument, which, tradition states, is the grave of the last Constantine. Whoever wishes to visit this tomb may do so and occasionally a Greek priest comes with incense and recites the "Thrice Holy," sanctifying the memory of our sacred martyr-emperor. I visited this tomb in great respect but I could not find the exact arrangement described by Mordtmann…around the grave there were no rose bushes, no wild vine, and no willow…instead there was a humble tree which was planted a year ago to replace the willow that had been there in the past. In addition, the guard assured me that no lamp ever burned over the grave.

Paspates was the first to point out that ulterior motives may have been responsible for the identification and the dissemination of this popular tale:[137]

> Πρό τινων ἐτῶν, παντοπώλης Ἕλλην ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ καλουμένη Βεφᾶ, ἄνω τῆς πύλης Οὺν καμπάνι, ἤγειρε μικρὸν τάφον ἔν τινι γωνίᾳ τοῦ τείχους. Ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως Παλαιολόγου, ἔκαιε λυχνία ἀκοίμητος. Ὁ τάφος οὗτος μετὰ καιρόν, ἐγένετο ἐμπόρευμα ἐπικερδέστερον τοῦ παντοπωλείου του. Ἡ ἀρχὴ πρό τινος καιροῦ ἀπηγόρευσε τὴν καπηλείαν ταύτην.

> A few years ago the Greek owner of a general store in the square called Vefa, beyond the Un Kabanı Gate, erected a small grave in some corner of the wall. On this grave of Emperor Palaiologos he placed an ever-burning lamp. After some time had passed this grave became part of his lucrative business. The authorities put a stop to this fraud some time ago.

Thus in Paspates' view, Mordtmann and countless other pilgrims had been victims of a deliberate deception. It should be noted, however, that Paspates associated the fraud with the lamp and stated no opinion about the monument/grave and its age. But this is not the end of the story. In 1892, Ch. Mijatovich repeated, in lyric prose, Mordtmann's information and added a few other touches at the conclusion of his book:[138]

> In the neighborhood of the Weffa-Mosque, in a yard surrounded by the dwellings and huts of poor artisans, there stands an old willow, whose branches are wreathed round by a profusion of climbing

> roses and wild vines. In the shadow of this tree a slab of white marble without any inscription covers a grave, at whose head an oil lamp is lit every evening…. The slab covers the remains of the last Greek emperor.

Pears was the first scholar to heed Paspates' warning and pointed out the obvious problems and contradictions in the circulating stories. He reasonably inferred from the iron fence surrounding the "monument" that he was probably observing the memorial of a dervish.[139] Siderides, the Greek scholar who seriously investigated[140] all reports that are identified with the alleged grave at Vefa, first expressed reservations about Paspates' conclusions and pointed out an apparent inaccuracy in Paspates' statement that mentions the "wall". No remnants of this wall are to be found in this area.[141] We should perhaps further add that the gate mentioned by Paspates, the Un Kabanı, no longer exists but its memory is preserved in a section of Istanbul known as Un Kabanı that is situated further to the northeast, by the modern Atatürk Bridge, and is not in the immediate neighborhood of Vefa. Could Paspates have a different location in mind, or has some other tradition contaminated his knowledge of the Vefa site? It is indeed strange that Paspates, who had such incomparable familiarity with Ottoman Constantinople and its medieval Greek ruins, would be so careless about this important matter. Moreover, Siderides elaborates upon Pears' conjecture that the grave in question belonged to a dervish and suggests, on the basis of other documented cases of Turks who had murdered Christians and were subsequently executed by the Ottoman authorities, that it is a similar monument of an executed individual, whose memory was honored by the local population as if he were a martyr for the faith. Thus, this was the grave of a Turkish soldier who had been executed because in the last battle he had killed Constantine XI. This man was put to death at Vefa Meidan and was buried there upon the order of the sultan, because he had failed to capture the Greek emperor alive.[142]

This site was already deteriorating by the end of the nineteenth century. Siderides first inspected the "monument" in 1890 and noted the fence surrounding the tomb of Constantine's supposed slayer, as a local resident who had taken upon himself to act as Siderides' guide and companion identified it. Siderides then describes the Greek emperor's supposed grave:[143]

> εἰς δὲ τήν...γωνίαν, τὴν δεξιάν, κανονικῶς ἐξειργασμένα μάρμαρα ἀπετέλουν πλαίσιον μνήματος εἰς βάθος 40-50 ἑκατ. γαλλ. μέτρου· σχεδὸν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς ὑψοῦτο ἰτέα ἢ ἀκακία δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔχουσα κλῶνας· παρακολουθήσας με καὶ ἐδῶ ὁ αὐτὸς μὲ εἶπεν ὅτι τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου (Κωνσταντὶν μεζαρὶ) ἦτο αὐτό. Τὰ μάρμαρα εἶναι νέα· τίς λοιπὸν ὁ φροντίσας; τίς ὁ δαπανήσας; τίς ὁ φυτεύσας τὸ δένδρον; ποίους εἶχε λόγους; ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ παρακολουθῶν με ἀπεκρίθη μετ᾽ ἀδιαφορίας: τίς οἶδε....

> On the…right corner, properly hewn marble [slabs] framed a tomb that was sunk forty-fifty centimeters of the French meter. Almost by the middle of its right side rose a willow or an acacia tree with two or three branches. The same man followed me here and told me that it was the tomb of Constantine (*Konstantin mezari*). I asked him: “But the marble is not old. Well, who took care of this? Who spent money on this? Who planted the tree? What were his reasons for doing so?” My escort replied indifferently: “Who knows?”

Before Siderides, in 1862, Dragoumes also notes that a Greek in Constantinople had attempted to secure official permission to clean and restore the “tomb” of Constantine, together with the tomb of his supposed killer. The work began and the tomb of Constantine’s killer was first restored but then no further work was allowed to be carried out on the emperor’s alleged grave. The Greek who undertook this project was then arrested by the authorities and subsequently vanished without trace.[144]

Ten years later Siderides returned to the site and found that no changes had taken place in the meantime, except that the surrounding buildings had been abandoned and the neighborhood was deteriorating. He visited the site once more in 1904, when he discovered that Constantine’s “monument” had vanished. The marble slabs had been removed and the grave had been covered over. And new residents from Anatolia had moved into the neighborhood. He returned again in 1908 and noted no further changes, while the local children told him that under the site there was a marble staircase.[145] The old tales had been forgotten. These were the only occasions that a reputable scholar had the opportunity to visit and to study the site.

In June 2001, we discovered that Vefa Meidan still exists and we took the opportunity to examine the old square in the hope of discovering remnants of the old site. The only landmark that could lead us to the old site was the nineteenth-century inn, whose location was pointed out to us by an elderly life-long resident of the square. He complained that the old neighborhood was changing with the sudden influx of Kurds. Next to the building that had been erected over the inn stands a modest mosque with a small cemetery, and next to it there is a garden. It is our belief that this garden can be identified with the old site containing the alleged graves of Constantine XI and his killer, but the local residents had no memory of the tale and, clearly, the nineteenth-century oral tradition is extinct nowadays. We observed no marble slabs intact, although one may have been cut up into smaller rectangles (pl. 6). Also there were no "shrines." And no local resident could remember any graves within the garden or anywhere in the Vefa Meidan.

Little remains from this popular and emotionally charged story for the Greeks of Constantinople and of modern Greece. The actual remnants of the "tomb" were not impressive, according to Siderides. At the present time we cannot evaluate his statement, as the site has been altered extensively. The only evidence that remains belongs within the realm of folk tales and legends. Yet a few observations are in order. To begin with, Turkish folk memory in regard to the numerous sites has preserved genuine recollections from the siege and the sack, and from that period in general. One need hardly mention the Pempton/Fifth Military Gate, which is still known as Hücum Kapı, "the Gate of the Assault"; the Gate of Saint Romanos that is still designated Top Kapı, "the Gate of the Cannon"; and so forth.[146] The question here has to do with an otherwise obscure relationship: Vefa Meidan and its association with death and graves. Was it perhaps a place of execution, so designated immediately after the sack, as it does not refer to any regular cemetery within the walls of the city? Some memory of death may be hidden behind the tales of burial and possible execution(s).

The fact is that soon after the sack and the Ottoman occupation of the city, Mehmed II initiated a wave of executions, in which perished numerous Italian prisoners and Greek notables. Our texts are explicit with regard to the executions. A summary is provided in Barbaro's narrative, without assigning names to specific individuals:[147]

> *Il Turco feceli tagliar la testa a esso consolo* [*sc. Taragonense*] *et a doi altri de suoi, et al bailo nostro et suo fiol, et a doi altri nostri nobeli*.
>
> The Turk decapitated the Spanish consul[148] and two of his men, our *bailo* [*sc.* Girolamo Minotto[149] ] and his son, and two other of our noblemen.

Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, the Genoese *podestà* of Pera, who was present and was negotiating with the Porte for the survival of his colony, also notes in a letter (dated *1453, die 23 iunii*, June 23, 1453) the events and the energetic efforts of the sultan to capture his enemies who were busy attempting to conceal themselves:[150]

> *decapitari fecit suis diebus bailum Venetorum cum eius filio et aliis septem Venetis; et similiter consulem Catalanorum cum aliis quinque vel*

> *sex Catalanis.... Inquisivit Mauritium Cataneum et Paulum Boccardum, qui se occultaverunt.*
>
> In those days he decapitated the *bailo* of the Venetians together with his son and another seven Venetians. Similarly, [he decapitated] the consul of the Catalans together with another five or six Catalans.... He looked for Maurizio Cataneo and Paolo Bocchiardi, who had gone into hiding.

Leonardo, who was either still hiding in the city, or had escaped from it and somehow had learned of the executions, supplies the following information:[151]

> *Baiulum itidem Venetorum reliquosque delectos nobiles et filium gladio extingui iubet, consulemque Aragonensium cum duobus pariter; etiam Catarinum Contarenum, virum humanissimum, cum sex nobilibus Venetis, iam primum redemptis, contra omnium fidem, nisi septem milibus aureorum vitam emissent, morte utique affecisset.*
>
> Then he ordered that the *bailo* of the Venetians [*sc*. Girolamo Minotto], the rest of the distinguished noblemen, as well as his son, be put to the sword, as well as the Spanish consul with his two companions.[152] Against all faith, he would have even executed Catarino Contarini, a very kind man, with six other noble Venetians, who had already been ransomed, had they had not bought their lives with seven thousand gold coins.[153]

Similar is the testimony of Pusculo, the poet of the siege, who had also become a captive:[154]

> *Bajulus et Venetum cum nato ut victima campo / Truncantur: Venetique omnes, qui forte reperti / In Galata fuerant, quinis sex millibus auri / Nummorum vitam redimunt.*
>
> The *bailo* of the Venetians and his son were slaughtered, like sacrificial victims, in the square. All Venetians, who happened to be found in Galata [Pera], bought their lives with five or six thousand gold coins each.

These are the earliest testimonies with regard to the wave of executions. Thus far we are dealing only with the western prisoners of the sultan. Of special interest is the information supplied by Pusculo, who states that the executions of the Venetian *bailo* and his son took place in *campo*, “in the square/*piazza*.” In addition, Pusculo implies that this square was the gathering point for the sultan’s Venetian prisoners, who had been discovered in Pera. It is unfortunate that

Pusculo does not name this square. No other eyewitness source identifies the place of executions by name or region.[155] It makes sense, nevertheless, to surmise that this square is none other than Vefa Meidan. This plaza is quite close to Pera across the Golden Horn and it would make perfect sense for the sultan to gather all his prisoners from Pera in this area. The captives would have been brought by boat from Pera and deposited in this square. Is it too much to assume that the subsequent executions took place in the same square, which subsequently became associated with stories that mentioned executions and graves?

Along with his Italian prisoners numerous Greek prisoners were also executed.[156] Cardinal Isidore, who at the moment was in the vicinity of Constantinople, hiding in Pera, must have learned of the executions, and, in his letter (from Crete, dated July 6, 1453: *In Creta, die sexta Iulii anno Domini Mo CCCCo L IIIo*) to his friend Cardinal Bessarion, devotes a few words on the fate of some of their acquaintances:[157]

> *Non multos post dies Turcus omnes primores civitatis redemit simulans velle eos urbem inhabitare et in spem vit<a>e illos adducebat. Post tres dies decrevit ac iussit primo quidem duobus filiis Notar<a>e (alter enim gloriose dimicans interierat) capita in conspectu patris amputari, ipsi deinde patri, postea magni domestici filios tres pulcherrimos et optimos occidit et insuper patrem eorum. Dehinc illustrem dominum Nicholaum Gredetam <= Goudelem?> et plurimos alios pr<a>eclarissimos viros interemit.*

> A few days later the Turk [*sc*. Mehmed II] pretended that it was his wish to settle the city and ransomed all noblemen of high rank, whose lives, he led them to hope, would be spared. Three days later, by his first decree and command, he beheaded the two sons of [Loukas] Notaras (while his third son had of course perished gloriously in the fight), before the eyes of their father, whom he then decapitated. Then he executed the three very handsome, excellent sons of the grand domestic along with their father. Next he executed the illustrious lord Nikolaos Goudeles and very many other famous men.

It should be noted again that this text is a *quattrocento* translation into Latin of the original Greek *epistula*. Evidently, there has been a mistake in transmission of the Latin text. The name *Gredetam* is certainly a corruption. In most likelihood, Isidore wrote in Greek, Γουδέλην, which was transliterated into Latin as *Goudelam* or *Goudelem* and was subsequently transformed into *Gredetam* by the translator Lianoro de Lianori or by another copyist. Goudeles is also known from other eyewitness reports. Leonardo refers to him and notes that he was in charge of the reserves within the city:[158] *Demetrius… Palaeologo Nicolausque Gudelli…praesidentes, ut decurrant urbem, cum plerisque in succursum armatis reservantur*, "Demetrios… Palaiologos and Nikolaos Goudeles…were placed in charge of numerous armed men to assist throughout the city." In addition, the poet of the siege, Ubertino Pusculo, also knew of this man:[159] *Creduntur, Nicolae, tibi, praefecte, Gudello, / cui cognomen erat; Pegaeae limina portae*, "the sector of the Pege Gate was entrusted to you Nikolaos Goudeles." Pusculo refers to him once more and identifies him as one of the active soldiers in the midst of a battle.[160] Isidore is our only source to identify Goudeles as one of the victims of Mehmed's wave of executions.

The most notorious case in this carnage involves the grand duke of Constantine XI, Loukas Notaras, whom we have already met, and whose role in the siege and in the aftermath of the sack is still shrouded in mystery and is surrounded with controversy.[161] As our basic eyewitness account is the text of Leonardo, it should be noted that the bishop had no liking for the grand duke and that he has colored his narrative accordingly. Perhaps his utter dislike of the grand duke is also reflected by other accounts that have employed Leonardo's text as their basic guide. His dislike becomes evident when he places Notaras in the company of the rabid anti-unionist George Scholarios[162] (who, as Gennadios II, was selected by Mehmed II to be the first patriarch of the enslaved Greeks after the fall) and suggests that this group was eager to reap honors from the pope for their role in advancing the cause of the union:[163]

> *Ne detur ei qui totam sibi ex officio captare cupit gloriam; intendebat ex una parte Scholarius, ex altera Chirluca, quandoque ad praesentiam semet apostolicam conferre, quique primi laudarentur tantae unionis auctores.*
>
> There were those who wished to acquire glory for themselves through their appointments. So, Scholarios, on the one hand, and Kyr Loukas [Notaras], on the other, wished to present themselves to the apostolic presence to be praised as the authors of such a union.

According to the bishop's narrative, Notaras also quarreled bitterly with Giustiniani on the eve of the final assault and arrogantly refused to cooperate by transferring some artillery pieces to the critical sector at the Pempton.[164] In the course of the ensuing argument Giustiniani seems to have called Notaras a traitor in public:[165]

> *Interea capitaneus generalis Johannes Justinianus…petivit sibi a*

> *Chirluca* [= Κὺρ Λουκᾶς Νοταρᾶς], *magno duce consulari, communes urbis bombardas quas contra hostes affigeret. Quas cum superbe denegasset: “Quis me, capitaneus, inquit, o proditor, tenet ut gladio non occumbas meo?” Qua ignominia indignatus, tum quod Latinus exprobrasset eum, remissius post rei bellicae providentiam gessit*.

> Meanwhile the captain general, Giovanni Giustiniani, asked Kyr Loukas [Notaras], the grand duke and councilor, to give him some bombards belonging to the city to use against the enemy. When he dismissed his request with contempt, the captain said: “Traitor: who is going to stop me from running you through with my sword?” He was mortified at the insult, especially since a Latin had cursed him, and afterwards failed to pay great attention to the defense.

Leonardo was probably present during this altercation that almost degenerated to blows.

Leonardo’s animosity towards the grand duke surfaces again when he gives his account of his fate after the sack. Leonardo states that Notaras attempted to place the blame upon the Italians and certain officials of the Porte. This barb is probably directed towards Halil Candarlı, the grand vizier and the head of the peace party at the Porte, whom the sultan disliked intensely:[166]

> *Vocatis igitur ad se* [Mehmed] *Chirluca ceterisque baronibus consularibus et reprehensis quod non suasissent imperatori vel pacem petendam vel dandam suae dicioni urbem, Chirluca* [= Κὺρ Λουκᾶς] *…culpam retorquere curavit…. At Chirluca malitiae poenam non evasit, qui protinus perditis primum in bello duobus liberis maioribus, alio impubere luxui regali reservato, coramque oculis tertio filio caeso cum ceteris baronibus decollatur*.

> He [Mehmed] summoned Kyr Loukas [Notaras] and other barons and officials, whom he censured, because they had failed to persuade the emperor to sue for peace or to cede the city to his power. Kyr Loukas [Notaras]… was at pains to transfer the blame elsewhere…. But Kyr Loukas [Notaras] did not escape punishment for his malice. He had earlier in the siege lost his two elder sons. Now his young boy was reserved for the pleasure of the sultan, and a third son was executed before his [Notaras’] eyes; then he and other barons were decapitated.

This account of Leonardo receives a great deal of elaboration, with folk-tale motifs, in the account of Pseudo-Sphrantzes, as we have already noted.[167]

Cardinal Isidore’s information to his friend, Cardinal Bessarion, simply reports the facts:[168]

> *Post tres dies decrevit ac iussit primo quidem duobus filiis Notarae – alter enim gloriose dimicans interierat – capita in conspectu patris amputari, ipsi deinde patri.*
>
> Three days later [after the fall, that is, June 1] he [Mehmed] ordered, with a decree, the decapitation of Notaras' two sons (the third had perished gloriously in the fight) before their father's eyes. And then the father was beheaded.

Ubertino Pusculo, the epic poet of the siege, also devotes a couple of hexameters to the death of Notaras:[169]

> *Notare, te finis crudelior funere mansit. / Namque videns gnatam raptam, puerumque tyranno, / Ac stirpe geminam cernens occumbere dulcem, / Truncatam primo ante oculos, et sanguine sparsus, / Sanguine natorum faciem, post occidis ipse.*
>
> Your end was even more cruel Notaras. You saw that your daughter and your boy were raped by the tyrant [= sultan]. Before your own eyes you saw your beloved two sons slaughtered and you were sprinkled with their blood. Then you were also executed.

There is no need to report on the motives that led to the execution of Notaras. Most eyewitness sources do not even mention motives. Pusculo, for instance, simply includes the grand duke among the victims in the wave of executions that followed the conquest. As time goes by and as we move away from the eyewitness sources, the picture gets more complicated and more elaborated. In time, when we come to the works of Moskhos and di Montaldo, the grand duke is also portrayed as pronouncing a speech on the immortality of the soul before his execution.

The earliest extended account of Notaras' execution comes from the pen of Nikolaos Sekoundinos, who, as a member of an official mission from Venice, had visited Constantinople in the summer of 1453, and, who, undoubtedly, had spoken to participants and survivors of the siege, Italians, Greeks, and Turks.[170] His account has been neglected by scholarship but it is important, nevertheless, as it is written by a notable personality, who had connections throughout the Levant:[171]

> *Exponam praeterea genus piissimum mortis maxima auctoritate et prudentia viri Luc<a>e, cui magnus dux honoris causa cognomen erat pro more patrio decreto regio condonatum. Is, captus vivus cum uxore et liberis, ad regem victorem adductus est; cum autem benigne te comiter*

*per aliquot dies rex ipse erga se visus affectus, misit qui ut filius adolescentulus, egregie indolis form<a>e que honest<a>e, sibi mittere<tur> peteret. Animadvertit vir prudentissimus filiolum ad nefandum expeti flagitium. Quamobrem diu recusavit dixitque malle se mori quam filiolum flagitio subjicere tali. Rex hinc iratus adolescentulum quidem vi e complexibus sinuque parentum evelli et detrahi jussit. Lucam vero cum duobus aliis filiis generoque morte damnavit. Ubi itaque spiculatorem astare vidit, ratus viro forti ac gravi equo animo glorioseque esse morendum, timens filiis generoque ne, per <a>etatem et mollitiem animi, patre mortuo, vit<a>e indulgentes, ad t<a>etrum facinus et fidei sacratissim<a>e declinarent mutationem, precibus a spiculatore impetravit ut filios et generum prius, se deinceps trucidaret. vertit deinde se vir amplissimus ad generum filiosque.... Hac exhortatione vir gravissimus ita animavit filios generumque, ita affecit, ut l<a>eto animo et hylari vultu colla securi porrexerint et pie spiritus Creatori commisserint, apte modo spectante atque hortante, verum etiam l<a>etitia incredibili ex<s>ultante. Qui post h<a>ec flexis genibus Deum adoravit eiusque ineffabili clementi<a>e animam commisit. Spiculatorem deinde ut officium ageret invitavit, ac impigre virum clarissimum f<o>de, t<a>eterrime iugulavit.*

Now let me turn to the death of Loukas [Notaras], an extremely pious and prudent man who commanded the greatest respect. The honorific title “grand duke” had been accorded to him in accordance with the ancestral custom and an imperial decree. He was captured alive with his wife and children and he was brought before the victorious king [= sultan]. For a few days the king [= sultan] himself seemed to treat him kindly and politely. He then summoned and sent for his young son, who was exceptionally handsome. That most prudent man realized that his young son was being summoned to participate in the unspeakable vice. And so he refused to obey the summons and said that he would rather die than subject his little boy to such perversion. The king [= sultan] became angry and ordered that the son be snatched away from the arms and embraces of his parents and be hauled before him. He condemned Loukas, his two other sons, and his son-in-law to death. When he saw the executioner standing by, he decided that a brave and notable man must accept a glorious death. He feared, though, that once he, the father, had died, his sons and son-in-law, because of their age and tender minds, would choose to live by committing a most foul crime and deny their most sacred faith through conversion. So he asked the executioner to slaughter his sons and his son-in-law first and then execute him. Then that authoritative man turned to his son-in-law and his sons....[172] With this

> exhortation that most influential man so strengthened the spirits of his sons and of his son-in-law, and affected them in such a way that they stretched their necks for the ax with a joyful mind and with eager disposition they piously committed their souls to the Creator, as their father looked on, encouraged them, and was even delighted with incredible cheer. Then he invited the executioner to perform his duty. He miserably executed that wonderful man of steadfast faith.

Khalkokondyles presents a similar version but he does not report a speech. He simply states that the sons begged the father to surrender the fortune that he had invested in Italy and buy their lives, but Notaras encouraged them to submit to the executioner and he himself was to be executed afterwards.[173] In his next statement Khalkokondyles alludes to the numerous executions of notable Greeks:

> Ὡς δὲ τοῦτόν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεῖλε ὁ βασιλεύς, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευσε καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐλευθερωμένοι, ἀπαγαγόντες καὶ τούτους ἀπέσφαξαν.

> As soon as the king [= sultan] had executed him [Notaras] and those around him, without delay [Mehmed II] issued orders to take away and slaughter the other Greeks, as many as had been liberated in Byzantium [= Constantinople].

Then Khalkokondyles adds an intriguing reason for this massacre:

> καὶ οὕτω μὲν οὗτοι ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν φόνον ἐλάσας, ἐνάγοντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπιδήμων ἑνός, οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα βασιλεὺς συγγενόμενος ἤρα τε ἐπιμαινόμενος τῇ γυναικί, τούς τε προσήκοντας αὐτῇ ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο, ὑπὸ ἔρωτος ὡς μάλιστα φερόμενος.

> And so these men died for no good reason. The king [= sultan] was urged to commit this murder by a Greek, a non-native [of Constantinople], whose daughter the king [= sultan] had taken to bed and had fallen madly in love with this woman. He showed preference to her parents, compelled to act this way under the influence of love.

The story belongs to the legion of folk tales that soon evolved around the sack. One fact emerges. The youngest son of Notaras,[174] who entered into the harem of the sultan, seems to have involuntarily precipitated the fatal confrontation between Mehmed and Loukas Notaras and thus escaped execution. As is reported by numerous sources, he did not witness the execution of his father and his older brothers but was “torn from the arms of his parents”[175] and abducted to the *seraglio*. In fact, this approach seems to have been the way out of the executioner's ax for those young men who aroused the erotic attention of the sultan. The young Notaras was not the only example. Sphrantzes' son also entered the seraglio. It seems to have been a policy of the Porte to enlist handsome young men for the sultan's harem and the sultan appears to have gone to great lengths to acquire the sons of noblemen.[176] This fate was not reserved solely for the Constantinopolitan noblemen. Other vassals of the sultan suffered a similar fate, such as Radu of Wallachia,[177] the brother of Vlad III the Impaler (the prototype for our modern Count Dracula[178] ). Khalkokondyles presents details on a sordid incident that involved the young Radu and the sultan, and also comments on the general situation:[179]

> ...βασιλεύς...μετεπέμπετο Βλάδον τὸν Δρακούλεω παῖδα, Δακίας ἡγεμόνα, ἔχων παρ᾿ ἑαυτῷ τὸν νεώτερον αὐτοῦ ἀδελφόν, παιδικά τε αὐτοῦ γενόμενον καὶ διατώμενον παρ᾿ αὐτῷ...ὡς γὰρ ἐρῶν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκάλει ἐς ὁμιλίας, καὶ φιλοτιμίαν αὐτῷ προπίνων ἐκάλει ἐπὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα. ὁ μέντοι παῖς οὐδέν τι τοιοῦτον δοκῶν πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως πείσεσθαι, ἑώρα τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιφερόμενον αὐτῷ ἐς τοιοῦτόν τε πρᾶγμα, ἀπεμάχετό τε καὶ οὐ συνεγιγνώσκετο ἐς τὴν συνουσίαν βασιλέως. καὶ ἄκοντος ἐφίλει. σπασάμενος ὁ παῖς μάχαιραν παίει τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν μηρόν, καὶ οὕτω φεύγων αὐτίκα, ὅποι προὐχώρει αὐτῷ, ᾤχετο. βασιλέως μέντοι οἱ ἰατροὶ ἰάσαντο τὸ τραῦμα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐπὶ δένδρον αὐτοῦ που ταύτῃ ἀναβὰς ἐκέκρυπτο. ὡς δὲ συσκευασάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπῄει, ἐντεῦθεν καταβὰς ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου καὶ διαπορευόμενος οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας καὶ παιδικὰ ἐγένετο βασιλέως· χρῆσθαι δὲ νομίζει οὐχ ἧττον τοῖς ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δίαιταν τετραμμένοις· τούτοις μὲν γὰρ αἰεί τε συγγενόμενος συνδιατρίβει νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ᾿ ἡμέραν...τούτου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βλάδῳ ἐπέτρεψε βασιλεὺς τὴν Δακίας ἡγεμονίαν.

> ...the king [= sultan] summoned Vlad [III, the Impaler], the son of Dracula...he had with him his younger brother [= Radu], who became his homosexual lover and lived with him.... As he desired the boy, he invited him to converse with him, proposed toasts in his honor, and invited him to his chamber. The boy did not suspect that the king [= sultan] would assault him sexually but when he saw that the king [= sultan] was so inclined, he fought off his advances and would not submit to have sex with the king [= sultan]. The king [= sultan] tried to kiss the unwilling boy. The latter took out a knife and stabbed the king [= sultan] on the thigh. He [Radu] fled without further delay, looking for a hiding place. The king's [= sultan's] physicians took care of the wound. In the meantime the boy had climbed a tree and had concealed himself. The king [= sultan] set out with his army and went away. At this point the boy climbed down and, a short while later, reached the gates [= the Porte] and became the king's [= sultan's] homosexual lover. They do not frown upon those who engage in this lifestyle.... He [*sc.* Mehmed II] spent a great deal of time, night and day, with such

> people.... The king granted to this boy's brother [Vlad III the Impaler] the lordship of Dacia [= Wallachia].

Such abductions of young noblemen, who became in effect hostages of the sultan at the Porte, did not always end with the acquiescence of the young men. Even Radu struggled before he submitted to the sultan's will. A few years earlier, the young Notaras entered the harem but was biding his time and he eventually escaped from Constantinople, rejoined his sisters in Italy, became involved in mercantile ventures, and married a woman for whom his influential sister, Anna, had no affection.[180] From time to time, the politics of the harem invited intrigues and conspiracies, and the life of the sultan may have been threatened. In one of these incidents, the young Sphrantzes lost his life, as his father sadly reports in his chronicle:[181]

> ᾽Εν ᾧ δὴ χρόνῳ [= 6962 *anno mundi*, that is, A.D. 1453] καὶ μηνὶ [= Δεκεμβρίῳ] ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὸν φίλτατόν μου υἱὸν ᾽Ιωάννην ὁ ἀσεβέστατος καὶ ἀπηνέστατος ἀμηρᾶς ὡς δῆθεν βουληθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ — οἴμοι τῷ δυστυχεῖ καὶ ἀθλίῳ γενέτῃ —, χρόνου ὄντος ιδ$^{ου}$ μηνῶν η΄ παρὰ ἡμέραν, φρόνημα καὶ κορμὶν ἔχων πολλῷ πλειόνων χρόνων.

> In the same month [= December] and year [= 1453], the most impious and pitiless emir [= sultan], with his own hand, took the life of my dearest son John, on the grounds that the child had conspired to murder him. Alas for me, his unfortunate and wretched father! My son was fourteen years and eight months less a day. Yet his mind and body proclaimed him a much more mature person.

There was no safety for the noblemen and the prisoners of the sultans, most of whom seem to have been herded into the *piazza*/square, which is, in all likelihood, the present-day Vefa Meidan. This square was then converted to a place of execution. It should be emphasized that this is an inference of ours and that our primary reason has something to do with the role that this square played in the subsequent folk history. Why should the tomb of Constantine XI and that of his murderer, who was executed after declaring that he had put the emperor to death, be located in this otherwise obscure square? We consider it probable that these tales retain some reminiscences of the sultan's executions that took place after the sack.

Perhaps we can engage in further speculation. If indeed Vefa was the place of martyrdom for many notables, then it makes sense to suppose that Loukas Notaras and his sons were also executed there. We know that during the sack Notaras abandoned his position at the sea walls and returned to his house, presumably to look after his ailing wife and to ensure her safety. It was at his house that he finally surrendered to the Ottoman troops. Sekoundinos states that he was captured together with his wife and children:[182] *captus vivus cum uxore et liberis*, "he was captured alive with his wife and children." Doukas further states that on May 30, the sultan personally visited the grand duke and his wife at their house and conversed with them.[183] According to the same author,[184] the sultan left the grand duke s home, toured the devastated city, and then made the palace his temporary headquarters, where he held his victory celebration:

> καί…ἐξῆλθε περιοδεύων τὴν Πόλιν…. Τότε ὁ τύραννος διελθὼν τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς Πόλεως καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τοῦ παλατίου μέρεσι συμπόσιον ποιήσας εὐφραίνετο.
>
> and…he [Mehmed] came out [of the grand duke's house], and toured the city…. Then the tyrant [= sultan] went through most of the city and celebrated in good cheer with a symposium held in the neighborhood of the palace.

While Doukas does not specify which palace he has in mind, in all likelihood he intends the only imperial palace that was still functioning in the days of the siege. It must be a reference to Blakhernai[185] in the northern sector of the land fortifications by the Tower of Anemas[186] and in the district of Kynegesion. During the siege it had been under the care of the Venetian *bailo*, as Constantine XI had taken his stand in the Saint Romanos/Pempton sector, where he had erected a tent for his own quarters. Moreover, none of our sources state the exact location of the grand duke's house in Constantinople. It was only in the nineteenth century that the learned Mordtmann (the elder), during one of his innumerable walks through Istanbul, was told of its location and recorded an interesting inscription, which had marked Notaras house:[187]

> *An der Stadtmauer auf die Seite des Marmara – Meers in der unmittelbaren Nähe des Bukoleon, den heutigen Thuren, Tschatlady Kapu und Achys Kapussi unmittelbar unterhalb eines then Holzhauses, welches oben auf der Maurer steht, liest man folgende Inschrift:* †ΛΟΥΚ *(der Rest durch ein hölzernes Gerüst verdeckt)* ΝΟΤΑΡΑΣ ΔΙΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΟΥ, *d.h. (Haus) des Dolmetschers Lucas Notaras. Wir lernen auf dieses höchst interessanten Inschrift … wo das Haus dieses Staatsmannes war…. Diese bisher wie es scheint unedierte Inschrift wurde von meinem Bedienten Georg Philippides aus Andro endeckt….*
>
> On the city walls by the side of the Sea of Marmara directly in the very area of [the harbor of] Boukoleon, by the present-day Gates of

> Catladı Kapı and Ahıs Kapısı, directly below a Turkish timber house, whose stands are supported by the walls, one reads the following inscription: † OF LOUK (the rest is covered by a wooden beam) NOTARAS INTERPRETER, that is, [the house] of Loukas Notaras, the interpreter. We discovered by means of this most interesting inscription the location of this statesman's house.... This inscription, which has apparently not been published previously, was discovered by my servant George Philippides from [the island of] Andros....[188]

Thus it becomes understandable how Notaras was able to reach his house during the sack. He had been in charge of the sea walls and his house was in the same district. Doukas observes that the grand duke gave up his efforts when he realized that his sector had been penetrated and returned to his home, which, Doukas observes, was well fortified with a tower and already under siege. It was probably the strength of the place that compelled Mehmed to place a special guard to protect the grand duke and his house/fortress from further molestation:[189]

> Ὁ δὲ μέγας δοὺξ εὑρὼν τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἦν γὰρ ἀσθενοῦσα, ἐν τῷ πύργῳ κεκλεισμένους καὶ κωλύοντας τοῖς Τούρκοις τὴν εἴσοδον, αὐτὸς μὲν συνελήφθη σὺν τοῖς ὑπακολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ τύραννος πέμψας τινάς, ἐφύλαττον καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Τοὺς δὲ καταλαβόντας καὶ περικυκλώσαντας τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ Τούρκους, ἔδωκεν ἱκανὰ ἀργύρια, ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐξαγοράζειν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸν ὅρκον· ἐφυλάττετο οὖν πανοικί.

> The grand duke found that his daughters,[190] his sons, and his wife,[191] who had been ill, had barricaded themselves in the tower and were fighting against the Turks who were trying to enter. So he was captured with his retinue. The tyrant [= sultan] sent some men to guard him and his entire house. These Turks occupied and surrounded his house. To them he [sc. Mehmed] gave a sufficient monetary reward, as he had sworn, to give the appearance that he ransomed them. He [*sc*. Notaras] was being guarded with his entire household.

From his house near the sea walls Notaras was summoned to the presence of the sultan, who was celebrating his victory near the palace of Blakhernai. It was there that an argument between Notaras and Mehmed, probably in regard to the fate of young Jacob, took place and resulted in the condemnation of the grand duke. Thus this was the last time Notaras walked along the walls of the Golden Horn to the neighborhood of the imperial palace and subsequently to his execution at Vefa Meidan:[192]

> τότε ὁ τύραννος θυμωθεὶς εἴρηκεν τῷ ἀρχιευνούχῳ, "λάβε τὸν δήμιον σύν σοι, καὶ στραφεὶς ἄγε μοι τὸ παιδίον. ὁ δὲ δήμιος ἀγαγέτω τὸν δοῦκα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ." ...καὶ μαθὼν τὸ μήνυμα ὁ δούξ... ἐπορεύετο σὺν τῷ δημίῳ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Καντακουζηνός. τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἔλαβεν μεθ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος. εἰσελθὼν οὖν καὶ δείξας τὸ παιδίον τῷ ἡγεμόνι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ παλατίου ἱσταμένους, ὥρισε τῷ δημίῳ ξίφει τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς ἀνηνέχθη ἐς βασιλέα [*sc.* sultan] παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Νοταρᾶ νήπιον δωδεκαετῆ, ἔπεμψε τῶν οἰνοχόων αὐτοῦ ἕνα, αἰτούμενος τὸν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ οἰνοχόου, χαλεπῶς τε ἔφερε καὶ ἐποιεῖτο δεινόν...ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑποστρέφων ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ [*sc.* sultan] τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ συμπαρῆσαν, ἀπαγαγόντα κατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπὶ τούτου ταχθέντες.

> Then the chief eunuch returned and informed the lord…. Then the tyrant [= sultan] became angry and said to his chief eunuch:[193] “Take the executioner and go [to the grand duke’s house] to bring me the boy. Let the executioner escort the grand duke and his sons.” …the grand duke was told this message…he, his son, and his son-in-law, Kantakouzenos, went with the executioner. The chief eunuch escorted the boy. He entered and showed the boy to the lord, while the rest were standing at the gate of the palace. He commanded that the executioner behead them with the sword. Then the executioner took them a short distance away from the palace and announced the decision to them.

The account of Doukas, who had contacts at the Porte, is echoed by Khalkokondyles, who also had numerous acquaintances at the Porte; yet he omits to cite the place of execution:[194]

> ἀποτμηθῆναι. τότε λαβὼν αὐτοὺς μικρὸν κάτωθεν τοῦ παλατίου, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δήμιος τὴν ἀπόφασιν.

> When it was reported to the king [= sultan] that Notaras had a twelve-year old son, he sent one of his wine-bearers and asked for the child. When he [= the grand duke] was told [this] by the wine-bearer, he was troubled and considered the message a misfortune… he [the wine-bearer] returned and told the king [= sultan] what the Greek had said. He [the sultan] immediately ordered him to lead him [the grand duke] and his sons, as many as there were with him, to be executed. Those charged with the task came to him.

Kritoboulos, who was within the circle at the patriarchate after the fall, also furnishes similar details and further notes that there was a particular place of execution. His choice of words implies that it was a well-known place:[195]

> Φασὶ γέ τοι τοῦτον, ἐς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἀπαχθέντα, παρακαλέσαι τὸν δήμιον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς παῖδας….

> They say that when he [Notaras] was brought to the place of execution he asked the executioner to dispatch his sons first….

The topographical details are of interest here. According to Doukas, the condemned men stood by the "gate of the palace" and then were led "a short distance away to their deaths." Probably what is meant by the palace is Blakhernai and the place of execution is, in all probability, the Vefa Square, near the "Church-Mosque."[196] The exact location of the execution place must have been a well-known site, as Kritoboulos uses the definite article to indicate a specific location, perhaps known to all his readers and therefore needing no name.

Doukas also provides an interesting detail. After the executions of his sons, Notaras asked permission to pray before he was also beheaded. The executioners granted him his wish and Notaras entered a chapel at the location to prepare himself for his own death:[197]

> καὶ στηρίξας τοὺς νέους, ἐγεγόνεισαν πρόθυμοι τοῦ θανεῖν, καὶ λέγει τῷ σπεκουλάτορι, "ποίησον τὸ κελευσθέν σοι, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοὺς νέους." καὶ ὑπακούσας ὁ δήμιος ἀπέταμε τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νέων, ἱστάμενος ὁ μέγας δοὺξ καὶ λέγων τὸ "εὐχαριστῶ σοι κύριε" καὶ τὸ "δίκαιος εἶ κύριε." τότε εἶπε τῷ σπεκουλάτορι, "ἀδελφέ, δός μοι ὀλίγην ἀνοχὴν τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ προσεύξασθαι." ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸς μικρός. ὁ δὲ ἀφῆκε, καὶ εἰσελθὼν προσεύξατο. τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ (ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὰ σώματα τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἔτι σπαραττόμενα) καὶ πάλιν δοξολογίαν πέμψας τῷ Θεῷ ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλήν.

> And he [Notaras] confirmed the resolution of the young men, who accepted death willingly. Then he said to the executioner: "Fulfill your command but start with the young men." The executioner obeyed and he beheaded the young men. The grand duke stood by and said: "Thank you, lord! You are just, Lord." Then he said to the executioner: "Brother: grant me a respite to enter and pray." For at that place was a small church. He allowed him to do so; he entered and prayed. Then he exited from the church's gate (where the bodies of his sons were still writhing) and once more he glorified God before he was beheaded.

Other contemporary texts[198] also notice that Notaras prayed before he was beheaded. Yet Doukas is the only author to mention the existence of the "small church" or chapel in the vicinity. In the neighborhood of Vefa Meidan, there is an imposing Greek church from the medieval period. It is known as the Vefa Kilise Camii, *kilise* being a Turkish corruption of the Greek word ἐκκλησία, "church." This is a large structure and probably does not qualify as Doukas' "small church." There is, however, another possible candidate for this chapel. We observed a modest mosque that is situated upon the old site formerly identified as the location within a modest garden for the grave of Constantine XI.[199] The mosque is identified as Vefa Camii, while its more popular and semi-official designation is the Congregational Mosque of Molla Gürанî.[200] The present structure is of recent origin, although there are remnants of old buildings close to the mosque, especially about the garden and its modest cemetery, as we discovered during our survey of the area. The predecessor to this mosque was erected (or perhaps renovated from the ruins of an older Greek chapel) *ca.* 1471/1472.[201] The forerunner of the two mosques, a modest Greek chapel, no doubt, may have been the last place of prayer for the grand duke, who was then executed outside the structure.

According to Doukas, Notaras' headless body and those of his sons were left at the site and were denied burial:[202]

> λαβὼν οὖν ὁ δήμιος τὰς κεφαλὰς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐμφανίσας αὐτὰς τῷ αἱμοβόρῳ θηρίῳ. τὰ δὲ σώματα γυμνὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄταφα κατέλιπεν.

> And so the executioner took the heads and came to the [sultan's] drinking party. He showed them [the heads] to the bloodthirsty beast [= the sultan]. He left there [at the place of execution] the bodies, naked and unburied.

With time, we are told that the sultan regretted his actions against the grand duke and punished with death those individuals who had offered him bad advice concerning this matter. It is quite possible that what actually occurred was more cynical than this version. The death of the grand duke suited the sultan and his purposes, for he wished to have all ties with the old dynasty of Greeks severed. Yet in time he wished to absolve himself of such harsh treatment and simply ordered the execution of his agents. The text of Kritoboulos seems to hint at this possibility, but Kritoboulos, it will be recalled, is an apologist for the sultan, whom he wishes to flatter and to impress to fulfill his own agenda. According to Kritoboulos, the sultan was misled and ordered the execution of the grand duke, relying upon advisors who had been motivated by spite, jealousy, and grudges.[203] At the end, justice prevails:[204]

> ὕστερόν γε μὴν καταφωράσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δόλον καὶ τὴν κακουργίαν τῶν ἀναπεισάντων αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ μισήσας τῆς κακουργίας αὐτοὺς ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ποιεῖται, τοὺς μὲν θανάτῳ ζημιώσας, τοὺς δὲ παραλύσας τῆς ἀξίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς.

> Later the king [= sultan] detected the deception and the criminal acts of those who had persuaded them to kill those men. He abhorred their crime and decided never to lay eyes on them ever again. Some he punished with death and others he dismissed from

authority and positions of honor.

In conclusion, it should be noted that Vefa Meidan seems unlikely to have ever housed the remains of the last Greek emperor. On the other hand, folk memory may have elaborated some historical circumstances, which could be the nucleus for the tale that puzzled and fascinated pilgrims and scholars of the nineteenth century. If indeed Vefa Meidan was the place of execution for noblemen and prisoners, including Notaras and his relatives, then there may be an original and authentic kernel to this popular tale that eventually made its appearance and presented garbled versions of confused memories and reminiscences. Yet the folk tale, as should be expected, bears a remote resemblance to the historical events, which, however, have been transformed beyond recognition. Is it possible that it recalls, in its fashion, the executions that took place in Vefa's immediate vicinity, and, perhaps, does it even recall the execution of the last grand duke, which folk memory, with the passage of time, confused with the emperor? Is it possible that originally Vefa Meidan was the site where Notaras and his relatives were executed and their headless bodies were left unburied? And is it possible that in time this execution, with its macabre details, found its way into folk tradition, which further transformed the grand duke into the emperor? Victims and executioners seem to have been confused or conflated, and eventually folk memory of an important person being executed at Vefa, with the corpse left unburied on the grounds, misremembered identities, and elevated the headless corpses to the remains of the emperor and of his slayer. Whatever the truth, one cannot recover authentic details from legends and folk tales. Yet Vefa Meidan may be connected to some event(s) and incident(s) in those dark days.

If we may indulge in one further piece of speculation, we should consider the fate of the grand duke's head. Doukas, as we have seen,[205] states that the executioner brought three heads to the "palace" and the sultan viewed them. No other information is added. If by "palace" Doukas means "the palace of Blakhernai," then another macabre detail may be added to this picture. Not far from Blakhernai there is a place in Constantinople called Uç baş, "Three Heads." The story behind this name is that long ago there was a barbershop in this area and that the proprietor would perform three haircuts for the price of a single copper coin. Thus the neighborhood received its name from the establishment. This is a charming story, but again it may have undergone secondary elaboration to erase from folk memory more gruesome events. When we visited this area in June of 2001 and 2003, we noted numerous remains from the medieval period still *in situ* (pls. 7 and 8). In fact, the fence around the local mosque, Uç baş *mescidi*, clearly dates back to medieval times and probably marked the boundaries of the courtyard of an earlier church or villa with a garden. An interesting feature of this wall is that it contains a ledge (pl. 9) whose original function remains unknown. Is it possible that on this ledge three heads were exhibited, the gruesome trophies of the sultan, while the headless corpses were left without formal burial at the place of execution, the Vefa Meidan?

## IV. The Last Imperial Tomb: Hagia Theodosia?

In addition to Vefa Meidan, there is another site that folk mentality and tradition eventually associated with legends and with the day of the sack. There still stands, in very good condition, a mosque near the sea walls by the gate that bears the name Aya (pl. 10) among the Turks. The mosque is known as the Gül Camii, or "the Mosque of the Rose" (pls. 11 and 12). The origin of the name is unknown and is buried in legend.[206] Furthermore, at some early point after the conquest, this mosque was assumed to be the converted Church of Hagia Theodosia, which figured prominently among the Greek churches in Constantinople as late as 1453.

The Church of Hagia Theodosia achieved some notoriety on the morning of May 29, 1453, the day of the sack and the feast day of Saint Theodosia. The nun Theodosia became famed for her actions at the Khalke entrance to the imperial residence in Constantinople that marked the onset of the Iconoclastic era.[207] Cardinal Isidore notes the coincidence:[208]

> *O diem infelicem, si fas infelicem dici diem qua natalitia Sanctae Theodosiae virginis et martiris colerentur, festus quidem haut quaquam dies, verum infesta semper et christiano nomini perpetuo memorandae tantae cladis accepta memoria praeterit mensis Junii quarto Kalendas*.

> What an ill-omened day, if it is proper to call ill-omened the festive birthday of Saint Theodosia the virgin and martyr. In no way was that day auspicious. Indeed it will be inauspicious forever among Christians who will mark the recollection of such disaster that occurred on the fourth day of the Calends of June [= May 29].

Doukas is the only Greek author to speak of the events surrounding this church and its neighborhood on that fateful morning:[209]

> Ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς συντελείας τῆς Πόλεως ἑορτάζεσθαι καὶ πανηγυρίζειν τὴν μνήμην τῆς ὁσιομάρτυρος Θεοδοσίας. Ἐτελεῖτο οὖν ἑορτὴ πάνδημος· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἀφ᾿ ἑσπέρας πλεῖσται καὶ πλεῖστοι διανυκτερεύσαντες ἐν τῇ σορῷ τῆς ὁσίας, οἱ πλείονες δὲ πρωὶ ἡμέρας γενομένης, αἱ γυναῖκες σὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν ἀπερχόμεναι εἰς προσκύνησιν. φέρουσαι κηροὺς καὶ θυμιάματα, περικεκαλλωπισμέναι καὶ περικεκοσμημέναι οὖσαι, ἐξαίφνης ἐν ταῖς παγίσι τῶν Τούρκων ἐνέπεσον. Ποῦ γὰρ εἶχον ἐννοῆσαι τὴν ἐξαίφνης ὀργὴν εἰς τοσοῦτον εὖρος τῆς πόλεως; ἴσασιν οἱ εἰδότες τὸ μέγεθος.

> It so happened that on that horrible day [= May 29] of the end of

> the city, there was a memorial celebration of the holy martyr Theodosia. And so a general festival was being held. Very many men and women held an all-night vigil by the saint's remains. Early on in the morning of that day many women and their husbands were on their way to this church to pay their respects. They were holding candles and were burning incense. All were beautifully and appropriately decorated. But then they suddenly fell into the snares of the Turks. How could they have known that such wrath had been unleashed on such a great city? Those who know the city's size will understand my meaning.[210]

Rhetorical exaggeration aside, what Doukas seems to be saying is that the Turks entered the city while a celebration was being conducted in the church of Hagia Theodosia. The worshippers were then enslaved by the Turks, who had found their way to this church through the sea walls along the Golden Horn. In all likelihood, detachments of Turkish soldiers, seeking loot, reached Hagia Theodosia through the gates in the sea walls and in particular the Hagia Theodosia Gate.[211] Their entry was facilitated by the defenders' abandonment of the defense of the sea walls, once they had learned that the enemy had overrun the western defenses. We know of at least one famous defender by the sea walls who abandoned his post in these circumstances — Loukas Notaras:[212]

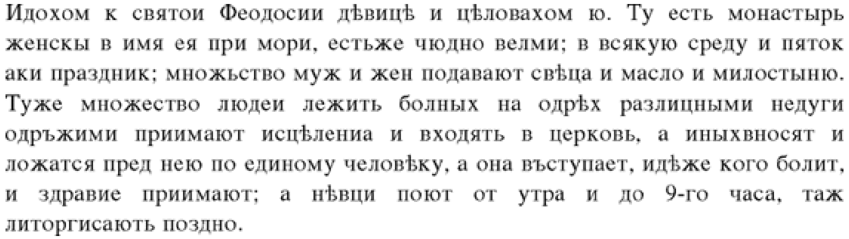
> Ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγας δοὺξ τοὺς Τούρκους ἐλθόυντας οὗ ἵστατο τόπου, ἧν γὰρ ἐπιβλέπων τὴν βασιλικὴν Πύλην σὺν πεντακοσίοις, ἀφῆκε φυλάττων τὴν πύλην καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκό ἀνεχώρησε σὺν ὀλίγοις.

> When the grand duke saw that the Turks had penetrated his assigned post (he had been in charge of the Imperial Gate with five hundred men), he abandoned his charge and went to his house in the company of a few men.

In the neighborhood of Gül Camii there still stands a gate in the sea walls popularly known as the Aya Kapı or the "Gate of the Saint/Holy Gate." It has always been assumed correctly that the Turkish term *Aya* derives from the pronunciation of the Greek word *hagia*/ἁγία meaning a "female saint." Thus it seems that Aya derives from the Greek Gate of "Hagia Theodosia," which was shortened in time to simply "the saint's gate." And since the imposing Byzantine structure of the "Mosque of the Rose" is within a short walking distance from the Aya Gate, it has been assumed that the Gül Camii is the Greek Hagia Theodosia which, upon conversion, or even later, became known as the Gül Camii.

Both the Church of Hagia Theodosia and the nearby gate associated with the church were well known during the days of the siege. The Gate of Hagia Theodosia was a prominent defensive position and eyewitness authors suggest that its protection had been entrusted to reliable commanders. Thus Pusculo,[213] in his register of defensive positions and commanders, states, *Tibi diva tuam Theodosia servat / Jan Blachus portam*, "Saint Theodosia: Jan Blachus[214] defended your Gate." Languschi-Dolfin also departs from his guide, Leonardo, to mention this gate and duplicates Pusculo's information.[215] In fact, it was the proximity of this structure to the gate that assisted scholars in identifying this mosque as the former Greek Church of Hagia Theodosia.

Greek texts are not helpful in providing the exact location of this famous landmark in Constantinople. Greater detail is supplied in the travel accounts of Russian pilgrims to the city, but they too are not sufficiently specific to pinpoint the precise location. The "wanderer," Stephen of Novgorod, whose visit to Constantinople has been dated to the year 1348 or 1349, wrote the earliest citation. He places the site of the church near the sea and further talks of the complicated ritual that presupposes a large supporting staff for the church. The ritual and the celebrations require an imposing structure to accommodate its large congregation and visiting pilgrims. His information on the site and its cult is the most detailed of all surviving accounts:[216]



> Идохом к святои Феодосии дѣвицѣ и цѣловахом ю. Ту есть монастырь женскы в имя ея при мори, естьже чюдно велми; в всякую среду и пяток аки праздник; множьство муж и жен подавают свѣца и масло и милостыню. Туже множество людеи лежить болных на одрѣх разлицными недуги одръжими приимают исцѣлениа и входять в церковь, а иныхвносят и ложатся пред нею по единому человѣку, а она въступает, идѣже кого болит, и здравие приимают; а нѣвци поют от утра и до 9-го часа, таж литоргисають поздно.

> We went to the convent near the sea named after Saint Theodosia the Virgin where we kissed her [body]. It is quite wonderful; every Wednesday and Friday is like a holiday [there]. Many men and women contribute candles, oil, and alms, and many sick people suffering from various diseases lie [there] on beds, receive cures, and enter the church. Others are carried in and are laid before her one at a time. She intercedes, and those who are ill receive healing. Singers chant from morning to the ninth hour, and so they perform the liturgy late.

The next testimony comes from the end of the fourteenth century, probably the years 1396/1397, and is attributed to Alexander the Clerk, who wrote a description of Constantinople that is included in the *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle*. He places the Church of Hagia

Theodosia near the Pantokrator Monastery and his next entry deals with the Pammakaristos, thus placing the site somewhere in the middle of the two well-known landmarks.[217] The account of Zosima the Deacon, the last known Russian description of Christian Constantinople, must have been composed during his visit on a journey from Kiev to the Holy Land and his return to Russia in May 1422. He complicates matters, as he states that Saint Theodosia was buried at the Evergetes Monastery.[218]

Pierre Gylles published two books on Constantinople and its vicinity in the sixteenth century. While in his book[219] on Constantinople proper he has absolutely nothing to say about this structure, he nevertheless mentions the former church and its neighborhood in his book on the Bosphorus:[220] *ad portam vulgo appellatam Agiam, à vicina aede diviae Theodosiae*, "to the gate popularly called Hagia because of its proximity to the church of Saint Theodosia." Gyllius never mentions the Gül Camii. In all probability that name had not been attached to the building at the time of his visit to Constantinople, between 1544 and 1547. The next individual to play a part in this drama was Stephan Gerlach, a Lutheran chaplain. He describes in his journal his visit to the building, which he identifies as Hagia Theodosia. He was aware of the visit by Gyllius and, like Gyllius, he never identifies the edifice as Gül Camii.[221]

Joannis Leunclavius, in his *Pandectes Historiae Turcicae* of 1588, gives a description of all the gates of Istanbul still standing at the time of his visit and provides the following information:[222]

> *Septima* [*sc. porta*] *vocatur Hagia capisi, quod hybrida voco Turco-Graeca significat portam sanctam. Ego tamen in ea sum opinione, ut existimem rectius appellari* ἁγίας καπισή, *hoc est, portam sanctae, videlicet Theodosiae; cujus templum e regione trans sinum vidi, vetus et elegantis structurae, nunc commutatum in mesittam, quae Casanis bassae dicitur.... Per hanc enim portam ingrediuntur urbem, qui a sancta Theodosia veniunt, ubi frequentia cum vicis aedificia sunt.*

> The seventh [*sc.* gate] is called Aya kapısı, which is a Greco-Turkish hybrid and means "the Holy Gate." Nevertheless, in my opinion I think it is more correct to call it ἁγίας καπισή, that is, "the gate of the saint," evidently Theodosia. Her church I saw from across the gulf [= the Golden Horn]: an ancient building with elegant architecture. Nowadays it has been converted into a *mescidi* [= place of worship] named after Hasan Pasha....[223] Through this gate enter the city those who come from Hagia Theodosia, where there are many buildings with neighborhoods.

Elsewhere, in his narrative Leunclavius makes another reference to this structure, whose general location he identifies:[224]

> *Exstat unum adhuc liberti cujusdam Pompeiani marmor, quod non procul a Casanis bassae messita (quondam illustri S. Theodosiae templo) supra navale Sultaninum sita, conspicitur.*
>
> There still survives to our day and can be seen another marble [inscription] of a certain freedman Pompeianus, not far from the *mescidi* of Hasan Pasha (the former famous church of Hagia Theodosia), situated above the sultan's shipyards.

Thus a third scholar from the sixteenth century identifies a building as Hagia Theodosia but never mentions Gül Camii. Clearly, the name had not come into fashion. But Leunclavius provides the first testimony that this former Greek church had been converted and was known as the shrine of Hasan Pasha sometime during the reign of Sultan Selim II (1566–1574); and so this building must have been known before it was renamed "the Mosque of the Rose." As for its fate immediately after the sack and until its conversion to the shrine of Hasan Pasha, there is no precise information. Unlike other churches, it did not remain in the hands of the Greeks, but neither was it converted to a mosque. Yet Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî's detailed guide to the mosques of Constantinople supplies the missing link:[225] "The Gül Congregational Mosque in Küçümustafapaşa. The above-mentioned mosque was converted from a church. Originally, it was a storage place[226] for equipment and other supplies for the Tersane [= the sultan's shipyards]. Subsequently a minaret and other requirements [of a place of worship] were built by order of His Majesty Sultan Selim Khan…and was made into a blessed mosque." Unfortunately, the origin of the name remains unexplained and it is probably related to another popular story that declares that this building was associated with a holy man by the name of Gül Baba or "Father Rose." That some of the churches of Constantinople derived their names from certain distinctive individuals who inhabited the immediate neighborhoods is not to be doubted. Thus the famous Pantokrator Monastery became known as the Zeyrek Camii renamed after a scholar/holy man, Zeyrek Mehmed, who lived in the neighborhood of the church until his death that occurred twenty years after the sack or later, early in the sixteenth century.[227]

A popular tale current in the nineteenth century states that when the Turkish soldiers came upon the building, they saw that it had been decorated with roses on the feast day of the saint and the memory of the event is preserved in its name.[228] Thus the tale itself equates Hagia Theodosia with Gül Camii. In fact, it was early on that this equation was made. Doukas, however, the only author to mention a few particulars about Hagia Theodosia during the sack, says nothing about roses decorating the church and talks only of "candles" and incense. Thus the connection with the rose must come from elsewhere.[229] Moreover, there seems to have been no association with roses in the Greek period of this building's history. In the Ottoman centuries the Greeks began to refer to this building as Ρόδον τὸ ᾽Αμάραντον, "the Unwithering Rose," but this appellation probably arose after its conversion to Islam, when it became known as Gül Camii and represents a translation from Turkish into Greek.[230]

Thus there remain numerous gaps in our knowledge of this building's history and evolution and of the original site of the Greek Hagia Theodosia, as unfortunately historians have never studied Hagia Theodosia systematically and in detail.[231] Gül Camii presents a fine hybrid of original Greek architecture with Turkish and Islamic modifications, additions, and alterations (fig. 2: Plan of Gül Camii).[232] It survives in remarkable condition and is one of the most imposing monuments within the city. In addition, its neighborhood retains elements that belong to old Stamboul of the past centuries and there are still medieval ruins embedded in modern buildings of the area. Especially, the district around the Aya Kapi still contains Ottoman remains that have been mixed together with Byzantine structures.[233]

Throughout the Ottoman centuries and until the latter part of the twentieth century the equation between the church of Hagia Theodosia and the Gül Camii was never questioned.[234] It was simply assumed that on May 29, 1453, this church was sacked early on,[235] because of its proximity to the walls and to the Aya Kapi through which Ottoman troops, presumably naval detachments assigned to the Golden Horn, passed eager for booty. It is only in recent times that doubts as to the Greek predecessor of Gül Camii have been expressed by a scholar who carried out a thorough visual examination of this building but who for the most part did not conduct any archaeological excavations of the walls or of its foundations.[236] His conclusions must necessarily be considered as tentative until a proper archaeological evaluation of the structure can be carried out.[237] Even so, his views have received favor with a subsequent investigator.[238]

Thus in this case scholarship and tradition find themselves at odds, and the Church of Hagia Theodosia, somewhere in the same district as the Gül Camii, seems to have vanished. Yet the building as a structure was imposing,[239] as we have seen, and it had to be large in order to accommodate the ritual and the numerous pilgrims who flocked to it, even in 1453, if Doukas' statements with regard to the sack carry any credence. A great deal of ink has been spilled in trying to make some sense out of this difficult situation. Subsequently, there have been attempts to find a solution to this problematical question; it has been claimed, for instance, that Hagia Theodosia must be located near the Aya Kapi, where some late Byzantine ruins can still be detected by the careful observer.[240] Indeed there are remains by the Aya Gate that may even include a chapel, which, in our opinion, should not be identified with the Church of Hagia Theodosia because of its humble size, deduced from part of the apse that is embedded in the wall of a lumberyard (pl. 13). This chapel, whose major part still lies under Ottoman and modern structures, could not accommodate the large numbers of pilgrims that the ritual celebrated in Hagia Theodosia required. In addition, this structure probably would not have attracted the attention of warriors and sailors eager for rich booty on the fateful day of May 29, as clearly more imposing buildings in the vicinity would have towered over this ordinary structure. The diminutive chapel could not have served as a center for celebrating the saint's annual festival.[241]

As matters stand, it is our opinion that tradition presents a more convincing case. The question is far from settled and the proposed "solutions" thus far are either extremely complicated, sometimes unnecessarily so, or raise more questions in the answers they purport to offer. The most elegant solution is still offered by tradition, and the arguments against the traditional identification do not seem very convincing in the absence of further archaeological or epigraphical evidence. Any *argumentum ex silentio* is perilous.[242]

We are not convinced by the argument that seeks to disassociate the Gül Camii from Hagia Theodosia by the deduction of dates for its construction. The argument that is concerned with dates runs as follows: based on our sources, the date for the construction of the Church of Hagia Theodosia has to be placed at the end of Iconoclastic period, the last quarter of the eighth century; yet it has been concluded, basically through visual inspection, that the Byzantine structure of the Gül Camii dates to the eleventh or the twelfth century.[243] Thus, it is claimed, the Gül Camii cannot be the old Greek Church of Hagia Theodosia. Of course there are problems with this approach, with the argument, and even with the dating, which at this point can be considered only tentative and provisional. What we can safely state is that the structure that, for the most part, has been visually examined dates back to the eleventh or the twelfth century, *ca.* 1050–1150, to be more precise. Yet throughout the structure there are clearly visible remains of reworking, of remodeling, and perhaps even of extensive rebuilding before the Ottoman period.[244] This building is not easy to read and its evolution is extremely complicated, thus presenting a fascinating case for the historian, the art historian, and the architectural historian (for interior view, pi. 15).[245] Granted that some of its structure does go back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one does not have to go far to find reasons for this later dating. The original structure may have been modified or even rebuilt by the Greeks in the eleventh or twelfth centuries; or perhaps there is something amiss with our sources that place the origins of this church at the end of the Iconoclastic period. Such possibilities perhaps are to be preferred over modern complicated solutions that seek to avoid the identification of the Gül Camii with Hagia Theodosia. Until we have definite evidence that includes actual archaeological excavation that can identify with certainty the foundations of this building, perhaps one should not be so hasty as to conclude that the Church of Hagia Theodosia is elsewhere. If it were so, one may well ask, where is it and where is there any evidence of the remains of such an imposing structure?

At any rate, for the purposes of our discussion, what is important is that in the last few centuries, which witnessed the outgrowth of the legends that concern us, they displayed no hesitation in identifying Hagia Theodosia with the Gül Camii. The legends that have accumulated around this interesting structure have one point in common: they all focus on the possible burials of different individuals, whether we are dealing with the remains of Saint Theodosia herself, the remains of Emperor Constantine XI, or the remains of Gill Baba.[246] Thus the point of origin is necessarily involved with tombs or reputed graves in the area. It so happens that this church did contain a number of burials from the Byzantine period but of course it was not unique in this aspect. The Pantokrator Monastery was also a favorite burial site for the imperial dynasties of Byzantium, and so was Holy Apostles. However, Gül Camii becomes the focus of such tales in the period after the conquest. It should be emphasized from the start that these tales are later. Nothing of the sort seems to have been around at the time when the building was a storage depot or later when it became a place of worship, first the *mescidi* of Hasan Pasha and later a congregational mosque. In fact, the tales that concern the last Greek emperor of Constantinople do not seem to be older than the eighteenth century at the earliest, but they do provide another insight into “folk history.” All tales assume that the Gül Camii is the converted Greek Church of Hagia Theodosia. None of the tales suggests another location for Hagia Theodosia or questions this identification. In the folk mind there has never been any doubt about the identity of this building.

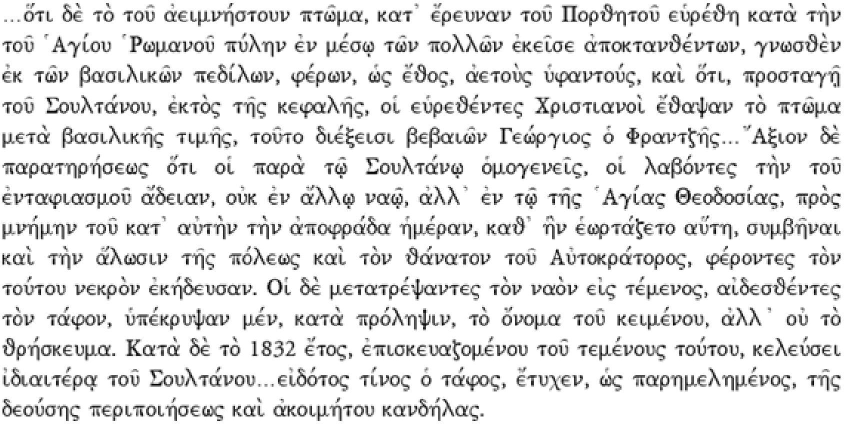
The first we hear of a possible grave site of the emperor within this structure is in the nineteenth century, when it was also stated that it was a well-known story among the inhabitants of the area and that it had been passed on orally from generation to generation. In fact, it was a learned individual and a patriarch who first made mention of this tale. Patriarch Konstantios in 1852 states that this story was common knowledge among the Greek residents of the neighborhood, the Phanariots, some of whom were descendants of the survivors of the carnage of 1453, whose families had managed to survive in the vicinity of Phanar, but for political reasons both they and he had refrained from stating this tale in public. In fact, they willingly chose to maintain a prudent silence. He adds that this tradition was accepted both by members of the Greek patriarchate and also by Turkish holy men in his time, as well as by Turkish secular authorities who always directed European visitors to this structure whenever they inquired about the grave of the last Greek emperor:[247]

> Ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας ποτὲ ναῷ, ἀναφέρομεν ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν φιλοπονήματι, ὅτι, κεῖται μνῆμα, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις, διὰ λόγους ἀνωτέρους, τὸν δακτύλιον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ στόματι θέντες, σιγὴν ἠσπάσθημεν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐπισημοτάτου τούτου μνήματος, ἀποδώσαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένην τέφραν ἑτέρῳ ὁμολογητῇ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ, ᾧ αὐτὴ ἀνήκει, τῷ μετὰ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μαρτυρικῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως συναποθανόντι ἀοιδίμῳ Ἀ. Κ. τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ.... Ἡ περὶ τούτου παράδοσις ἀλληλοδιαδόχως μετέβη καὶ εἰς τοὺς γηραιοὺς Φαναριώτας, ὧν, παῖδες ὄντες, ἠκούσαμεν λεγόντων, αὕτη δὲ μεταβαίνει καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς καθέξασι καὶ κατέχουσι τοὺς πρώτους βαθμοὺς τοῦ θρησκευτικοῦ τάγματος τῶν Οὐλεμάδων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Μουδδερίσων τῶν μεγάλων τεμενῶν περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ μνήματι τούτῳ κειμένου. Τοῖς δὲ ἐπισκεπτομένοις δι᾽ ὁρισμοῦ ἐπισήμοις τῶν Εὐρωπαίων, οἵ τινες ὅμως ἐμμένουσιν ἀναζητοῦντες ἐν τῷ τεμένι τοῦ Πορθητοῦ Σουλτὰν Μεχμὲτ ἢ τὴν τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου λάρνακα ἢ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων Αὐτοκρατόρων, ὑποδεικνύουσι τοῦτον τοῦ ὑστάτου Κωνσταντίνου τάφον, ὡς μόνον διασωζόμενον.... Προσφάτως δέ... ὑπέδειξαν...τὸν εἰς Γκιοὺλ-τζαμισί, ὅν, ὡς τῷ ὄντι τοῦ ὑστάτου Παλαιολόγου, ἐβεβαίωσεν...καὶ ὁ τοῦ τεμένους τούτου Ἰμάμης.

> In the church that once belonged to Hagia Theodosia, I have reported in my monograph,[248] there is a monument, but, as I have done on other occasions, for compelling reasons, I placed the seal of Alexander on my lips and embraced silence. Then I attributed the ashes within this most distinguished monument to a confessor and not to the real owner, to the emperor who died gloriously, like a martyr, together with the Eastern Empire, the memorable Emperor Cfonstantine XI] Palaiologos.... This tradition has been passed down from generation to generation to the elderly Phanariots, who told me the story when I was still a child. The same tradition exists among the religious orders, the *ulema* and the *müdderis* of the notable mosques in the neighborhood of the tomb. When notable European visitors persist in their quest to identify the sarcophagus of Constantine the Great or those of other emperors, to them they point out the tomb of the last Constantine, as the only surviving

> tomb. Recently, the *imam* of this mosque, *Gül Camisi*, confirmed that the tomb within is the tomb of the very last Palaiologos.

Thus the patriarch repeated the current tradition that the tomb of the last emperor was to be found in Hagia Theodosia/Gül Camii. He was even specific about the location. There are two chambers within the church, which seem an unusual feature. Each chamber is situated within two piers, a southeastern and a northeastern. A north window lights the southeastern pier (pl. 16) and it can be accessed from a small gate at the base of the pier within the church. Nowadays the gate that leads upstairs to the chamber is locked and even the caretakers of the mosque do not possess a key to allow access. From visitors in the past who inspected the chamber, we know that it was reached by "a spiral stairway of nine short steps, and contains a tomb, which is covered with shawls, and has a turban around its headstone. On the bracket in the wall there is a lamp ready to be lighted in honour of the deceased."[249] Patriarch Konstantios knew of this chamber and also knew of a Turkish inscription, which declared that this was "the tomb of the Apostles, disciples of Jesus. Peace be to him."[250] The patriarch then cited what he thought was a fact, namely that Sphrantzes had claimed that the emperor had been buried honorably, after the body had been identified by the imprinted eagles on his boots, by the order of the Conqueror:[251]



...ὅτι δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἀειμνήστουν πτῶμα, κατ᾽ ἔρευναν τοῦ Πορθητοῦ εὑρέθη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ πύλην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀποκτανθέντων, γνωσθὲν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν πεδίλων, φέρων, ὡς ἔθος, ἀετοὺς ὑφαντούς, καὶ ὅτι, προσταγῇ τοῦ Σουλτάνου, ἐκτὸς τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ εὑρεθέντες Χριστιανοὶ ἔθαψαν τὸ πτῶμα μετὰ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς, τοῦτο διέξεισι βεβαιῶν Γεώργιος ὁ Φραντζῆς...Ἄξιον δὲ παρατηρήσεως ὅτι οἱ παρὰ τῷ Σουλτάνῳ ὁμογενεῖς, οἱ λαβόντες τὴν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ ἄδειαν, οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ναῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας, πρὸς μνήμην τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀποφράδα ἡμέραν, καθ᾽ ἣν ἑωρτάζετο αὕτη, συμβῆναι καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, φέροντες τὸν τούτου νεκρὸν ἐκήδευσαν. Οἱ δὲ μετατρέψαντες τὸν ναὸν εἰς τέμενος, αἰδεσθέντες τὸν τάφον, ὑπέκρυψαν μέν, κατὰ πρόληψιν, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κειμένου, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τὸ θρήσκευμα. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ 1832 ἔτος, ἐπισκευαζομένου τοῦ τεμένους τούτου, κελεύσει ἰδιαιτέρᾳ τοῦ Σουλτάνου...εἰδότος τίνος ὁ τάφος, ἔτυχεν, ὡς παρημελημένος, τῆς δεούσης περιποιήσεως καὶ ἀκοιμήτου κανδήλας.

> That the body of the late [emperor] was found, in the search by the Conqueror [= Mehmed II], in the sector of the Gate of Saint Romanos amidst the fallen there, and was recognized by the imperial sandals bearing, as was the custom, embroidered eagles, and that the body, minus the head, was buried with royal honors, is confirmed by the account of George Phrantzes [= Sphrantzes].... It is noteworthy that our people by the sultan's side, who received permission for burial, they chose no other church but the church of

> Hagia Theodosia, in order to commemorate the unlucky day, which happened to be her feast day, on which both the city was taken and the emperor died. They gave his remains a burial. Those who converted the church into a mosque respected the tomb but superstitiously concealed the occupant's name but not his religion. About the year of 1832, as this mosque was undergoing repairs, by special order of the sultan… who had discovered the real identity of the entombed individual, due attention was paid to the neglected tomb and it was given an ever-burning oil lamp.[252]

The patriarch's assumption is that the emperor's remains were identified and were given decent burial. In these assumptions the statements of Pseudo-Sphrantzes have led him astray, as the patriarch had not been aware of the forgery.[253] The fact is that in the fifteenth century, as we have seen, there was no grave associated with the last Greek emperor. Thus the tradition that reached Patriarch Konstantios could not be very old. In all likelihood, the sultan during repairs paid honor to the equally legendary Gill Baba, "Father Rose," and not the last Greek emperor. The chamber that encloses the tomb is almost certainly a place of cult worship that dates from the Byzantine period and contained the relics of Hagia Theodosia or of some other saint who had been used in her ritual and cult.

This is also probably true of the original function of the second chamber within the northeastern pier. But the situation here becomes more complicated, as this chamber has not been visited in recent memory and has never been inspected by archaeologists or historians. The pier, its presumed door and staircase, as well as the chamber within, were walled up long ago and there is no access to this chamber, which for all intents and purposes has been hermetically sealed. While there is no longer an access to the chamber, an inaccessible window high up on the pier clearly looks into the chamber. The reason for this restriction has never been stated and no one remembers why or when it was sealed. When the eminent Byzantine archaeologist Xenophon Siderides examined the mosque[254] at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, the pier had already been enclosed. Nevertheless, Siderides managed to interview individuals who had visited this chamber-crypt:[255]

> Κατὰ τὴν πρό τινων ἡμερῶν ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο, ἐμάθομεν δ᾽ ὅτι πρὸ χρόνων ἔφραξαν διὰ τοίχου τὴν εἴσοδον τῆς κρύπτης τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ πινσοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι ἦτο αὕτη ἀπεριποίητος καὶ πλήρης ἀσβεστοκεραμοκονίας καὶ συντριμμάτων λίθων καὶ πλίνθων, καθὰ ἔλεγέ τις γέρων ἀνελθὼν ἄλλοτε εἰς αὐτήν· εἴδομεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ τούτου πινσοῦ ὀπὴν ἀκριβῶς ἀντιμετωπίζουσαν ὁμοίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πινσοῦ, οὔσας φεγγίτας ἢ ἀεριστήρια.

> During our visit to this mosque [= Gül Camii] a few days ago, we

> discovered that years ago they blocked, with a wall, the entrance to the crypt on the left [= northeast] pier, for the reason that it had been neglected and had been full of asbestos and clay dust as well as broken stones and tiles, as we were told by an old man who had ascended [to the crypt] long ago. We also observed that on this left pier there is an opening, matching exactly a similar opening on the right [= southeast pier]; they are light or air wells.

In fact, Siderides, in his detailed study, elaborated the tradition that was first cited by Konstantios, accepted this mosque (whose identification with Hagia Theodosia he never doubted) as the final resting place of the last Greek emperor but he also offers a new interpretation of his own. Siderides accepted as fact the inventions of Pseudo-Sphrantzes that the body of the last emperor was identified and was given decent burial by order of Mehmed II. He supports his views by stating that it would have been to the advantage of the Conqueror to declare the death of his adversary in order to avoid the creation of a martyr, to drive the conquered Greeks to utter despair, and to reassure the Turks of their victory.[256] The new twist came when Siderides proposed that Hagia Theodosia was not the first resting place for the emperor's remains, as he states that he was buried at the second-most important church in Constantinople, after Hagia Sophia, which became the first seat of the Patriarchate under the sultans, the Church of the Holy Apostles:[257]

> ...τὸ εὑρεθὲν πτῶμα τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου, κηδευθὲν...πομποδῶς...ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ἀνέκαθεν χρησιμεύσαντι ἡρώῳ, τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπί τινας μῆνας μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐχρημάτισεν ἕδρα καὶ ναὸς τοῦ Πατριαρχείου.

> ...once the body of Constantine was found, it was buried...in a procession...in the place that had always served as the receptacle of the remains of heroes, the Church of the Holy Apostles, which also served as both a church and as the seat of the Patriarchate after the sack for a number of months.

It should be emphasized that this view is not based on any facts or authoritative statements and, as we have seen, it is more than likely that the body was never identified. Moreover, by the fifteenth century emperors were no longer buried at Holy Apostles, which was in a state of major disrepair and falling apart, and in the days after the sack the Patriarchate was headed by Scholarios-Gennadios II, the archenemy of Constantine XI, in whom the patriarch saw only a contemptuous Catholic prince who did not deserve burial on hallowed Orthodox ground.

The dilapidated condition of this church and its isolation from Christians, as it found itself in an inimical Muslim neighborhood, eventually forced the patriarch to switch the seat of the patriarchate to another district and he chose, with the approval of the sultan, the Church of Saint Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii). This part of the story can be verified through authoritative texts.[258] While we do not know when the transfer of the patriarchate took place, it must have been after the ascension of Gennadios II to the patriarchal throne, which occurred in January 1454.[259] The dilapidated Church of the Holy Apostles was torn down and in its place the Conqueror built his own mosque, known as Fatih Camii, which eventually housed his remains in a *türbe*. The site was more than a mosque, as it became the center of a great religious and social complex that was built between 1463 and 1470.[260]

What is of interest to us is that the architect in charge of dismantling Holy Apostles and of erecting Fatih Camii was a Greek, presumably one of the renegades at the Porte, in the service of Mehmed II, whose name before his conversion to Islam was Khristodoulos.[261] We know little about him and the very scanty information that we do possess comes from the eighteenth-century work of Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantes. Siderides then constructs a hypothesis, according to which this "pious architect,"[262] who had won the good will of the sultan,[263] took care during the demolition to remove the remains of Constantine XI from his tomb at Holy Apostles and to transfer them to the northeastern pier of Hagia Theodosia:[264]

> Ἀλλ᾿ ἆρά γε πλανώμεθα ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων Χριστόδουλος κατεδαφίζων τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἀνασκάπτων τὸ ἔδαφος ἐφρόντισε καὶ ἐξετέλεσε τὴν ἐκ ναοῦ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες ὁ Φραντζῆς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐθεώρησαν περιττὸν νὰ ὀνομάσωσι τὸ μέρος τῆς ταφῆς, ὡς πασίγνωστον) ἀνακομιδὴν καὶ κατάθεσιν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν λειψάνων εἰς τὴν τότε ἴσως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὀρυχθεῖσαν κρύπτην ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ πινσῷ τοῦ νῦν Γκιοὺλ τζαμὶ καλουμένου ναοῦ, τῶν δὲ βασιλικῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου, εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ πινσῷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ· Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀποστολικὰ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ σέβονται οἱ Τοῦρκοι, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ καὶ ἡ κανδήλα, …τὰ δὲ βασιλικὰ εἰς λήθην κατεδίκασαν, φράξαντες διὰ τοίχου τῆς κρύπτης τὴν εἴσοδον, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις, ἔστω καὶ ἀμυδρῶς, μαρτυρεῖ· … Ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἐκεῖνος ἀρχιτέκτων Χριστόδουλος…ἔκαμε τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν καὶ κατάθεσιν τῶν λειψάνων αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κρύπτην τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ πινσοῦ τοῦ νῦν Γκιοὺλ τζαμῆ, τοῦ θεωρουμένου ὡς ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας, μείναντος ἐπί τινα χρόνον εἰς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, ὡς εἰκάζομεν.

> Are we to commit an error, if we were to say that the architect Khnstodoulos, while he was demolishing the church [of the Holy Apostles] and was digging up its pavement, he took care to transfer (and for this reason everyone, Phrantzes and the rest, felt no need to cite the burial site since it was known to everyone) from the Holy Apostles and deposit the remains of the apostles to the crypt on the right [= southeast] pier of the present-day Gül Camii, which was

> perhaps then built for this purpose, and the remains of the emperors, including those of Constantine Palaiologos, to the crypt on the right [= northeast] pier of the same church? In addition, the Turks then showed respect, as they still do, to the remains of the apostles (as the inscription and the oil lamp attest)… but they have condemned the emperor's remains to oblivion, by blocking, with a wall, the entrance to the crypt, as tradition, even obscurely, attests? …. That pious architect, Khristodoulos…transferred and deposited his [Constantine Palaiologos'] remains in the crypt of the left [= northeast] pier of the present-day Gül Camii, which is thought to be the Church of Hagia Theodosia, which, as we suspect, remained in the hands of the Orthodox for some time.

In fact, there are a number of errors to render this supposition improbable.[265] The starting point is of course the statements of Pseudo-Sphrantzes, who claims, without any basis in reality, that Constantine XI received an honorable burial. It is probable that a tale speaking of the burial of the last emperor was circulating by the time Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos visited Constantinople, but it is also clear that other well-informed individuals in Constantinople in the sixteenth century were aware of the fact that no site had been associated with the remains of Constantine XI. In addition, there is no evidence whatsoever that Khristodoulos, who may not be a historical personality after all, was a "pious" Christian nor that he removed any remains or objects from Holy Apostles during the demolition.[266] The supposed remains of Constantine XI would not have been accepted for burial either at Holy Apostles or at any other religious site under the jurisdiction of Gennadios II. Further, it is certain that Hagia Theodosia was not in the possession of the Christians after the sack, whether we identify this building with Gül Camii or with any other structure in the area.

Thus another myth was produced as late as the beginning of the twentieth century and it became an "apocryphal legend" that is still cited in modern guidebooks for Istanbul. Yet in this instance the myth has been elevated by the hypothesis of a scholar. What must have attracted Siderides to provide this unlikely suggestion was probably the fact that there is no access to the northeastern pier of Gül Camii. The reasons for blocking the entrance with a wall so as to efface all evidence of a staircase to the crypt are obscure. Obscurity often proves to be fertile ground for legends and theories. It is still an interesting question that needs to be investigated by an archaeologist, whose undivided attention to this most interesting building in modern Istanbul is long overdue. A thorough archaeological investigation can resolve numerous troubling and engrossing questions concerning this enigmatic structure.

Another rationale that undoubtedly attracted the attention of Siderides to produce this hypothesis was the fact that the southeastern pier was the site of a cult to the fallen emperor in the Ottoman period. Chances are that the crypts in both piers had housed saintly relics in the Byzantine period and this aspect of the church's cult continued into the Ottoman phase. Moreover, there is the puzzling substructure housing numerous vaults that may have contained additional graves. Finally, in 1832, Gül Camii underwent a major renovation upon the sultan's order. During the restoration work, headed by a Greek architect, a previously unknown tomb was discovered within the structure. Could it be that the origin of the legends goes no further back than this discovery?[267]

We have examined a number of legends that have been associated with the sack. The first legend that dealt with Troy and Constantinople is basically a western fabrication that received its momentum through humanistic pens. The second story involving Vefa is clearly a tradition that has its origins in popular tales and was especially favored among the Greeks of the nineteenth century. The third legend concerned with Gül Camii is the creation of scholars who cite tradition in support of their arguments and what they consider to be authentic texts from the fifteenth century. The story is, of course, more complicated, as there were other sites that claimed to be the final resting place of the last Greek emperor,[268] but ultimately all stories and folk tales end up with a curious contradiction, as they also claim that Constantine XI is not dead but sleeping in a secret location and he will eventually awaken to claim his city.

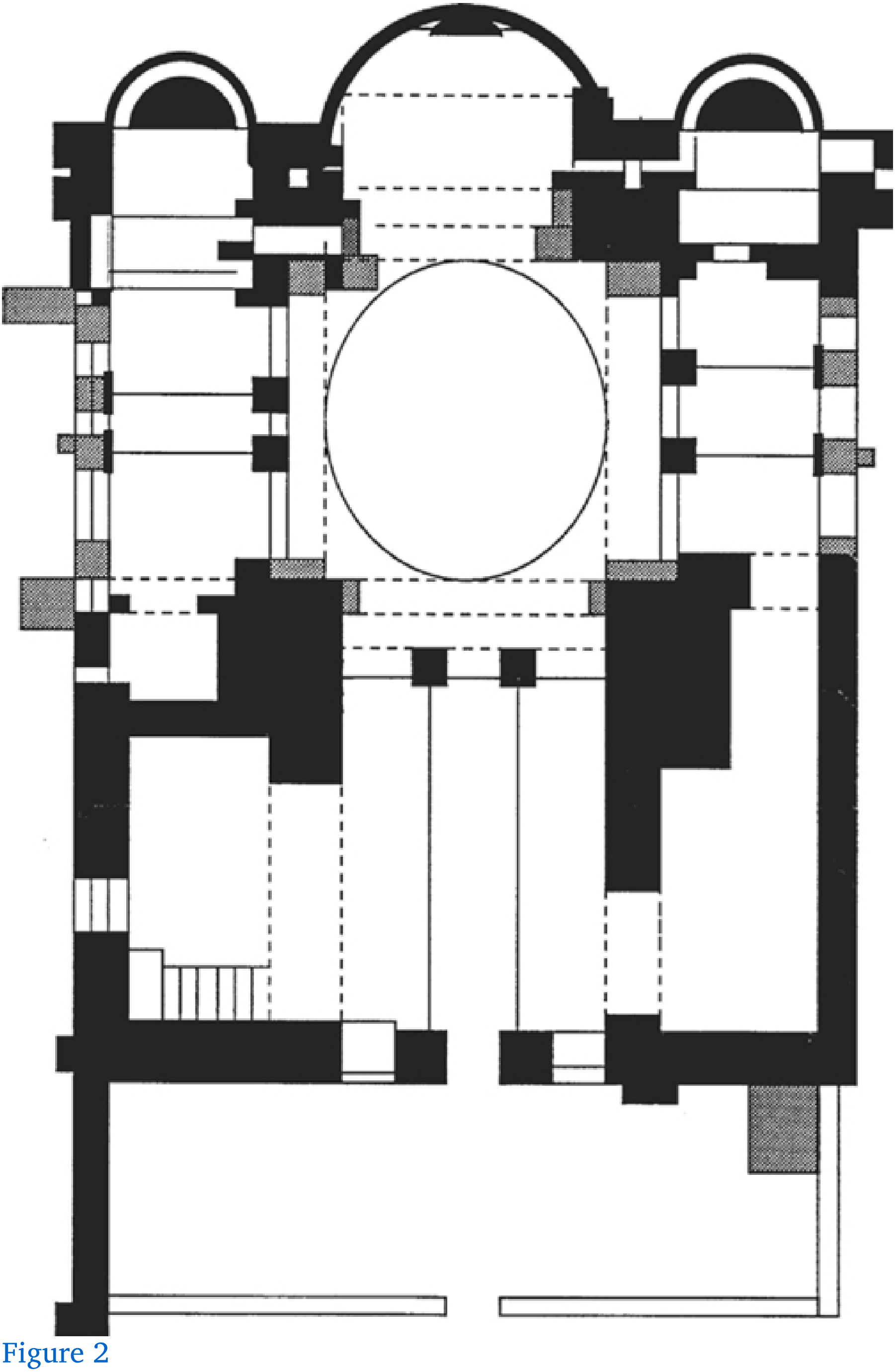


Figure 2

Plan of Gül Camii/Hagia Theodosia

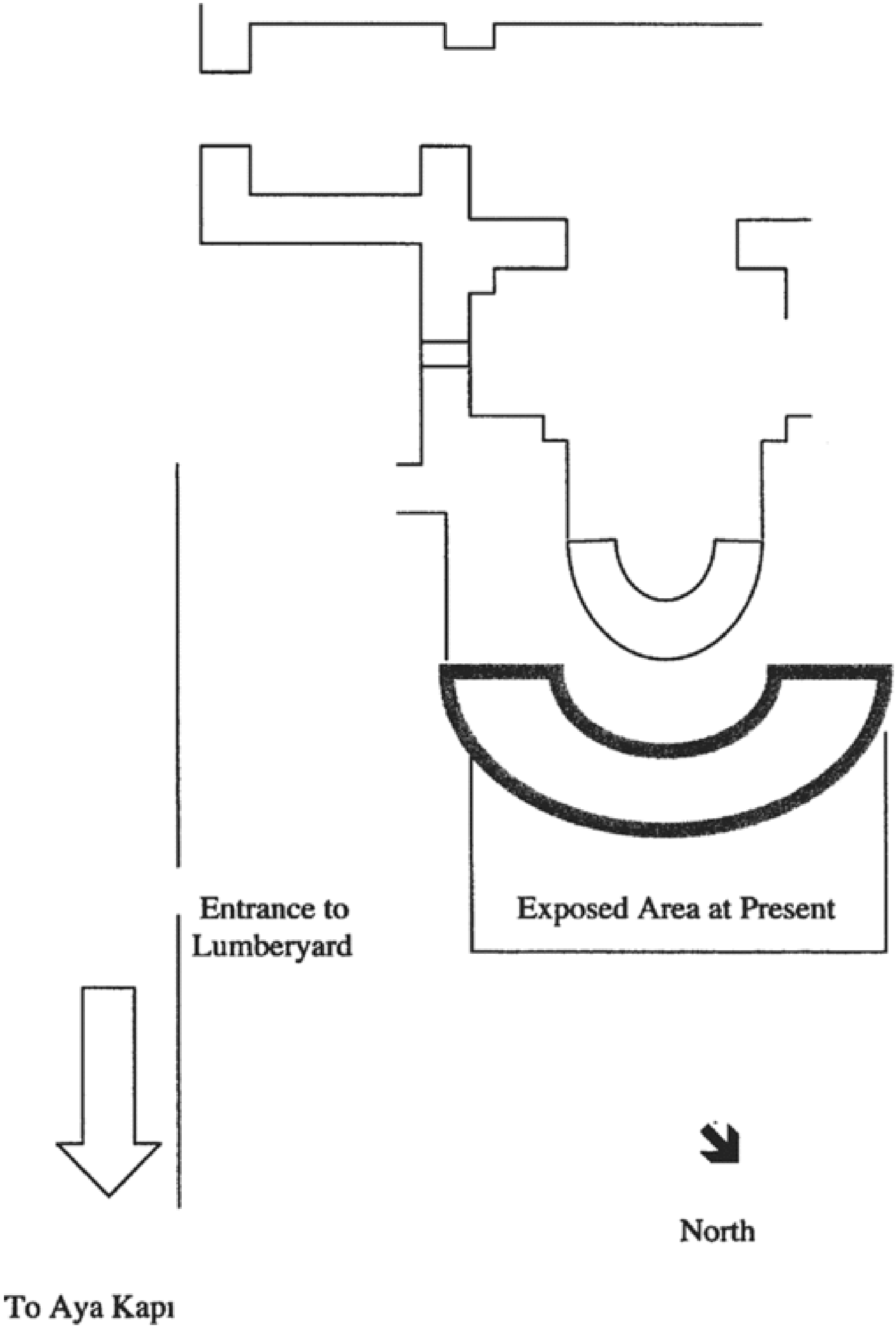

Entrance to Lumberyard
Exposed Area at Present
North
To Aya Kapı

Figure 3

Plan of Aya Chapel

# Notes

1 After its initial edition, this work was edited and reissued by Giovanni Stringa in the following century (Venice, 1604). It was again reworked, with additional material, and re-edited by Giustiniano Martinioni, who reissued it in two volumes in Venice in 1663 with a slightly expanded title: *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIIII libri.*

2 Geanakoplos, *Interaction*, p. 231, places his death in 1511.

3 Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, p. 147; on this program and the difficulties involved with chronology of the cycle of paintings, which does not seem to have been completed before 1531, cf. Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London, 1988), items 272–279 of the catalogue.

4 Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel, 1577): Manuel Chrysoloras: fig. 41; George Trapezountios: fig. 46; Janos Argyropoulos: fig. 50; and Demetrios Chalcondyles: fig. 55. The portraits are reproduced in Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, p. 147, and plates 158–162; and in Staikos, *Χάρτα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τυπογραφίας*. Stimmer's engraving of Chrysoloras does not derive from a pen drawing of Chrysoloras teaching Greek in the *Studium* at Florence and probably was executed by one of his students (*Musée du Louvre Paris, Département des Dessins*, no. 9849); cf. Cammelli.

5 Cf. among others, Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance; idem, Interaction*, pp. 226 ff.; Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus, passim*; and Zakythinos, *Μεταβυζαντινὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, pp. 209–231. In addition, cf. Sabbadini, “L'ultimo Ventennio,” pp. 321–336; Mercati, “Una notiziola su Manuele Crisolora,” pp. 65–69; Thomson, pp. 76–82; and Staikos, *Χάρτα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τυπογραφίας*. In addition, cf. now Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks: Fashioning the Other in 15th Century Italy* (Philadelphia, 2004).

6 The *editio princeps* in Venice *ca.* 1471 by the printer Adam de Ambergau [= Oberammergau]: mostly a Latin rendition, perhaps under the care of Chrysoloras' famous student, Guarino Veronese (1370–1460); cf. R. Sabbadini, *Guarino Veronese e il suo epistolario* (Salerno, 1885); *idem, Vita di Guarino Veronese* (Genoa, 1891); and *idem, La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* (Catania, 1896). Next appeared an edition of Chrysoloras' Greek text facing a Latin translation. Giovanni da Reno in Vicenza probably printed it in 1475/1476. An anonymous printer, in all likelihood Stephanus Corallus, in Parma *ca.* 1481, then produced an edition. The first dated edition (Venice, 1484) was by the printer Pellegrino Pasquale (in the house of Pasqualibus and Dionysius Bertochus). Furthermore, the *Ἐρωτήματα* qualifies as the first printed Greek book to include a table of *Corrigenda*: the edition was by Demetrios Khalkokondyles (Chalcondyles) in Milan, *ca.* 1493. On this influential grammar book, in general, cf. A. Pertusi, “Ἐρωτήματα. Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa,” *Italia Mediovale e Umanistica* 5 (1962): 321–351.

7 Woodhouse, esp. ch. 9; A. Pertusi, “In margine alla questione dell'Umanesimo bizantino: il pensiero politico del cardinal Bessarione e i suoi rapporti con il pensiero di Giorgio Gemisto Pletone,” *Rivista di Studi Byzantini e Neoellenici* 5 (1968): 95–104.

8 Wolkan, pp. 189–202.

9 *CC* 1: 46. From a document dated *ap. s. Petr. a 1453, viii, id. octob. pontif. anno septimo* [= Rome, October 4, 1453] (*Reg. 401*, fol. 47, Secret Archives of the Vatican, published in Pastor, 2, Appendix, Document 22 [pp. 524–525]), we learn that Bishop Leonardo of Chios, who had participated in the defense and had been captured and ransomed on the very first day of the sack, found time to buy books plundered from a library: *Et sicut eadem petitio subjungebat venerabilis frater noster Leonardus archiepiscopus Methalinensis [= Mytilinensis], ord<inis> fratrum praedicatorum professor in Constantinopoli et Pera …ipseque archiepiscopus duo missalia et unum breviarium et nonnullos alios libros dict<a>e libraria<e> deputatos emere non dubitaverit.* In general, however, it appears that at the time of the fall, Constantinople did not possess "treasures" in ancient books that the western humanists hoped were there. Constantinople's libraries had steadily lost books since the days of the Fourth Crusade and the books that seem to have been available at this time were mainly ecclesiastical texts and not the ancient classics. Cf. K. A. Manaphes, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βιβλιοθῆκαι Αὐτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ Πατριαρχικὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αὐταῖς Χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς Ἁλώσεως (1453)*, Σειρὰ Διατριβῶν καὶ Μελετημάτων 14 (Athens, 1972), esp. pp. 130–148.

10 On the Palaiologan dynasty, cf., in general, Constance Head, *Imperial Twilight: The Palaiologos Dynasty and the Decline of Byzantium* (Chicago, 1977); G. Ostrogorsky, "The Palaeologi," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 4: *The Byzantine Empire*, Part I: *Byzantium and Its Neighbours*, ed. Joan M. Hussey (Cambridge, 1966): ch. 8; *idem, History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick, 1969), pp. 450–573; A. A. Vasiliev, *A History of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453*, 2 (Madison, 1961): ch. 9. More specialized studies of individual emperors are provided by D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, MA, 1959; repr. 1974); Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronikos II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, MA, 1972); Ursala V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos. Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinische Geschichte in den Jahren 1321–1341* (Amsterdam, 1965); V. Parisot, *Cantacuzène, homme d'état et historien* (Paris, 1845); Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*; Mijatovich; D. M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge, 1996); *idem, The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge, 1992); *idem, Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, 1988); and Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*. In addition, cf. *OGN*; and P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204–1500* (London and New York, 1995).

11 A. M. Schneider, "Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels im XV. Jh.," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philos.-hist. Klasse* 9 (1949): 234–244. For the conditions of the buildings in the sack of 1453, cf. İnalcik, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul," pp. 231–249. In addition, cf. *MCT*, p. 83, who estimates a population of 45,000–50,000; cf. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 291–295; and D. Jacoby, "La population de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine: un problème de démographie urbaine," *Byz* 31 (1961): 81–109.

12 For details, cf. *SOC*, ch. 1.

13 On the transformation of Turks into Trojans, cf. S. Runciman, "*Teucri* and *Turci*," in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. A. Hanna (Leiden, 1972), pp. 344–348; T. Spencer, "Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance," *Modern Language Review* 47 (1952): 330–333; A. Lindner, "*Ex mala parentela bona sequi seu oriri non potest:* The Trojan Ancestry of the Kings of France," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 40 (1978): 497–512; and, more recently, Hankins, pp.

111–209, esp. 139–143. For the classical tendencies of Khalkokondyles, cf. J. Harris, “Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the Rise of the Ottoman Turks,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 (2003): 153–170; and for an exhaustive investigation of such themes in the Renaissance, cf. now the meticulous study of Margaret Meserve.

14 Such is the case with two scholarly Greek historians of the *quattrocento:* Laonikos Khalkokondyles in his famous Ἀποδείξεις Ἱστοριῶν, *Historiarum Demonstrationes;* and with Kritoboulos’ Ξυγγραφῆς Ἱστοριῶν, *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*. On these historians, cf. M. Philippides, “Early Post-Byzantine Historiography,” in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, eds. A. S. Bernardo and S. Levin. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 69 (Binghamton, 1990): 253–265.

15 On Filelfo, cf. now Robin, *Filelfo*. We should recall that this famous humanist was related to the Chrysoloras family; some members of that family were captured in the sack of 1453. Filelfo wrote a number of letters explaining his attempts to ransom them; cf. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grec de François Filelfe*, esp. pp. 63–68, which mention the fate of his Greek mother-in-law. Cf., e.g., a letter (66) addressed to his friend, the physician Pierre Tomasi (January/February, 1454), in which he also laments the loss of Constantinople: .*non solum quod et socrum mihi carissimam Manfredinam Auriam, nobilissimam et prudentissimam feminam, ac duas eius et socri mei Johannios Chrysolorae, pratestantissimi equitis aurati et erudissimi viri, filias, meorum quatuor filiorum materteras, in obscuram servitutem a barbaris et teterrimis Turcis actas audio, sed eo magis quod ea urbe etiam matre sum usus et altrice educatriceque inventaeque studiorum meorum.* Again Francesco makes mention of his Greek relatives in a letter dated τῇ πρὸ νωνῶν ἰουνίου, ἔτει φυνδ´ [June 4, 1454] (Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grec de François Filelfe*, p. 69): Ὁ ταύτην σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀποδοὺς Δρομοκάτης ὁ Χρυσολωρᾶς ἐν κηδείας νόμῳ ἡμῖν ὢν τυγχάνει, ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς μητρὸς γένους. Ἔστι δὲ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ, λυπηρὸν μέρος τῆς ἄρτι γενομένης κατὰ τὴν Νέαν Ῥώμην [= Constantinople] δυστυχίαν. Δέξον οὖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ συγγενεῖ.... There has been no scholarly study on Filelfo’s Greek relatives by marriage, who also happen to be distant relatives of Manuel Chrysoloras.

16 On Nikolaos Sekoundinos, cf. Mastrodemetres, Νικόλαος Σεκουνδινός. In addition, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.B.11. It should be added that Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani always used in his account the term *T<h>eucrus*, “Trojan,” to designate the Turks. But nowhere in his narrative does he bring up the corollary view that his *T<h>eucri* were descendants of the Trojans. In fact, he never mentions Troy in his narrative, even though he must have been aware of the circumstances of ancient Troy, for he had a thorough classical education, as is evident throughout his narrative. The first occasion that Troy is mentioned in a narrative is by Languschi-Dolfin 58: *Da tanta uictoria sgonfiatto el gran Turco disse, hauerse uindicato de la uiolation de la uergine Troiana facta nel tempio de Pallas*.

17 It should be emphasized that in the comparison of Troy with Constantinople, the humanists made no use in the least of the medieval tales and romances about Troy, but turned their attention to the actual stories from antiquity. For the medieval tales, cf. M. R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature* (New York and London, 1963). On this topic, cf. M. Philippides, “History Repeats Itself: Ancient Troy and Renaissance Istanbul,” in *İstanbul Üniversitesi 550. Yil Uluslararasi Bizans ve Osmanli Sempozyumu (XV. Yüzyil) 30–31 Mayis 2003. 550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University. International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth Century) 30–31 May 2003*, ed. Sumer Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), pp. 41–68. Cf. M. Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Classical Comparisons and the Circle of Cardinal Isidore,” *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 38/1 (2007): 349–383.

18 On Pusculo, cf. P. Guerrini, “Un umanista bagnolese prigioniero dei Turchi a

Costantinopoli e a Rodi," *Brixia sacra* 6 (1915): 261–271; V. Zabughin, "Ubertino Pusculo da Brescia e la sua ?Constantinopolis'," *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1915): 26–50; and M. Paulova, "L'empire byzantin et les Tchèques avant la chute de Constantinople," *BS* 14 (1953): 210–212. In addition, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.A.7.

19 Cammelli, p. 85. Students of Chrysoloras who translated Greek works into Latin include Guarino Veronese (Strabo and Plutarch); Leonardo Bruni (Aristotle, Aeschines, Demosthenes and Plutarch); Jacopo Angeli (Ptolemy, Plato, Plutarch and Aeschines); and Pier Candido Decembrio (Xenophon, Plato and Appian), among others.

20 Epistolario di Guarino Veronese, raccolto ordinato illustrato da R. Sabbadini, 2 [= Miscellanea di Storia Veneta edita per cura della R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, serie terza, 11], (Venice, 1916): 270.

21 *CC* 1: 199, with the comment: Alla fine del poema si leggono in alcuni codici i… due distici di cattere autobiographico. Cf. supra, ch. 3, p.141.

22 Cf. *supra*, ch. 3, n. 9.

23 Bregantini, *Miscellanea di varie operette*, 1: 225–447; the text was based on a transcription of the codex *Marc. lat. XII 73 (4381)* (c. 1470 in the hand of Cristoforo Regazzoli) that had been made by Gervasi.

24 A. Ellissen, ed., *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, 3 (Leipzig, 1857): Appendix, 12–83. Selections that are based on all of the manuscripts (with Italian translation) are published in *CC* 1: 204–214 (without an *apparatus criticus*); unfortunately these are only selections and the entire text has never been printed. In addition to the codex in Venice (*supra*, n. 23), the following manuscripts exist: *Bergon. Bibl. Civ. lat. F.V. 21* (c. 1465 in the hand of Giovanni Francesco, *barbitonsor); Parmens. Bibl. Palat. lat. 1583* (c. 1470); *Bellun. Bibl. Semin. Gregor. lat.; and Patav. Bibl. Semn. lat. 125.*

25 G. M. Filelfo, *Amyris*, ed. A. Manetti (Bologna, 1978); also cf. Hankins, pp. 140–143. On this personality and work, cf. now Bisaha, ch. 2.

26 Hankins, pp. 138–139. It should be added, nevertheless, that this equation between Trojans and Turks was not original. In an earlier period, the crusading Franks were thought to be related to the Turks, as both were believed to be descendants of Trojans. At least this is the equation that can be traced back to the anonymous chronicler who had composed the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. On this early equation, cf. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, 1: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1951): 187, and 328–330.

27 Khalkokondyles can be viewed as the last Athenian historian or as the first historian of "modern" Athens. On Khalkokondyles, cf. Philippides, "Early Post-Byzantine Historiography"; W. Miller, "The Last Athenian Historian: Laonikos Chalkokondyles," *JHS* 42 (1922): 35–49; and, for the family in general, Kampouroglous, esp. pp. 104–171.

28 On Demetrius Chalcondyles (1424–1511), cf. Kambouroglous, pp. 171–211; Geanakoplos, *Interaction*, pp. 231–254; and Staikos, pp. 215–245. It should be emphasized, nevertheless, that Khalkokondyles had his own contacts with humanists in Italy, in addition to the scholars that he could have met through his relative Demetrius. Thus Khalkokondyles had managed to impress, with his erudition, the famous Cyriacus of Ancona, when the latter had visited Mistra in the days before the fall. Khalkokondyles guided the Italian antiquary through the ruins of ancient Sparta. Cyriacus described Khalkokondyles as *egregie latinis atque grecis litteris eruditu<s>*, and further commented on his tour of Sparta: *vna comitatus dilectissimo Atheniense iuuene prefato Chalcocandele ad antiqua & celerrima illa Spartanae ciuitatis*

*monumenta reuisenda venimus*. Cf. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona*, p. 58. On Cyriacus and his influential circle of humanist friends cf. now Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*. pp. 81–91.

29 *Laonici Chalcocandylae Historiarum Demonstrationes 2*: 166–167.

30 On the general sector and location of Saint Romanos, cf. Pears, Appendix I, pp. 429–435, who unconvincingly argues that the Pempton should be identified as the Gate of Saint Romanos according to the sources of 1453; *PaL* 2: 115, n. 28. Cf. our discussion, *infra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications.”

For the oral and written legends, as they concern the *῞Εκθεσις Χρονικὴ* and the *Chronicle of 1570* in its several redactions that address the death of the last emperor, cf. D. Sakel, “Sixteenth-Century Tales of the Last Byzantine Emperor,” in Motos Guirao and Morfakidis Filactós, eds., 2: 98–111.

31 The first time this fictitious last empress of Constantinople appears in the historical record is in the Slavonic narrative of Nestor-Iskander. For references to this “empress,” cf. Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 29 (pp. 46–47); 48 (pp. 62–63); 76 (pp. 86–87); 79 (pp. 88–89); and esp. 83 (pp. 92–93). On Nestor-Iskander and his account of the siege of 1453, cf. *supra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” sec. IV, text with nn. 159–168.

32 Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 1: 266 and 267 (lines 661 ff.). Similar information is supplied in a popular chronicle, the *Anonymous Barberini*; cf. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans*, 7.30: Τότε λέγουσι πῶς ἔκραξε [*sc.* ὁ βασιλεὺς] τὸν πνευματικόν του καὶ ἐξεμολογήθη αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ βασίλισσά του καὶ τὰ παιδία του….

33 The correspondence between the two scholars is discussed by Lampros, “ ῾Ο Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος ὡς Σύζυγος,” pp. 417–466, esp. p. 450. Crusius states that he could find nothing in the written record about this empress, either in Constantinople or in Venice. He expresses surprise that such an illustrious woman could have been completely forgotten. Cf. *Turcograecia 57: Nomen eius nondum ex libris invenire; sed nec e Constantinopoli, nec Venetijs, cognoscere potui. Mirum, persona tam illustris, tantam in Historiis obliuionem esse*. On Crusius and his correspondence with officials in Constantinople, cf. Kresten, esp. pp. 17 ff.; Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel*, p. 82; and Tsirpanlis, ch. 1.

34 Polites, 1: 26–27; reprinted in Lampros, “῾Ο Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος ὡς Σύζυγος,” p. 451.

35 Di Montaldo’s work has been printed a number of times, but the best edition remains the first publication. Cf. our comments on this author and his work, *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.B.13. The selections printed in *TIePN* are too few and contain an exceptional number of typographical errors. The *TIePN* source is of very little use.

36 Thus Ovid describes the death of Priam and uses the same adjective to describe the king of Troy, *Metamorphoseon* 13.1409, 410: *senis Priami Iovis ara cruorem / conbiberat*. Vergil also describes Priam as *senior* twice (*Aeneid* 2.509, and 544) in his portrayal of the sack of Troy.

37 The most competent, although incomplete, survey of the existing “portraits” of Constantine XI is the detailed article by S. P. Lampros, “Αἱ Εἰκόνες Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου,” *NH* 3 (1906): 238 ff. Also, *idem*, “Νέαι Εἰκόνες Κωσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου,” *NH* 4 (1907): 238–240. For a summary of the best-known portrayals, cf. Head, *Imperial Twilight*, pp. 104–108. All surviving (fictitious) depictions of the last emperor are discussed in

Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 6.

38 *Metamorphoseon* 13.404. The theme of the king's life tied to the existence of his city/kingdom/empire, and his death with its annihilation, are treated in M. J. Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art* (Oxford, 1997).

39 Pusculo 4.1010–1016 (81); not included in the selections of *CC* 1.

40 *Oedipus Rex* 371.

41 Pusculo 4.1017–1024 (81; not included in the selections of *CC* 1).

42 Thus it is twice used by Vergil in the *Aeneid* 3.712: *vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret, / hos mihi praedidixit luctus*, and 6.65: … *tuque, o sanctissima vates, / praescia venturi….*

43 On Cassandra's useless gift of prophecy, cf. Apollodorus, Βιβλιοθήκη… (Düsseldorf, 2005), 3.12.5: … …Κασσάνδραν, ᾗ συνελθεῖν βουλόμενος Ἀπόλλων τὴν μαντικὴν ὑπέσχετο διδάξειν. ἡ δὲ μαθοῦσα οὐ συνῆλθεν· ὅθεν Ἀπόλλων ἀφείλετο τῆς μαντικῆς αὐτῆς τὸ πείθειν.

44 Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Epicus*, ed. A. Zimmerman (Leipzig, 1891), 12. 525–528. The poem is usually entitled *Posthomerica*, Τὰ μεθ᾽ Ὅμηρον, Ἡ Ποίησις τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ Κοΐντου (which happens to be the title that is borne by the Otranto manuscript) or Παραλειπόμενα ἐν Ὁμήρῳ. After Cardinal Bessarion discovered this manuscript, another humanist and a former student of Plethon (who was also the first Greek to teach ancient Greek at Paris), George Hermonymos from Sparta, discovered a second manuscript of Quintus Smyrnaeus at Paris; cf. Staikos, 1: 286, n. 45.

45 The poem has only survived in a late summary ascribed to Proclus, whose abstracts of ancient epic poems are usually entitled Χρηστομαθεία. The concluding poems of the Trojan Cycle were the Αἰθιοπὶς of Arctinus of Miletus, the Μικρὰ Ἰλιὰς of Lesches of Pyrrha, and the Ἰλίου Πέρσις of Arctinus, which Proclus says, comprised two books: … Ἰλίου πέρσιδος βιβλία β΄ Ἀρκτίνου Μιλησίου. These poems in some way must have been the ancestors and perhaps the *fontes* of Quintus Smyrnaeus. On the Χρηστομαθεία and the lost poems of the Trojan Cycle, cf. G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (Cambridge, 1969), esp. pp. 162–174.

46 Proclus: Κασσάνδραν δὲ ὁ Αἴας ὁ Ἰλέως πρὸς βίαν ἀποσπῶν συνεφέλκεται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον. The importance of this theme in ancient Greek literature is exhaustively treated in P. G. Mason, "Kassandra," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79 (1959): 80–94; and in J. Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre* (Liège, 1941).

47 On this subject, cf, among others, J. Boardman, "The Kleophrades Painter at Troy," *Antike Kunst* 19 (1976): 3–18; Susan B. Matheson, "Polygnotos: An Iliupersis Scene at the Getty Museum," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (1986): 101–115; D. Williams, "Onesimos and the Getty *Iliupersis,*" *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (1991): 41–65; J. B. Connelly, "Narrative and Image in Attic Vase Painting: Ajax and Kassandra at the Trojan Palladion," in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. P. J. Holliday (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 88–129; M. D. Stansbury-O'Donnel, "Polygnotos' *Iliupersis:* A New Reconstruction," *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 (1989): 203–217; and J. M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote*, Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 14 (Rome, 1975).

48 The German text of this *relazione* was published in *NE* 2: 514–518. *CC* 1: 232–239, which includes an Italian translation of the report, but unfortunately the original German text was not printed; the translation in CC 1 reads differently (p.

237): *Quando il Turco apprese la notizia che l'imperatore era stato ucciso a Costantinopoli, catturo il granduca che governava al posto dell'imperatore, e fece tagliare la testa un figlio suo e poi al granduca stesso. Successivamente prese una sua figlia, che era assai bella, la fece giacere sull 'altare maggiore di Santa Sofia con un crocefisso sotto la testa e la violentò*. The conclusion of this report speaks of the circumstances of the translation, of the eyewitnesses, and of the translators: *Disse Ding hat gesagt Herr Thomas Eperkus, ein Graf auss Constantinopel, und Josu Deplorentatz, eins Grafen Sun, und Thutro de Constantinopel, der ir Krichisch in Weilisch prach hat, und Dumita Exswinnilwacz, und Mathes Hack von Utrecht, der ir Welisch in Teutsch hat pracht*. On this report, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.A.8.

49 *NE* 2: 518.

50 Pertusi, "La lettera di Filippo da Rimini." Cf. our comments, *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.B.8.

51 Pertusi, "La lettera di Filippo da Rimini," p. 157.

52 M. d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, 3 vols., 2 (Paris, 1863–1864): 35. The report is briefly discussed in *SOC*, p. 27, n. 45.

53 This entry is dated 1464; cf. *TIePN*, p. 255, n. 2.

54 *TIePN*, p. 431, n. 20.

55 As it is well known, ancient artists (especially vase painters) often combine several incidents into a single scene. Examples include the deaths of Priam and of Astyanax at the hands of Neoptolemos/Pyrrhos, the rape of Cassandra by the lesser Ajax, the recovery of Helen by Menelaos, and the sacrifice of Polyxena demanded by the ghost of Achilles. Such scenes first occur in Attic art *ca.* 560; cf., e.g., the vases decorated by the C Painter and the early works of Lydos. The motivation changes with the Persian threat (*ca.* 500–470) and after the destruction of the Athenian Acropolis by the Persians in 480, the Trojan scenes become a metaphor for the brutality of war, in general, and are further given this expression in the Athenian theater. Among the numerous representations of the rape of Cassandra, cf. the following six well-known examples:

i. A black figure amphora (F 1968) by an artist in Group E in Berlin, *Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*.
ii. A calyx crater by the Altamura Painter in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (59.178).
iii. A red figure plate by Paseas in New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery (1913.169).
iv. The famous Vivenzio Hydria from *ca.* 490 by the Kleophrades Painter from Nola in Naples, *Museo Nazionale* (2422). Perhaps this the best known version of the scene, as it combines the scenes of the rapes of Cassandra with the deaths of Priam and of Astyanax, and further incorporates the flight of Aeneas and his family.
v. A cylix at the J. Paul Getty Museum by Onesimos (83.AE.362).
vi. A Phlyax vase from Paestum by As[s]teas at the Villa Giulia (50279) in Rome, which parodies the scene, as it shows Cassandra trying to rape Ajax; in this instance it is Ajax who is desperately clinging to the statue of Athena.

The iconography of the scene in ancient art has often been discussed. Cf., among others, the literature cited *supra*, n. 47.

56 For a most meticulous study of the legend, cf. A. Bees, " "Περὶ τοῦ Ἱστορημένου Χρησμολογίου τῆς Κρατικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Βερολίνου (*Codex Graecus* fol. 62–297) καὶ τοῦ Θρύλου τοῦ Μαρμαρωμένου Βασιλιᾶ," *ByzJ* 13/14 (1936/1937): 203–244α-λς´. The best modern analyses are offered in the essays of S. D. Emellos,

*Θρυλούμενα γιὰ τὴν Ἅλωση καὶ τὴν Ἐθνικὴ Ἀποκατάσταση* (Athens, 1991). In spite of its title, Nicol's monograph, *The Immortal Emperor*, has very little to offer on the legend of the emperor. In addition, cf. Siderides, "Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου Θάνατος," pp. 65–78 and 129–146; and Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 1.

57 On the Greeks under the sultans, cf., among others, Karpat; Laurent, "Les Chrétiens," pp. 398–404; Zakythinos, *The Making of Modern Greece*; and *OGN*. Of great value is the "Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου Θάνατος," *τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*, 10.

58 Kritoboulos 4.11.5.

59 The role of the Venetians during the siege of 1453 is effectively recounted in the detailed journal kept by Nicolò Barbaro, *Giornale dell' assedio di Costantinopoli 1453*, ed. Cornet; on this source, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.A.1. This document has been translated into English by [Melville] Jones, *Nicolò Barbaro: Diary of the Siege of Constantinople;* selections (with improved text) were also published in *CC* 1: 8–38. For Venice and her Byzantine claims, cf. T. S. Brown, "History as Myth: Medieval Perceptions of Venice's Roman and Byzantine Past," in Beaton and Roueché, pp. 145–157.

60 R. Cessi, ed., *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al mille, Secoli V–IX* (Padua, 1940).

61 On the poet's name, cf. P. A. Stadter, "Planudes, Plutarch, and Pace of Ferrara," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 17 (1973): 139–162. The Latin text, 184 lines, of this poem was published by E. A. Cicogna, *La festa delle Marie descritta in un poemetto elegaico latino da Pace de Friuli* (Venice, 1843); for an English translation of some relevant lines, cf. Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, p. 31.

62 J. M. Patton, *Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands* (Princeton, 1951), p. 29.

63 Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, p. 70.

64 Illustrations are provided in Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity*, plates 73, 74, and 75. On these works, cf. M. Levi d'Ancona, "Giustino del fu Gherardino da Forlì e gli affreschi perduti del Guariento nel Palazzo Ducale di Venezia," *Arte Veneta* 21 (1967): 34–44; and H. Buchtal, *Historia Troiana. Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration* (London and Leiden, 1971).

65 This tendency of Byzantium has been recognized by modern scholarship. Cf., e.g., the remarks of Runciman in regard to eleventh-century Constantinople in his work that dealt with the Crusades: *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 52–53: "The atmosphere almost has the complacency of the eighteenth century, but for other-worldliness and a pessimism from which Byzantium never was freed. …that some day [Constantinople] would perish…."

66 Cf. J. W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1966); and Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 10 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985).

67 There are numerous references to this statue in literature. It was a massive statue erected by Justinian I after the completion of Hagia Sophia. An old statue of Theodosios the Great or of Theodosios II was utilized, on which a new head and elaborate headdress were placed. Even in the Middle Ages there was uncertainty as to the person that this statue was supposed to depict. It was variously identified with Justinian I, Heraclius, Theodosios, and even Constantine the Great. Cf. Barker, *Justinian*, pp. 265 and 290–292; R. Guilland, "Etudes sur la Topographie de Constantinople byzantin," *Ἑλληνικὰ* 17 (1962): 95–99; C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Arkæogisk-

kunsthistoriske Meddelelser undgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Bind 4, nr. 4 (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 36–72; G. Downey, “Justinian as Achilles,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940): 70–73; C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), p. 57; G. Downey, “Notes on the Topography of Constantinople,” *Art Bulletin* 34 (1952): 235–236; P. W. Lehman, “Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider,” *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959): 39–57; and C. Mango, “Letters to the Editor,” *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959): 351–356. A valuable collection of the late Russian accounts of travelers to Constantinople is now available in G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19 (Washington, 1984): 237–240 (with sound commentary). Western, and some oriental, accounts are included in J. P. A. Van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople: Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers Tales*, 1 (Leiden, 1980): 271–278.

68 Procopius 7.1.2.5–12. Text and translation in Lehman, pp. 41–44, and n. 10. For a Renaissance drawing of the statue, associated with Cyriacus of Ancona, the father of epigraphy and famous traveler of the fifteenth century, cf. Barker, *Justinian*, fig. 10.

69 It is usually identified as “the golden apple with the cross” in Russian accounts. The Germans called it *Reichsapfel*, as it is evident in Schiltberger (cf. *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus M?nchen*, ed. K. F. Neumann [Munich, 1859], p. 137), who further informs us that it was no longer *in situ* in 1427, when he visited Constantinople. As the orb was still in place when the Russian traveler Zosima saw it in 1421/1422 (Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 240, n. 17), it follows that it fell sometime between 1421/1422 and 1427. This was not the first time that the “apple” had fallen from the hand of the rider; it had also fallen in 1316 and had been restored to the statue’s hand by 1325 (cf. Van der Vin, 1: 275). It appears that an unsuccessful attempt to raise the orb was made in 1435 (Van der Vin, 1: 275). Thus the fall of the orb in this later period further fueled the prophecies of doom that were circulating.

70 The meaning of the gesture of the statue’s arm may have been on the mind of the defenders. Laonikos Khalkokondyles may have been thinking of this gesture in his description of the departure of Giustiniani, and he may have made a veiled reference to it. According to this historian, when Constantine XI attempted to dissuade his wounded warlord from withdrawing, Giustiniani simply replied that God was pointing the way to the Turks. Could it be that the historian was thinking of the statue and of the lore surrounding this statue? Cf. Khalkokondyles, p. 159 [*CC* 2: 212–214]: Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων [= Constantine XI] ὡς ᾔσθετο ἐκλιπόντας τὴν χώραν αὐτοὺς [= Giustiniani’s contingent] καὶ ἐνδιδόντας, ἀνέδραμε μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ ἤρετο τὸν Λόγγον [= Giustiniani] εἴ ποι πορεύοιτο· τοῦ δ᾽ αὖ φαμένου, ὡς ταύτῃ θεὸς ὑφηγεῖται τοῖς Τούρκοις....

71 There were, of course, other interpretations also; cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 240.

72 The Greek text (with German translation) of this extremely interesting lamentation can be found in *Analekten der mittel-und neugriechischen Literatur*, ed. Ellissen, 3: 106–249; and in E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, 1 (Paris, 1880; repr. Athens, 1974): 169 ff. Although modern historians have tended not to identify him and to overlook the testimony of this author, G. S. Henrich, “Ποιος έγραψε το ποίημα ’Αλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως,” in Motos Guirao and Morfakidis, *Constantinopla. 550 años de su caída*, 2: 405–414,

makes a new attempt to identify him. Henrich, on the basis of embedded codes in the text, concludes that he is Manoles Limenites, the son of the Rhodian poet Emmanuel Georgillas. Cf. A. Gidel, *Etudes sur la littérature grecque moderne* (Paris, 1866), p. 66; E. Egger, *L'Hellenisme en France* (Paris, 1869), p. 439, n. 1; and Lampros, “Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι,” p. 194, who have rejected the attribution to Georgillas. For the modern view of this problem, cf. B. Knös, *L'Histoire de la Littérature néo-grecque. La période jusqu'en 1821* (Stockholm, G?org, and Uppsala, 1962), pp. 165–166. The text quoted can be found in Ellissen, 2: 387 ff. (p. 158). In addition, cf. *CC* 2: 511, who agrees with a date of composition *ca.* 1455/1456: *...composto vero il 1456...al momento in cui Callisto III proclamò la crociata contro i turchi, ma forse da datare, pi?ttamente al 1455*. Also on this matter, cf. the opinion of Bees, esp. pp. 244ιβ ff.

73 The Turks often compared Constantinople to a red apple. This “red apple” may refer to the “apple” in the statue's hand; cf. Van der Vin, 1: 275. On the Turkish folklore, cf. *OGN*, p. 347, n. 115; F. Babinger, “Quizil Elma,” *Der Islam* 12 (1922): 109–111; F. Hasluck, “The Prophecy of the Red Apple,” in *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 (Oxford, 1920): 736–740; and E. Rossi, “La legenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso,” *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 5 (1939): 542–553. For apples in general, cf. A. R. Littlewood, “The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1967): 147–181; *idem*, “The Symbolism of the Apple in Byzantine Literature,” *JöB* 23 (1974): 35–59; and Gladys Martin, “Golden Apples and Golden Boughs,” in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, 2 (Saint Louis, 1953): 1191 ff. For a brief and incomplete summary of this motif in the Greek literature of the last century, cf. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, pp. 107–108. For the meaning of κόκκινη μηλιὰ in the Greek folklore of the Τουρκοκρατία, cf. K. Romaios, “῾Η Κόκκινη Μηλιά τῶν ᾿Εθνικῶν μας Θρύλων,” 23 (1953) [= Κανίσκιον Ι. Φαίδωνι Κουκουλέ] 676–688.

74 Ll.862–867.

75 Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, “Pero Tafur, A Spanish Traveller of the Fifteenth Century and His Visit to Constantinople, and Trebizond, and Italy,” *Byz* 7 (1932): 75–122, esp. p. 110. Paloma Díaz-Mas, “El eco de la caída de Constantinopla en las literaturas Hispánicas,” in Badenas de la Pena and Perez Martin, pp. 317–349, furnishes an extensive discussion of Tafur and others. For some observations in connection with the siege of 1422, cf. *infra*, ch. 9: “Land Operations,” text with nn. 69–72.

76 Tafur 179–180. In regard to his visit, in general, cf. A. Bravo Garcîa, “La Constantinopla que vieron R. González de Clavijo y P. Tafur,” *Erytheia* 3 (1983): 39–47.

77 E. Kriaras, ᾿Ανακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης, Κριτικὴ ῎Εκδοση μὲ Εἰσαγωγή, Σχόλια καὶ Γλωσσάριο (Thessaloniki, 1956; 2nd ed.: 1965), lines 109–115 [*CC* 2: 376, with Italian translation]. This story was well known throughout the Christian world and the angel in question is most often identified as the Archangel Michael. In fact, the tale is often mentioned in Slavonic texts. One of the earliest versions by an anonymous author is edited and translated by Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 128–131 (valuable commentary with bibliography: pp. 203–206). It is entitled Сказание о святых местех, о Костянтинеграде и о святых мощех спасшихся во Иерусалимѣ, а собраных Костянтином царемь в нарицаемыи царьград [Tale of the Holy Places, of the City of Constantine, and of the Holy Relics Preserved in Jerusalem and Collected by the Emperor Constantine in the Aforementioned Imperial City]. For other versions, cf. S. G. Vilinsky,

*Византийско-славянские сказания о создании Храма Св. Софии цареградской* [Byzantine-Slavonic Legends on the Construction of the Constantinopolitan Church of Hagia Sophia] (Odessa, 1900), pp. 84–85 and 100–101. For other aspects of the Greek popular tradition, cf. E. Ayensa, "'Volverá a ser veustra'. La caída de Constantinopla y su recuerdo en la tradición popular griega," in Badenas de la Pena and Perez Martin, pp. 351–393.

78 Scholarius, 3: 163.

79 Cf. *infra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations," n. 55.

80 *CC* 1: 70.

81 For the oracles cited by Isidore, Barbaro, *Chronique Brève*, and Scholarios, cf. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, "Byzance et la fin du monde. Courants de pensée apocalyptiques sous les Paléologues," in B. Lellouch and S. Yerasimos, eds., *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul (13–14 avril 1996)*. Varia Turcica 33 (Paris, 2000): 63–66 and 69–72.

Strictly speaking, Isidore himself did not compose this letter, as he seems to have dictated it. He probably dictated it in Greek and then it was translated into Latin; cf. the opening of this letter: *Epistola composita per ser Pasium de Bertipalia notarium ad instantiam reverendissimi domini domini Isidori cardinalis Sabinensis*. The letter (with Italian translation) is published in *CC* 1: 58–64; our quotation: p. 60. The mother of Constantine XI was the Serbian princess Helene Dragaš. On her family and her relationship with Constantine XI, cf. Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, *passim*. It is curious to note that Leonardo's narrative is free of popular prophecies and signs of doom, even though his friend Isidore must have discussed these portents with him. Perhaps Leonardo's interests had nothing to do with the occult. Leonardo refers to prophecies only once and he does so indirectly at the beginning of his work, when he refers to the popular prophecies that had traditionally been ascribed to Leo the Wise. Perhaps he has in mind this prophecy of the first and last Constantine which he must have heard from Isidore a number of times; cf. *PG* 159: 926–927 (not in *CC* 1): *Idcirco non mirum si in poenam tanti criminis insperata mox tempestas invaluit; quam Spiritu sancto docti quoque a multis annis futuram esse praedixerant…tabula illa, quan Leonis Sapienti ascribunt, apud monasterium Sancti Georgii de Mangana constructa, vetusto tempore in Constantinopoli occultata mysterioso jam signo detecta, jacturam demonstrat. Haec…cellulis distincta quadratis, imperatorum ordinem successionemque ponebat, finiendum tamen in hoc ultimo Constantino. Ita quoque patriarcharum alia in longum tracta tabula ordinem praescribebat. Nam ille spiritu prophetico illustratus tot cellulas figurandorum imperatorum tabulae inscripsit, quot a primo Constantino Magno, Constantinopolis conditore, neque ad ultimam captivitatem futuri erant*. Languschi-Dolfin, a follower of Leonardo, departs from his model and adds a chapter entitled: *Come furono molti prodigij auanti el perder de Constantinopoli*, which includes a few omens (fol. 317 [pp. 17–18]): *Fu etiam la mente de li homeni da crudeli, et cuori monstri, et prodigij per quelli zorni agitate in cielo in terra et in mar. Pochi zorni auanti fu preso ostrege, che aperte stilo sangue. Da cielo per aere aparse molti fuogi et coruscationi tonitrui terribili. Nembi cum sagitte et fulguri. In terra uenti grandi et terremoti, parse che ruinasse le case monstrando che tutto se douesse abissar*. Some of those omens appear in Pusculo's hexameters also, which probably points to another unidentified source for both Languschi-Dolfin and Pusculo. Cf. Pusculo, 4.205–217 [not in *CC* 1]: *Praetera monstris diris terrentur, et atris / Prodigiis, coelo, terra, et super aequore visis. / Paucos ante dies angusto ex aequore capta / Ostrea, sanguineo maduere infecta rubore. / Sanguis erat succus proprius, fluctusque cruenti / Aequoris. Et coelo crebri micuere per auras / Nocte ignes. Animos insueta tonitrua crebro / terrebant sonitu horribili, nimbisque / Fulgure diruptis veniebant fulmina densa. / Ipsa etiam tellus vento concussa sub ima / Radice intremuit, ruere, et visu omnia tecta / Urbibus in magnis, ne* *terrae mergier alto / Noctes, atque dies fundo, Stygiaque palude*.

82 Barbaro 51 (*CC* 1: 29–30).

83 Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 77 (p. 87).

84 *Ibid*., 4 (pp. 24–27). The motif of the eagle versus the snake has been exhaustively studied by R. Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1939): 293–325.

85 Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origins and Capture)*, 4 (pp. 24–25). This Slavonic passage bears a remarkable similarity to Homer, *Iliad* 12.200–207: ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν, / αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ λα[ϝ]ὸν ἐέργων, / φοινήεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον / ζωὸν ἔτ᾽ ἀσπαίροντα· καὶ οὔ πω λήθετο χάρμης· / κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στῆθος παρὰ δειρὴν / ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὁ δ᾽ ἀπὸ ἕθεν ἧκε χαμᾶζε / ἀλγήσας ὀδύνῃσι, μέσῳ δὲ ἐνὶ κάββαλ᾽ ὁμίλῳ. / αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο.

86 The inspiration of Nestor-Iskander for this passage is discussed by Unbegaun, "Les relations vieux-russes de la prise de Constantinople," pp. 13–38; *idem*, in *Selected Papers on Russian and Slavonic Philology*, pp. 1–26; and Smirnov, pp. 50–71. It cannot be proved conclusively that Nestor-Iskander is indebted to Homer, as the theme of the struggle between eagle and snake is too common. A version of this combat was even portrayed in a well-known mosaic in the Imperial Palace in Istanbul. The recent excavations of the Imperial Palace are discussed in G. Brett, W. Macaulay, and R. B. K. Stevenson, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, 1: *First Report on the Excavations* (London, 1947). It is not likely that this particular mosaic was visible *ca*. 1453, but similar scenes elsewhere may have inspired Nestor-Iskander (or the elaborator who produced the introduction for the diary of the siege). The political ideological significance of this account for the Muscovite Russian scribes explains the inclusion of the motif of the struggle between snake and eagle in the several annals, including the *Tale* of Nestor-Iskander.

87 Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 4 (pp. 24–27).

88 These sources and their implications are discussed in the edition of Nestor-Iskander, *ibid*., "Introduction."

89 *Ibid*., 47 (pp. 62–63).

90 On Nestor-Iskander's "patriarch," cf. our observations, *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies," text with nn. 150 and 152.

91 Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 48 (p. 62): …рече ему партіархъ: Вѣси, о царю, вся прежереченная о градѣ семъжсвѣтъ убо онъ неизреченный, иже бѣ съдѣйствуя въ велицѣй церкви Божія Премудрости съ прежними свѣтильникы и архіереи вселенскими, такоже и ангелъ божій, его же укрѣпи Богъ при Устиніанѣ цесари, на съхраненіе святыа великіа церкви и граду сему, въ сію бо нощь отъидоша на небо. И се знаменуеть, яко милость Божіа и щедроты его отъидоша отъ насъ, и хощетъ Богъ предати градъ нашъ врагомъ нашимъ, "the patriarch said to him: 'Emperor: weigh all of what has been said about this city…. And as it, the indescribable light had assisted in the Great Church of the Wisdom of God with sanctified lamps and the ecumenical prelates, so also in the same way an angel of God. God granted it [the light] in the time of Emperor Justinian for the preservation of the great holy church and this city. But in this night, it departed for heaven. This signifies that God's grace and generosity have gone from us: God wishes to hand over our city to the enemy'."

92 *Ibid*., 50 (pp. 64–65).

93 This fire may well have been what is today identified as St. Elmo's fire, caused by unusual atmospheric conditions, perhaps an accumulation of debris particles, smoke from the cannons, and weather phenomena, and giving off discharges of

atmospheric electricity. It has been brought to our attention that this fire about the dome of Hagia Sophia is similar to the account of "the chariot of fire" related variously in the Old Testament book: *The Prophecy of Ezekiel*. The analogy at best is a distant one.

94 Kritoboulos I.46. Otherwise, in terms of signs and portents, Kritoboulos mentions another unusual atmospheric phenomenon for Constantinople at this time of the year, a storm that brought hail. This storm comes at the conclusion of another sign of divine wrath: the icon of the Mother of God fell on the ground and became so heavy that it could be lifted only with difficulty, I.45.1–5: …τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς Θεομήτορος αὕτη τῶν χειρῶν αἴφνης ἐκπεσοῦσα τῶν κατεχόντων μηδεμιᾶς ἡστινοσοῦν ἀνάγκης ἢ βίας ἡγησαμένης πρηνὴς ἔπεσεν ἐπ᾽ ἐδάφους, πάντων οὖν ἀναβοησάντων εὐθὺς καὶ συνδεδραμηκότων εἰς ἀνάστασιν τῆς εἰκόνος αὕτη μᾶλλον ἔβριθε κάτω μολύβδου δίκην βαρυνομένη…τοῦτο παρὰ δόξαν γεγονὸς φρίκην τε πολλὴν καὶ ἀγωνίαν μεγίστην καὶ φόβον πᾶσιν ἐνέβαλεν· ἐνόμιζον γάρ, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἦν, ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ συμβόλῳ αἰσίῳ τὴν πτῶσιν ταύτην γενέσθαι…εὐθὺς μετὰ τοῦτο μεσημβρίας οὔσης σταθερᾶς βρονταὶ πολλαὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ κατερράγησαν μετὰ νέφους, καὶ ὗσέ γε λάβρον ὑετὸν μετὰ χαλάζης σφοδροτάτης…οὕτω παράλογόν τι καὶ ἄηθες ἦν τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ ὑετοῦ καὶ τῆς χαλάζης ἐκείνης, ἅπερ ἐδήλου πάντως τὴν ταχίστην τῶν ὅλων ἀπώλειαν. The weather must have been unsettled in the last days of the sack, as Nestor-Iskander thought it important to note that by the time the sultan entered the conquered city and approached Hagia Sophia, it had stopped raining; cf. Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 82 (pp. 92–93): не дожда, "it was not raining." On this point, cf. supra, the conclusion of ch. 2: "Four Testimonies."

95 *Ibid.*, 68 (pp. 80–81).

96 Barbaro 51 [CC 1: 29–30]. In regard to the equestrian statue of Constantine, which had indeed attracted a great deal of lore in the last years of the empire, cf. our comments, *supra*, text with nn. 67–73. Elsewhere in his narrative, he also mentions the prophecy regarding Constantine, the son of Helena, in connection with the events of April 21; cf. 26 [*CC* 1: 16]: …*misser Jesù Cristo*…*volse longare el termine* [= of the siege], *perché la profetia avesse suo luogo, zoè quela esser adimplida, la qual profetia profetizò san Costantin fio de santa Lena, fo imperador de Costantinopoli*.

97 Barbaro's text is quoted *supra*, n. 96.

98 Barbaro 38 [*CC* 1: 23].

99 Barbaro 46 [*CC* 1: 26]. Barbaro makes it clear by mentioning that the moon was full that we are dealing with a lunar eclipse. However, *FC*, p. 121, states: "…on 24 May the moon would be at full." So Barbaro must be wrong as to the exact date of the eclipse, which could not occur unless the moon were full.

100 Barbaro 46 [*CC* 1: 26].

101 Michael Doukas, *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, ed. Grecu: 38.13: ὁ δὲ γέρων ἀπεκρίνατο· ἴσθι, τέκνον, εἰ μὴ παντελὴς φθορὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἐπιγελάσει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἡ τύχη· δεῖ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων φθαρῆναι, καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν δυστυχήματα [= John Corvinus Hunyadi's] τέλος ἕξουσιν. ἔχων οὖν ἐν ὠσὶ τὴν ἀπαίσιον ταύτην προφητείαν ὁ τοῦ Ἰάγκου [= ἄγγελος ἐπεθύμει συντομώτερον τὴν πόλιν ἁλῶναι. *Idem, Ducae Michaelis Ducae nepotis historia Byzantina*, ed. Bekker: 38.13; and, *idem*, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, ed. Magoulias: 38.13 (p. 217). *Infra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," nn. 33–37; and ch. 9: "Land Operations," text with n. 49.

102 Doukas 37.5: It is significant that in the next sentence Doukas points an accusatory finger at George Scholarios-Gennadios II, the intransigent enemy of the emperor, who probably encouraged the pro-Turkish elements within the city and the

elements of the fifth column working for Mehmed's victory: Ὁ δὲ Γεννάδιος ἔγκλειστος ἐδίδασκε καὶ ἀρὰς ὑπετίθει τοῖς τὴν [religious] εἰρήνην ἀσπαζομένοις.

103 Doukas 39.17.

104 Doukas 39.17. Khalkokondyles also covers the same ground, p. 161 [*CC* 2: 216]: Οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, πλῆθος πολὺ γενόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἐπιρρεόντων αἰεὶ συχνῶν, ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγίστου νεὼ τῆς πόλεως, τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας καλουμένης, καὶ ἐνταῦθα συνελέγοντο ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες. Khalkokondyles does not explain why Hagia Sophia suddenly became so attractive to the Constantinopolitans, as this historian avoids any mention of omens or prophecies in his narrative dealing with the siege.

105 Doukas 39.18.

106 On this Lone Tree, the legendary homeland and point of origin of the Turks, cf. *supra*, nn. 73 and 74.

107 Doukas 39.19. There also exists an anonymous threnody, *Conquest of Constantinople*, that merits attention for its questionable historical and literary contents, and the author's intent in the composition of this poem. For this work, cf. Vicky Panayotopoulou-Doulavera, "Lamenting the Fall or Disguising a Manifesto? The Poem *Conquest of Constantinople*," in *Byzantine Narrative*, ed. Burke, pp. 193–203. Also, attention should be directed to the work of Demetra I. Moniou, *Μνῆμες Ἁλώσεως. Κωνσταντινούπολη 1453, μέσα ἀπὸ τὶς Διηγήσεις τῶν Ἱστορικῶν τῆς Ἐποχῆς…*, Βυζαντινὴ Γραμματεία 2 (Athens, 2006): 513–515, who appears to attribute her compilation of a lyrical threnody to the *Хронографъ Редакции 1512 года* [The Chronographic Edition of the Year 1512], *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей* 22/1 (St. Petersburg, 1911): 437–440; and to Doukas 39.14 and 39.25; Kritoboulos A 61.2 and 61.4–6, among other authors and sources. Cf. her notes, pp. 548–551. Also, Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, pp. 9, 136, and 140 ff.; and *idem*, *The Tale of Constantinople. Hilandar Slavic Ms. 280*.

In contrast to Doukas, the poem in its introductory paragraph (*ibid.*, p. 195) opens with the following statement:

> Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἠχμαλωτίσθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἔτει ͵αυνγ΄, μηνὶ μαΐῳ κθ΄, ἡμέρᾳ Τρίτῃ, ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας. Λόγος θρηνητικὸς καὶ θλιβερὸς καὶ πολλά πονετικὸς καὶ ἀναστεναγμένος περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ περὶ τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων, ρητόρων, ψαλτῶν, ὑμνοποιῶν, διδασκάλων καὶ ἀρχόντων, καὶ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας, ὁποῦ ἐσυνέβη τῆς ταπεινῆς τῆς Πόλης, καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθεντῶν τῆς Φραγκίας καὶ ὅλα τὰ κουμμούνια· ἀρχομένου ἀπὸ τὸ παρόν, Φραζζέζους, Ἀγγλέζους, Πορτουγαλέζους, Σπάνια, Κατελάνους, Ταλιάνους, Ἀλαμάνους, Οὐγγάρους, Ρωμάνους, Βενετίκους, Γενουβήσους, Σέρβους, Βλάχους, Βουλγάρους, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, τὰ ὁποῖα ρήματα γράφουνται διὰ στίχου.

She translates the passage to read:

> Lament on Constantinople. It was captured by the Turks in the year 1453, on the 29th of the month of May, a Tuesday, at the first hour of the day. A mournful, sad, very painful and sorrowful discourse about Constantinople, and on the emperor and about the monasteries and the sacred relics, about the orators, the cantors, the hymn-composers, the teachers and the nobles and about the catastrophe and captivity, which came upon the miserable City, and about the rulers of the West and all the republics; beginning now with the French, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Catalans, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Romans,

> Venetians, Genoese, Serbs, Vlachs, Bulgarians and so on. All these are written in verse.

For studies of lamentations on the fall of Constantinople, cf. A. Argyriou, “Ιστορία-Ιδεολογία-Γραφή: Σχετικά με τους θρήνους για την ΄Αλωσις της Κωνσταντινούπολς,” in *Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών. Επίσημοι λόγοι* 31 (Athens, 2003): 17–30; and A. Stathe, “Θρήνοι για την άλωση της Κωσταντινούπολεης (1453),” in K. N. Konstantinides, ed., *Διαλέξεις ΙΙ. Οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Βιζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἰωαννίνων* (Ioannina, 2004): 185–198.

108 On these events and on the critical sector, cf. Philippides, “Urban’s Bombard(s), Gunpowder, and the Siege of Constantinople (1453),” pp. 1–8; and *idem*, “Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani,” pp. 13–15.

109 An example of unverifiable tales circulating immediately after the fall of the imperial city appears in the threnody, *Conquest of Constantinople*. Drawing upon this lament, Panayotopoulou-Doulavera, pp. 196–197, cites one rumor explaining the death of the emperor soon after the submission of Constantinople: καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ σπαθίν του, “he died, it is said, [fighting with his sword] on his sword.”

110 Barbaro 57 [*CC* 1: 35].

111 Leonardo, *PG* 159: 941 [*CC* 1: 164], followed in the vernacular by Languschi-Dolfin 29, 30: *Lo imperator acio non fusse prexo da Turci, o qualche ualente homo de nuì, disse, acio la maiesta imperial non uegna in man de Turci cum suo gladio me occida…in fra li qual messedato lo Imperatore, cazando, et poi leuando recazette et da la chalcha de le gente el principe de la patria finite la uita*. Of course, Leonardo was not present in this sector and had he been stationed there, he would not have survived. Furthermore, scholars thus far have failed to note that Leonardo’s picture of the emperor asking for death derives from the Old Testament, Kings 1.31, in which Saul begs his armor-bearer to slay him in order to avoid capture. This scriptural motif is also echoed in Doukas 39.13 [= *CC* 2: 176, with Italian translation]: Ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖν ἀπαγορεύσας ἑαυτόν, ἱστάμενος βαστάζων σπάθην καὶ ἀσπίδα, εἶπε λόγον λύπης ἄξιον· "Οὐκ ἔστι τις τῶν χριστιανῶν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν κεφαλήν μου ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ;" Ἦν γὰρ μονώτατος ἀπολειφθείς.

112 Pusculo 4.1007–1014 (81) [not in *CC* 1].

113 Pertusi, “The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of its Consul, Benvenuto, on the Fall of the City,” pp. 199–218. It was then published with Italian translation in *TIePN*, pp. 4–5. English translation in Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans*, pp. 197–199. Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.A.6. Of additional interest is the information supplied by Sekoundinos, who, it will be recalled, was one of the first westerners to visit the occupied Greek capital in the summer of 1453. Cf. *CC* 2: 136: *Imperator ubi hostem ruinas iam occupare moenium victoriaque potiri certissima vidit, ne caperetur vivus, sibi ipsi quidem proprias iniicere manus et hoc pacto consciscere mortem, tametsi animus minus deerat, nefas tamen duxit et christiano principe per religionem indignum, suos, qui pauci aderant, hortari coepit, ut se occiderent; sed cum tantum facinus audere voluisset nemo, imperatoriis insignibus depositis et abiectis, ne hostibus notus fieret, privatum <se> gerens stricto ense in aciem irruit fortiterque pugnando, ne inultus abiret, princeps et immortalitate dignus hostili manu tandem est interremptus ruinisque urbis ac regni casui*

*regium inmiscuit cadaver*.

114 *Minus* 35.9.

115 Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 77 (p. 87).

116 For the most influential tale, cf. Polites, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ Βίου καὶ τῆς Γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ, Παραδόσεις*, 1: 22: … Ἐκεῖ μένει μαρμαρωμένος ὁ Βασιλιᾶς, καὶ καρτερεῖ τὴν ὥρα νἄρθῃ πάλι ὁ ἄγγελος νὰ τὸν σηκώσῃ. Οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὸ ξεύρουν αὐτό, μὰ δὲ μποροῦν νὰ βροῦν τὴ σπηλιὰ ποῦ εἶναι ὁ βασιλιᾶς· γι᾽ αὐτὸ ἔχτισαν τὴν πόρτα ποῦ ξεύρουν πῶς ἀπ᾽ αὐτὴ θὰ ἔμπῃ ὁ βασιλιᾶς γιὰ νὰ τοὺς πάρῃ πίσω τὴν Πόλη.… Καὶ θὰ σηκωθῇ ὁ βασιλιᾶς, καὶ θὰ μπῇ ᾽ς τὴν Πόλη ἀπὸ τὴ Χρυσόπορτα, καί, κυνηγῶντας μὲ τὰ φουσσᾶτα του τοὺς Τούρκους, θὰ τοὺς διώξῃ ὡς τὴν Κόκκινη Μηλιά.

117 E.g., Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. 546.

118 For the actual work that was accomplished on the repair of this gate in the reign of John V Palaiologos, cf. Sarah Guberti Basset, "John V Palaiologos and the Golden Gate in Constantinople," in *Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, 1: *Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium*, eds. J. S. Langdon, S. W. Reinert, Jelisaveta Stanoievich Allen, and C. P. Ioannides (New Rochelle, 1993): 117–135. In addition, cf. now J. Freely and A. S. |akmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 44–47.

119 Doukas 39.13.

120 *CC* 1: 74. Pusculo 4.1016 (81) [not in *CC* 1] only states that the head was presented to Mehmed II: [*sc. caput*] *attulit atque duci Machmetto, et dona recipit*.

121 Lampros, "*"Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι,"*," p. 260: *et l'mperatore fù ucciso hauendosi l'habito mutato per non essere consciuto, et il suo corpo fù preso, et troncatogli la testa, et posta la sopra una lancia fù portata per il campo, et il genouese ueduta la Città presa scampò per mare et morì in una picciola isoletta*.… It is, of course, a definite possibility that there has been some contamination of evidence from an earlier event. The head of Ladislas was displayed during the battle of Varna and then was preserved and sent on a tour of the Ottoman realm; cf. *MCT*, p. 39. The tradition of the severed head is further reinforced by Nestor-Iskander's narrative, which claims that a Serb brought the head to the sultan at the "imperial palace" (Blakhernai?). It was then identified by the sultan's prisoners, Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 82 (pp. 92–93): … …и пойде къ царскому двору. И ту срѣте его нѣкый Сербинъ, принесе ему цесареву главу. Онъ же возрадовася зѣло, и вскорѣ позва болярь и стратигь, и спроси ихъ, да рекутъ ему истину, аще то есть глава цесарева. Они же, страхомъ одержими, рекоша ему: То есть сущая глава цесарева. Онъ же облобиза ю и рече: Явна тя Богъ миру уроди, паце же и цесаря, почто тако всуе погибе!, "He proceeded to the imperial palace. There he was welcomed by some Serb, who brought to him the head of the emperor. He was delighted. He soon summoned the great lords and *strategoi*. He asked them to answer truthfully whether it was the head of the emperor. Seized with fear, they said to him: 'That is what had been the head of the emperor.' He kissed it and said: 'Clearly then God has brought forth the world. It is right for me to rule. Why should all this perish?'" The Serbian Janissary, Konstantin Mihailović from Ostrovica, repeats essentially the same information; cf. Stolz, *Konstantin Mihailović*; partial Italian translation in *CC* 1: 256–260.

122 Cf., e.g., *Minus* 5.2: "Lady Anna of Russia…was buried in the Monastery of Lips"; 14.1: "…our emperor Lord Manuel…was entombed in the…Monastery of the Pantokrator"; 24.3: "…Lady Zoe, Lord Demetrios' wife…was buried in the Convent of Lady Martha"; 28.2: "…Lord Theodoros …was buried in the Monastery of the

Pantokrator"; 28.7: "…our emperor Lord John…was buried in the Monastery of the Pantokrator."

123 On this subject, cf. Siderides, p. 130.

124 This important ethnographical work is rarely consulted at the present time: Spandugnino, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, ed. Sathas. Spandugnino 154, is clear in regard to this matter. His contemporary Christians in Constantinople knew of no grave: *Scriveno li hystoriographi di Turchi, questo Mehemeth haver fatto cercare il corpo del sacro imperatore, et trovato che 'l hebbono, dicono che pianse sopra quello, et honorolo et accompagnolo alla sepoltura sua. Ma li christiani negano esser sta trovato nè conusciuto, perchè in vero in Constantinopoli non si trova in alcun luogo la sepultura sua*. Spandugnino was related to the nobility of the Greeks, who had found refuge in Venice, had visited Constantinople himself, and he had personal contacts with the Porte. On this family, cf. C. Bouras, " "Τὸ Ἐπιτύμβιο τοῦ Λουκᾶ Σπαντούνη στὴ Βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἡ Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς. Τμῆμα Ἀρχιτεκτόνων* 6 (1973): 1–63. Spandugnino's fascinating account deserves more scholarly attention than it has received thus far. There exists an English translation of his text: Nicol, *Theodore Spandounes*.

125 *Maius* 3.11.1.

126 This document is known as the *Ἔκθεσις Χρονική*. For the text, English translation, and commentary, cf. Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople*.

127 *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ* 35.

128 The same family name is also encountered in the narrative of Syropoulos, 11.12: Λάσκαρις Μάμαλις. On another Mamalis, cf. *PLP* 7: no. 16554 (p. 61), who may, perhaps, be identified with a Laskaris Mamalis, as in *PLP* 7: no. 16558 (pp. 61–62).

129 Lampros, " "Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι," p. 250.

130 On this important lamentation, cf. *supra*, nn. 72 and 107. The only substantial addition to Ellisen's edition is the following prose *incipit*, published by Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, 1: 169–203, who based his text on the Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale ms. 2909;* fol. 41a,b: Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἠχμαλωτίσθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἔτει ͵αυνγ΄, μηνὶ μαΐῳ κθ΄, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ, ὥρᾳ πρώτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας. Λόγος θρηνητικὸς καὶ θλιβερὸς καὶ πολλὰ πονετικὸς καὶ ἀναστεναγμένος περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ περὶ τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων, ῥητόρων, ψαλτῶν, ὑμνοποιῶν, διδασκάλων καὶ ἀρχόντων, καὶ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας, ὁποῦ ἐσυνέβη τῆς ταπεινῆς πόλης, καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθεντῶν τῆς Φραγγίας καὶ ὅλα τὰ κουμούνια· ἀρχομένου ἀπο τὸ παρόν, Φραζζέζους, Ἀγκλέζους, Πουρτουγαλέζους, Σπάνια, Κατελάνους, Ταλιάνους, Ἀλαμάνους, Οὐγγάρους, Ῥωμάνους, Βενετίκους, Γενουβήσους, Σέρβους, Βλάχους, Βουλγάρους, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, τὰ ὁποῖα ῥήματα γράφουνται διὰ στίχου. .

131 The anonymous author devotes special attention to the connections between Constantinople and Burgundy in lines 365–398 (pp. 156–160). For the interest of the court of Burgundy in the fall of Byzantium and in the Ottoman Turks, in general, cf. *SOC*, ch. 1.

132 *Νέα Ποιήματα* (Athens, 1847), p. 151.

133 Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels*. The origin of this tradition remains a mystery; neither Mordtmann nor Parmenides before him cites a source.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 100: “In der Nähe des Wefa Meidani unter der Wefa-Moschee, im Winkel eines von Schumachern, Suttlern und anderen Handwerken bewohnten Haus ruht der Leichman, von einem Steine ohne Aufschrift bedeckt, unter dem Schatten eines von wilden Weinreben und Rosen umruncklen Weidenbaums. Eine einfache Lampe, von der Regierung mit Oel versehen, wird noch jetzt jeden Abend über dem Grabe angezündet.”

135 This description is quoted without further attribution in Siderides, p. 137.

136 *Πανδώρα* 13 (1862): 201.

137 Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, p. 187.

138 Mijatovich, p. 230.

139 Pears, p. 355, n. 2.

140 Siderides.

141 *Ibid.*, p. 141: …ὀφείλομεν νὰ παρατηρήσωμεν εἰς τὰ γραφόμενα τοῦ Πασπάτη…ὅτι δὲν ὑπῆρξε ποτὲ ἐκεῖ [*sc.* in the neighborhood of Vefa Meidan] τεῖχος.

142 *Ibid.:* …ἴσως…φονεύσας καὶ μὴ συλλαβὼν τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον, ὑπέστη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ θανατικὴν ποινὴν καὶ ἐτάφη, καὶ ἡ παράδοσις διετήρησε τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ. Siderides further cites the contemporary Ottoman historian, Ahmed Muhtar, who also believed that the Vefa grave contained the remains of the Turkish soldier who was found guilty of the murder of the Greek emperor and was subsequently executed. The local guide to Siderides told the same story in 1890 when he visited the Vefa site. Clearly, we are encountering an oral tradition that was in circulation among the local residents.

143 *Ibid.*, pp. 138–139.

144 Dragoumes, pp. 201–203. For a modern overview of the matter of the Vefa “tomb,” cf. P. I. Spyropoulos, *Ἡ Ἅλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: 29 Μαΐου 1453* *29* *Μαΐου 1453* (Athens, 1991), pp. 202–215.

145 Siderides, p. 139. Unfortunately, no photographs of this “monument” were ever published. The only illustration in existence, to our knowledge, is an unattributed drawing (pl. 5) published twice, in S. P. Lampros, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρχαιοτάτων Χρόνων μέχρι τῆς Ἁλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, 6: Ἀπὸ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ μέχρι τῆς Ἁλώσεως* (Athens, 1908; repr. Athens, 1998): 987; and in M. Sophroniades, *Ἡ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων τῷ 1453: Πλήρης Περιγραφὴ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἱστορικοῦ Γεγονότος ἐπὶ τῇ Βάσει τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἱστορικῶν καὶ τῶν Νεωτέρων Συγγραφέων* (Athens, 1920 [but actually 1919]; repr. Athens, 2003), p. 205. This unattributed illustration, we conjecture, originates on a postcard that dates back to the era when the Vefa Meidan was popularly considered to be the site of the grave of Constantine XI. This illustration portrays a fence at right angles, which contains a tree with bare branches, on which an oil lamp hangs. Below the tree one sees the wooden structure of what presumably must be the inn. Nothing of this structure existed at the time of our visits.

146 for these areas, cf. *infra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications,” for comments with regard to topography; cf. Philippides, “Urban’s Bombard(s), Gunpowder, and the Siege of Constantinople (1453); and *idem*, “Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani.”

147 Barbaro 65 (*CC* 1: 38). This summary is not by the hand of Barbaro but was added at later date by his relative, Marco Barbaro, when the picture had become clearer.

148 The identity of this Spanish/Catalan consul is problematic and his name is unknown. No sources cite him by name, e.g.: Lomellino (*CC* 1: 46): *consulem Catalanorum;* Leonardo (*CC* 1: 150): *Catalanorum consul*, and again (*CC* 1: 168): *consulemque Aragonensium;* [Marco] Barbaro 65 (*CC* 1: 38): *il Consolo Taragonense;* Languschi-Dolfin 20: *El consolo de Catalani*, and again, 31: *lo consule taraconiense*. It is only in modern literature that we encounter his name as Pere/Pedro Julia/Giulia, etc. Cf. *FC*, pp. 84, 90, and 153. In the *quattrocento* his name was never cited. Even Melissourgos-Melissenos fails to furnish his name and simply notes him as τὸν ἀστάνδην τῆς Καταλονίας (*Maius* 3.11.5). Cf. *supra*, ch. 3: "A 'Chronicle' and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes," text with nn. 73–80.

149 On the fate of the Minotti after the sack, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," n. 40.

150 *CC* 1: 46–48. Essentially the same information is repeated by Filippo da Rimini, "La letter di Filippo da Rimini, cancelliere di Corfù, a Francesco Barbaro," 6: 120–157: *Nec vero minus rex ipse* [*sc*. Mehmed II] *trux fuit. Nam dum conconquiescere debuerat ubi se viderat compotem voti et iam potitum rerum, ira tamen magis ac magis accensus baiulum Venetum et filium eius una nonullosque alios non ignobiles cum adriperet, caedi miserabiliter voluit.*

151 *CC* 1: 166–168.

152 Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 40, in his translation of Leonardo, renders this phrase, *cum duobus pariter*, as "and his two sons." However, the equivalent passage of Languschi-Dolfin (cf. the next note) reproduces the phrase as *cum do altri*, which agrees then with the text of Marco Barbaro (*supra*, n. 146). It should be noted, however, that the *Maius* translates this phrase as καὶ δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ (3.11.5).

153 Cf. the text of Leonardo's follower, Languschi-Dolfin 33 (322), who goes on to elaborate in the concluding sentences information that he had obtained after Leonardo's letter had been composed: *Alla prima fece decapitar el bailo de Uenetiani cum altri nobili, et lo consule taraconiense cum do altri. Fu dito al Signor per i bassadi, o Signor morto che i saranno che utile ne hauera i tuo baroni, che te zoua la sua morte, te e meglio che se recatano. Alhora quelli che se tolseno taija de racatarsi scapolarono la uita, et fono redempti n°. 24. et piu che per mille, chi 1500 ducati, et chi per due millia tre millia chi piu chi meno tutti zentilhomeni et boni citadini uenetiani*.

154 Pusculo 4. 1075–1077 (p. 82) [not in *CC* 1].

155 It is only in the sixteenth-century elaboration of the *Minus* by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos that we encounter the statement that Loukas Notaras was executed on the seventh hill of Constantinople, known as Xerolophos, 3.11.4: καὶ προστάξας [*sc*. Mehmed II] ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξηροῦ Λόφου ἀγορὰν κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ θανατώσωσι τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ [*sc*. of Notaras]. But Melissourgos-Melissenos' testimony is suspect, for Xerolophos is distant from the center of the city. Modern historians, who have wisely avoided the problem of identifying Mehmed's site of executions, have not followed pseudo-Sphrantzes. In addition, the execution of Notaras (to be discussed presently) seems to have taken place within the vicinity of the sultan's headquarters, which, in all likelihood, would have been about the Palace of Blakhernai, or even within the palace itself, which had been occupied by the Venetian *bailo* during the siege. For the archaeological evidence concerning Blakhernai, cf. J. B. Papadopoulos, *Les Palais et les Églises des Blachernes* (Athens, 1928). Vefa Meidan is not far from this location. As we will have occasion to observe, this region of the city, from Blakhernai south to Hagia Theodosia (Gül Camii) is associated with all sorts of apocryphal tales; cf. *infra*, sec. IV.

156 As has been noted by Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, p. 110: "A more real and immediate worry for the conquering Sultan Mehmed was that some claimant to the Byzantine throne might find a following and cause trouble."

157 On this important letter of Isidore, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.A.5(ii).

158 *CC* 1: 150; Leonardo's text is duplicated by Languschi-Dolfin 318 (a typographical error in Thomas identifies it as fol. 317) (20): *Dimitri Palaeologo socero, e Nicolo Guidelli genero pressidenti, reseruato cum molti armati a correr da terra per soccorer doue fusse bisogno*. Earlier in the text Languschi-Dolfin placed Goudeles at another spot in the defense, (fol. 317) 17: *A la porta pagea Nicolo Guideli*. Cf. *infra*, Appendix IV, "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 90.

159 4.157–158 (64) [*CC* 1: 206].

160 3. 949–951 (80) [not in *CC* 1]: *Grittus, Gudellus, Buzardus talia dicunt, / Stornadus, nec non Molitius* [*sic!*], *Andronicusque, / Hoc Catarinus idem, hoc ipsum Cornarius audax*. His active career in the court, before 1453, is glimpsed through two documents: *NE* 2: 25 (Comptes de la chambre Apostolique, fol. 201v, July 28, 1446): a sum of money *pro donando domino Nicolao Gudelli, oratori serenissimi domini imperatoris Rome<orum>, de mandato sanctissimi domini nostri pape, juxta ordinacionem domini episcopi Coronensis*; and *NE* 2: 26 (Comptes de la chambre Apostolique, fol. 210, September 20, 1446): *mandato sanctissimi domini nostri, dominus Nicolaus Gudelli, orator serenissimi Romeorum imperatoris, cum litteris ad proceres et barones Ungariae, ut cum praefato episcopo* [= *Cristoforo Coronensi*] *ad Ungariam adire deberet et inde Constantinopolim*. Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, who, in his elaboration of the *Minus*, claims that Sphrantzes and Goudeles were destined to become relatives by marriage, complicates the case. Cf. *Maius*, 33.6: Καὶ ὥριζεν [*sc.* Constantine XI], ὅτι ἐγὼ [George Sphrantzes] μὲν θέλω εἶσθαι ὁ εἷς· καὶ ὅτι στοχάζεται πρὸς τὸν Γουδέλην Νικόλαον. Καὶ ἂν ἀρεστὴ ἔνι ἡ συντροφία, νὰ γένηται καὶ μέσον ἡμῶν συμπεθέριον, ὁ υἱός μου τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα. There is, of course, no evidence for this planned marriage and it is indeed an invention and a fiction of Pseudo-Sphrantzes.

161 Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.B.12: John Moskhos (and accompanying notes).

161 Leonardo's misinterpretation of Loukas Notaras as an anti-unionist is contradicted by a letter that Scholarios addressed to the grand duke in 1451, after Scholarios, a strong proponent of union at the Council of Florence, renounced his earlier position and in this letter to Loukas Notaras attempts to convince him of the fallacy of church union. On this, cf. Livanos, p. 96 f.

163 *PG* 159: 930 (omitted by *CC* 1); as it does not deal directly with the siege but with the union of the churches, this passage is omitted by Languschi-Dolfin and the other followers of Leonardo.

164 On this incident, which seems to have influenced Giustiniani to make the decision to withdraw during the last battle, cf. Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani," pp. 51–52.

165 *CC* 1: 152 [*PG* 159: 936]. Languschi-Dolfin 21 (fol. 317) repeats the same passage: *insuper domando a Cir Luca Notara gran conseglero alcune bombarde da rebatter li inimici da la sua statione, et quelli cum superbia denego uoler dar. Al qual irato Joanne Zustignan disse o traditor, et che me tien che adesso non te scanna cum questo pugnal, da la qual uergogna disdegnato mega duca che uno Latino l hauesse improprato se portaua piu rimesso ale prouision de la citta*. Also Sansovino, *Gl' Annali* 105: *In questo mezzo il Capitano Generale Giouanni Giustini-nano…domandò a Chirluca che gli fussero date le bombarde ch' erano nella città, per adoperlere contra i Turchi. Le quali hauendo gli Chirluca negate superbamente. Et chi mi tiene disse allora il Capitano, o traditore ch '*

*io non ti ammazzi con questa spada? perche sdegnatosi Chirluca che un Latino lo hauesse a quel modo ingiurato, la indi innanzi fu pigrissimo nel proueder alle cose della guerra*. Pseudo-Sphrantzes 3.7.2 paraphrases Leonardo into Greek: Εἶτα ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς στείλας πρὸς τὸν μέγα δοῦκα τὸν Νοταρᾶν ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτῷ τινας τῶν ἐλεβολέων…ὁ δὲ κὺρ Λουκᾶς ὁ Νοταρᾶς οὐκ ἠθέλησε δοῦναι αὐτάς.... Διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αἴτια ἦλθον καὶ εἰς λόγους νεωτερικοὺς καὶ ὕβρεις ἐξέχεον ἑκατέρωθεν.... Καὶ ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὸν Νοταρᾶν ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἀλάστορα καὶ ἐχθρὸν τῆς πατρίδος ἐκάλει, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐναντίας ὕβρεις ἑτέρας ἐνέπλυνεν. And so does the late *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle 111*, 22, perhaps through Languschi-Dolfin: Τότε ἐζήτησε ὁ ρηθεὶς Γιουστινιᾶς τὸν κὺρ Λοίκα, ὁποὺ ἐκράτειε τὰ ἅρματα τῆς βασιλείας, ὅτι νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὶς λουμπάρδες.... Καὶ ὁ κὺρ Λοίκας τὶς ἀρνήθη καὶ ὁ Γιουστινιᾶς τοῦ εἶπε· " Ὢ τραδιτόρο καὶ ἐπίβουλε, ἐδὰ σὲ σκοτώνω μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ ὁποὺ βαστῶ." Καὶ ὡσὰν ἐγνώρισε τὴν γνώμην του, ἤθελε νὰ ἀφήσῃ νὰ μὴν πολεμᾷ, διατὶ ἐγνώρισε πῶς τὸν ἐφθονούσανε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διατὶ αὐτὸς ἦτον Φράγκος καὶ τὸν ἐτίμησε ὁ βασιλέας.

166 *CC* 1: 166; the same information is repeated by Leonardo's followers; cf., e.g., Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 322 (pp. 32–33): *Et chiamato a se chir Luca Notara mega duca et altri baroni greci, represe quelli che non persuadesse a lo Imperator, o inclinarsi a domandarli pace, o hauerli data libera la citade. Alhora Chirluca che cerchaua mettersi in gratia del Signor, et in disgratia Uenetiani et Genoesi de Pera, li qual fono quelli che dauano consilio, armi et militi in li qual uoltua ogni copla, et per star in sua gratia lo imperator faceua resistentia, uogliando quello misero che sempre cerchaua gloria cum mendacio et scisma hauer mazor gratia. Callibasa* [= Halil Pasha]…*quello accuso esser amico de Greci lo qual cum frequente lettere a lo Imperator confirmo el suo animo a star forte et constante, et le sue lettere saluate in fede de questo apresento al turcho…. Ma Chirluca non scapolo la pena de la malitia sua, che nel suo conspetto fece occider do grandi sui fioli, laltro impubere zouenetto reseruo a sua luxuria et lui in ultimo cum sui baroni fu decapitato.*

167 *Supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.A.4 and pp. 51 ff.

168 The entire letter has been edited by Hofmann, "Ein Brief des Kardinals Isidor von Kiew an Kardinal Bessarion," pp. 405–414; this pertinent section is omitted in *CC* 1. On this important source, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," I.A.5.ii. Isidore also notes, in the same paragraph, the executions of the grand domestic and of his three sons: *postea magni domestici filios tres pulcherrimos et optimos occidit et insuper patrem eorum*.

169 4.1065–1074 (p. 82) (omitted by *CC* 1). It should be added and here that Pusculo seems to have been well acquainted with Notaras and with his activities in court long before the siege, as he reports information that is not duplicated elsewhere (and has been neglected by modern scholarship; cf., e.g., 1.434 (21)–535 (23), 2.104–116 (29), and 2.488–497 (36). On the survivors of the Notaras family, including the boy Jacob/Iakobos (and not Isaakios, as is occasionally reported), who was sent to Mehmed's harem, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.B.12, and nn. 123–125.

170 On Sekoundinos and his activities, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.B.10.

171 As noted already, *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.B.10. There exists no reliable edition of the complete text of Sekoundinos' important speech. Makušev, 1: 295–306, first published the complete text but it was based on inferior manuscripts and this edition contains numerous inaccuracies. A better, but incomplete, text was then published in *NE* 3: 316–323; selections, with Italian translation, were then printed in *CC* 1: 128–140. But *CC* 1, for some reason, chose to omit the long account of the execution of Loukas Notaras, which is of great interest to the historian. The quotation in our text appears in *NE* 3: 320–322.

172 At this point Sekoundinos records a speech that supposedly Notaras pronounced to strengthen the spirit of his sons and son-in-law. This is the earliest speech and in later times Adamo di Montaldo and John Moskhos also report a speech presenting similar philosophical arguments. Sekoundinos is the earliest writer to do so and his text should be compared to the others, who must have borrowed the arguments, perhaps even Sekoundinos' phraseology, thus demonstrating that this speech had wide circulation. A close comparison of the three speeches with linguistic analysis should prove fruitful and provide yet another link in this labyrinth of sources, the "eyewitness" accounts, and the early reports. The speech of Notaras, as composed by Sekoundinos, can be found in its entirety, *infra*, Appendix II

173 Khalkokondyles, *CC* 2: 226: Καὶ οἱ μὲν παῖδες αὐτοῦ καταδείσαντες τὸν θάνατον ἐδέοντο τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ὅσα ἐνῆν σφίσι χρήματα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, παραδόντας περιποιῆσαι σφᾶς, ὥστε μὴ ἀποθανεῖν. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἴα, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε θαρροῦντας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον. Καὶ τούτους μὲν πρῶτα ἀνεῖλον, μετὰ δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρείχετο διαχρήσασθαι.

174 Khalkokondyles states that he was twelve years old, 8.429B (2: 166): παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Νοταρᾶ νήπιον δωδεκαετῆ.

175 Cf., e.g., Sekoundinos, *NE* 3: 321 [omitted by *CC* 2]: *Rex hinc iratus adolescentulum quidem vi e complexibus sinuque parentum evelli et detrahi iussit*; and Di Montaldo, ch. 28 (pp. 339–341): *Quam quidem ob rem mox clamitantem e complexibus parentis arripi puerum jussit, cumque invitum violasset*. Not surprisingly, Moskhos, who composed his funeral speech on Notaras at the behest of Anna Notaras, never mentions the sordid incident and the fate of the young Notaras, and only notes the executions, without alluding to the fate of Jacob in the sultan's seraglio. It is our understanding that T. Ganchou is preparing a monograph on Anna Notaras; cf. Chrysa Maltezou, *Ἡ Βενετία τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, *Venice of the Greeks* (Athens, *sine anno*), p. 36. For the texts that treat the fate of the Notaras family after the sack, cf. *infra*, Appendix II.

176 This in fact seems to have been the circumstance for Sphrantzes' son, who had been initially acquired by the sultan's master of the horse (*mir ahur*) but was then purchased by Mehmed and was brought to the *seraglio*. Cf. *Minus* 35.11,12: ...τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παιδίων μου ὑπὸ γερόντων καὶ καλῶν Τουρκῶν ἁλωθέντων καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν πάλιν πραθέντων εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ μεραχούρην, ἤγουν κόμητα τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀλόγων, ὃς καὶ πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀρχοντισσῶν ἠγόρασε καὶ πολλὰ ἐκέρδισεν ἐπ' αὐταῖς. Τοῦ δὲ κάλλους καὶ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν τῶν παιδίων μου οὐ δυναμένου κρυβῆναι, μαθόντος περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς ἀπῆρεν αὐτὰ δοὺς πρὸς τὸν μεραχούρην ἄσπρας χιλιάδας πολλάς.

177 In addition to the text of Khalkokondyles, to be quoted presently, cf. *MCT*, p. 207.

178 On the historical Vlad the Impaler, cf. R. R. Florescu and R. T. McNally, *Dracula, Prince of Many Faces: His Life and His Times* (Toronto and London, 1989); and R. T. McNally and R. Florescu, *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and Vampire Legends* (Greenwich, CT, 1972).

179 Khalkokondyles 9.499B (2: 250).

180 *Supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," nn. 124–126.

181 *Minus* 37.3.

182 *NE* 3: 321 [omitted by *CC* 2].

183 Doukas 40: Πρωίας δὲ γενομένης παρελθούσης ἐκείνης τῆς ζοφερᾶς ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ ἐγένετο ἡ πανωλεθρία τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ τύραννος καὶ εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ἐλθών....

184 *Ibid.*

185 On the history of Blakhernai and on the archaeological evidence, cf. Paspates,

“Τὸ Παλάτιον τῶν Βλαχερνῶν,” *Βυζαντιναὶ*, ch. 4: *Μελέται*, pp. 83–99.

186 On the Tower of Anemas, before any restoration had taken place, cf. the interesting comments of Paspates, *ibid.*, pp. 24–32, which includes a woodcut of the monument.

187 Cf. Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels*, pp. 142–143, n. 27. It is curious that Mordtmann’s exciting discovery is not mentioned in a recent investigation by Matschke, “Der Fall von Konstantinopel 1453,” pp. 204–222, esp. 211–213.

188 Since then, the neighborhood has been altered drastically and the whereabouts of the inscription are unknown. Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, mentions neither this inscription nor the house of Notaras. For the title Dragoman/Interpreter of Notaras, cf. *infra*, ch. 6: “Prelude to the Siege of 1453,” n. 14.

189 Doukas 39.26.

190 This is probably an error. Notaras’ daughters had already departed before the beginning of the siege and had gone to Italy, where they spent the remainder of their lives comfortably, as their father, the grand duke, held both Genoese and Venetian citizenship and had heavily invested his fortune in Italian banks.

191 Loukas Notaras was married to a noble lady (perhaps a Palaiologina), whose first name and complete identity remain a mystery. Runciman first suggested that the wife of Loukas Notaras was a daughter of John VII Palaiologos, the rival of Manuel II, in a note to his *FC*, p. 227, n. 2. This note he then amplified into an article in “Lucas Notaras, ‘Γαμβρὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως’,” in *Polychronion: Festschrift F. Dölger*, ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 447–449. The case is far from being decided. John VII has proved to be a very elusive personality and details about his personal life and relations are sadly lacking. Consequently, John VII has become fertile ground for scholarly speculation. Scholars have suggested that he may have had an alias; cf. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, “John VII (Alias Andronicus) Palaeologus,” *DOP* 31 (1977): 339–342 [= *Romania and The Turks (c. 1300–c.1500)* (London, 1985), essay 10], that he had an otherwise unknown son also called Andronikos, whom he may have crowned emperor, cf. G. T. Dennis, “An Unknown Byzantine Emperor, Andronicus V Palaeologus (1400–1407?),” *Jahrbuch des österreichen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 9 (1960): 175–187 [= *Byzantium and the Franks 1350–1420* (London, 1982), essay 2]. In essence we know very little about this enigmatic figure. A. T. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453*. Inaugural Dissertation (Munich, 1938; repr. 1962), no. 170 (p. 90), erroneously believes that the grand duchess, the wife of Loukas, was the daughter of Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos. The evidence cited by Papadopulos proves nothing and this identification, like the others, remains only a supposition. On the known facts about Demetrios Kantakouzenos Palaiologos, cf. Ganchou, “Le Mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène,” pp. 245–272.

192 Doukas 40. Mordtmann analyzed the passage of Doukas and demonstrated that Orhan, the sultan’s relative in the care of the Greek emperor, was fighting in the same neighborhood. Cf. his observations, *Belagerung und Eroberung*, p. 142, n. 27: “Ducas hat eine zwiefache Angabe über Art und Weise wie der Grossherzog Notaras in die Hände der Türken fiel, nämlich…berichtet er, dass Notaras sich nach dem Thuren begeben habe, wo Orchan seinen Posten hatte; es verlohnt sich nicht der Mühe den geringefügingen in diesen beiden Angaben aufzuklären; vielleicht ist der Widesprach nur scheinbar wenn man annimmt, dass der Thurm, den Orchan verheidigte, zugleich der Familie des Grossherzogs als Wohnung diente. Unter der Voraussetzung dieses Umstandes habe ich vohin berichtet dass Orchan seinen Posten in der Gegend des Serai hatte, indem ich erwänte, dassich dort des Haus des Grossherzogs aufgefunden habe (by means of the inscription that we have already

examined).”

193 By the term ἦν Doukas is probably rendering the Turkish title of *kislar aga*, the chief eunuch in charge of the sultan’s harem.

194 8.429B, 430B (2: 166–167). Doukas 40 states that the young Notaras was fourteen years old: γὰρ εὐειφὴς ὁ νέος, ἄγων τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος. αρχιευνοῦχος

195 I.73,1–14. Kritoboulos again omits all details concerning the pederastic tendencies of Mehmed, whose biography he was writing. Kritoboulos sent his manuscript to the Porte, clearly hoping to be noticed and assigned an official position by Mehmed. It was in the library of the seraglio that his manuscript eventually surfaced. Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” n. 5.

196 On this mosque, cf. the comments in *The Garden of the Mosques*, no. 24 (p. 208). The name of the medieval church is not known. It was definitely renovated in the Palaiologan period, but its core may be much older. Considering its design, it has been thought that it may go back to the eleventh or twelfth century. On this structure, cf. J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople*(Paris, 1913, repr. London, 1979), pp. 149–156; and A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), pp. 243–252. For a thorough black-and-white photographical record of this monument (plates 40.1–30), cf. T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographical Survey* (University Park and London, 1976), pp. 386–401.

197 Doukas 40.

198 Sekoundinos, for instance, mentions that Notaras prayed kneeling, *NE* 3: 322: *flexis genibus Deum adoravit eiusque ineffabili clemeni<a>e animam commisit*.

199 *Supra*, n. 131.

200 Molla Güranî (1410–1488), a religious scholar, was Mehmed II’s military judge or *kadiasker* and was a member of the sultan’s entourage during the siege, sack, and aftermath. Although there is no evidence on this detail, could he have functioned as a judge of the military prisoners of the sultan who were then condemned to be executed at the Vefa? The sultan probably would have wished to add a legal veneer to his wave of terror after the sack. Could the association of Molla Güranî with Vefa date back to those days after the fall? He did function as a judge in Constantinople in the 1460s. For a short biography of this religious scholar, cf. Hafiz Hüseyin Al-Ayvansarayî’s *Garden*, no. 37 (p. 228); and Crane, n. 1637 (p. 208).

201 This information is furnished in Hafiz Hüseyin Al-Ayvansarayî’s *Garden*, no. 37 (p. 228). The accompanying n. 1793 (p. 228) by Crane states: “[t]he mosque was torn down to make way for the extension of Millet Caddesi.” Yet there stands a modern, but modest, functioning mosque identified as the Molla Güranî establishment, with an unpretentious cemetery and a garden. According to the local residents, the old nineteenth-century inn bordered the mosque’s present garden.

202 Doukas 40.

203 I.73.1–14: ἀλλ᾽ ἄφθησαν αὐτοὺς [*sc*. Notaras and company] τὰ τοῦ φθόνου βέλη βαλόντα καιρίαν, καὶ κυροῦται θάνατος ἄδικος κατ᾽ αὐτῶν….

204 *Ibid.*

205 *Supra*, n. 200.

206 Cf. *infra*, n. 228. There exists an interesting account extracted from Evliya’s *Travel Book*, explaining the origins of Gül Camii and appearing in A. Pallis, *In the Days of the Janissaries. Old Turkish Life as Depicted in the “Travel-Book” of Evliyá Chelebí* (London, New York, Melbourne, Sydney, and Cape Town, 1951), p. 71: “According to a Moslem tradition mentioned by Evliyá, but for which there is no

historical evidence…the Gül-Jamí or Rose-Mosque in the Jubalí quarter of Stanbul [was] erected by order of the Arab general Máslama after the siege of 716–18, in the reign of Leo the Third.” On this structure and others that were converted into mosques, cf. S. Kiriktayif, *Converted Byzantine Churches in Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2001), *passim.*

207 The feast day of Saint Theodosia, according to the *Synaxarium Constantinopoltianum*, was first celebrated on July 18, the day of her martyrdom. Cf. H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano* (Bruxelles, 1902), pp. 828–830; and N. Constas, trans., “[Synaxarion Notice of St. Theodosia of Constantinople],” in *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints’ Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, 1998), pp. 5–7. For the issues linked to her martyrdom and the literature relative to her, cf. Leslie Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era (ca 680–850): The Sources. An Annotated Survey*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 7 (Aldershot, 2001): 220–221 and 230. The reasons for the transfer of her commemorative date to May 29, Delahaye, pp. 713–716, are not fully clear. The sources stand in contradiction to each other. The transfer to May 29 could be associated not only with the day of her birth, but more so with the day on which the main miracles are attributed to her; hence her “festive birthday” as Cardinal Isidore notes (see *infra*, n. 208), or other factors. This problem is addressed by W. K. Hanak, “Two Neglected Sources on the Church of Hagia Theodosia at the Fall of Constantinople, 29 May 1453.” in Καπετάνιος και Λόγος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ι. Πολέμη. *Captain and Scholar. Papers in Memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, eds. E. Chrysos and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (Andros, 2009), pp. 115 ff. Eleonora Kountoura-Galake, “29 May 1453: The Fall of Constantinople and the Memory of the Enigmatic St. Theodosia. A Strange Coincidence,” in Motos Guirao and Morfakidis Filactós, eds., 2: 75 ff., attributes the change in the festive date to Slavic and Latin alterations of the *Synaxarium* after 1204. Kountoura-Galake has overlooked an important source: *Synaxarion (Atheniensis gr. 788)*, early twenfth century, for the monastery of the Theotokos Euergetis, that would have significantly altered her conclusions regarding the change in festive dates, from 18/19 July to 29 May. The cited *Synaxarium* lists her festive date as 29 May and there is no Saint Theodosia for the days of 18/19 July.

For the evolution of the cult of Saint Theodosia, though dated but still of value, cf. J. Pargoire, “Constantinople: L’Eglise Sainte-Théodosie,” *Echos d’Orient* 9 (1906): esp. 162–165; and Hanak, “Two Neglected Sources.” For a good summary of the subject, cf. Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 117 ff.

208 Isidore’s letter is dated *in Creta dies sexta Iulii anno Domini M$^{o}$ CCC$^{o}$ III$^{o}$* to his friend Cardinal Bessarion, *CC* 1: 60. This statement of Cardinal Isidore proves prophetic, as the Greeks superstitiously maintain that May 29 and Tuesdays in general are “unlucky days”: ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι or *infesti dies*, in the same connotation as our “Friday, the Thirteenth.” Of course, they do not take into account the fact that May 29, 1453 was based on the Julian calendar, while Latin Europe had adopted the Gregorian calendar, which requires a different date, since there is an eight-day difference in the conversion of the Julian calendar to the Gregorian system for the fifteenth century. Similarly, the Turks also celebrate the conquest of the city on May 29 as reckoned by the Gregorian calendar. No one seems to recall that May 29 in the *quattrocento* refers to the Julian calendar.

209 Doukas 39.23. Evliya Çelebi in his *Seyāḥatnāme*, *Pertev Paşa* ms., 1.11, recounts a miracle associated with the Church of Hagia Theodosia, although the name of the church appears unfamiliar to him. He writes that on that fateful day of May 29 Ottoman forces entered the courtyard of the church that provided a place of repose

for their dervishes. No miracles should be associated with the Ottoman conquerors or their holy men at this stage in their endeavor to occupy the imperial city.

210 While it is not our intention to discuss the history of this church before the siege of 1453, it should be noted that there is some confusion as to the actual saint, as there seem to have been at least two saints if not more with this name. In connection with this passage of Doukas 29, cf. Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople*, p. 115, n. 2: “Ce dernier texte [*sc*. of Doukas] mentionne aussi au 29 mai une autre Théodosie originaire de Tyr, qui subit le martyre à Césarée pour n’avoir pas voulu sacrifier aux idoles. Le renommée de la martyre constantinopolitaine dat eclipser la mémoire de la martyre tyrienne. La date de la commémoration de la première a changé. Au quinzième siècle, elle était fêtée le 29 mais; mais anciennement sa mémoire était célébrée le 18 juillet.” On this, cf. Majeska, *Russian Travellers*, pp. 346–351.

211 This gate was a major defensive position for the Byzantine forces. Whether they were overwhelmed by the Ottoman forces or simply abandoned their position in flight, Evliya Çelebi recounts the Ottoman entry through the Aya Gate, which lies to the northwest of the towering structure of the Church of Hagia Theodosia. He adds a significant point not mentioned in other sources. In his *Seyāḥatnāme, Pertev Paşa ms.*, 1.11, he relates that Ottoman forces (most likely seamen, although the invading group could have as well included land forces) also entered through the Djubali Kapoussı that lies to the northeast of the Church of Hagia Theodosia. It is reasonable to assume that Ottoman forces would use all entries in the sea walls along the Golden Horn to participate in the conquest and looting of the city. It is noteworthy that the Church of Hagia Theodosia is almost equidistant between these two gates and such an imposing multi-storied structure, quite visible at a distance, was an attractive target for the wealth it might provide. The Djubali Kapoussı is also known in numerous sources as Porta Putae, Porta del Posszo, Ispigas, and εἰς Πηγάς.

212 Doukas 39.25.

213 Pusculo 4.191 [*CC* 1: 208]: is Pusculo, in this line, addressing the saint or the saint’s church?

214 On Jan Blachus, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants,” no. 215: “Vlakhos,” and n. 270.

215 Languschi-Dolfin 29: *A porta Theodosia Zuan Blacho*. The gate was also known as the “Dexiokrates Gate.” “Dexiokrates” was apparently the name of the district that included within its boundaries the Church of Hagia Theodosia. Cf. A. M. Schneider, “Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel,” *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse 5 (1950): 65–107, esp. 73–74.

216 The text of Stephen with sound commentary and with the translation that we quote here can be found in Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 44. Also, the comments of Evliya Çelebi, *Pertev Paşa ms.*, 1.11, add support to Stephen’s observations concerning chapels, convent, and sepulcher. Cf. Turková, pp. 8 and 10.

217 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 162–163: А в Понтократори монастыри.... Близ того Феодосья дѣвица в телѣ. В Панмакаристе в манастырѣ... “now in the Pantocrator Monastery.... Nearby is the body of Theodosia the Virgin. In the Pammacaristos Monastery....”

218 *Ibid.*, p. 188: Монастырь Вергетис, тут лежит Феодосия дѣвица, “The virgin Theodosia is buried at the Evergetes Monastery.” Majeska adds, *ibid.*, p. 348, n. 69: “Possibly the St. Theodosia Convent was a daughter house for the nuns of the Savior Evergetes Monastery, since one manuscript of Zosima calls the place of

Theodosia's burial a 'hermitage' (пуст = μετόχιον) of Evergetes." On this, cf. the extended discussion of B. Aran, "The Church of Saint Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Euergetes. *Notes on the Topography of Constantinople*," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 28 (1979): esp. 211–222.

219 P. Gyllius, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius Antiquitatibus Libri Quatuor* (Lyon, 1561). Gyllius, as it is reported on p. 8 of his book, died at the age of sixty-five: *Non.Ian.M. D. LV. / Po. Cn. / Vixit annos L X V. menses, dies v. hor. IIII*. Also, P. Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, trans. J. Ball (2nd ed., New York, 1988), p. xix. On this important scholar, cf. the observations of H. Schäfer, *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels*, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 7 (Tübingen, 1973): 16–17. Schäfer correctly points out, p. 21, that Gyllius saw more remains in this area than can be identified at present: "…Gyllius mehr Reste byzantinischer Kirchen gesehen hat als heute festzustellen sind." Also for a substantial biography, his interests and studies, and with especial emphasis upon his *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*, cf. Sandra Origione, "Pierre Gilles, viaggiatore a Costantinopoli nel secolo XVI," in T. Creazzo and G. Strano, eds., *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini. Catania-Messina, 2–5 ottobre 2000*. Siculorum Gymnasium, n.s., 57 (Catania, 2004): 567–583. For a recent commentary on the observations of Gyllius, cf. Kimberly M. Byrd, "Pierre Gilles' *Topography of Constantinople and Its Antiquities*. A New Translation with Commentary," Dissertation, Rutgers University, 2002.

220 P. Gyllius, *De Bosphoro Thracio* (Lyon, 1561), p. 87. More recently, and quite significantly, Jean-Pierre Grélois has translated and annotated Gyllius' work. He has added a significant note to this passage in his work, *Pierre Gilles. Itinéraires byzantins. Lettre à un ami. Du Bosphore de Thrace. De la topographie de Constantinople et de ses antiquités*. Collège de France—CNRS. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 28 (Paris, 2007), n. 535, that reads: "Les ruines d'une église se trouvent à proximité d'Ayakapi (*ibid.* [W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion – Konstantinupolis – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* {Tübingen, 1977}], p. 97). On hésite entre deux possibilités d'identification: soit l'église du monastère du Christ Évergète (Janin [*La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine*, 1], pp. 508–510), soit, comme le suggère Gilles, Sainte-Théodosie, (*ibid.* [Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie Istanbuls*], pp. 143–145). De toute façon, cette dernière ne saurait avoir été l'actuelle Gül camii (N[eslihan] Asutay, "Überlegungen zum Christos-Evergetis-Kloster und zur Theodosiakireche am Golden Horn," *Ist*[*anbuler*] *Mitt*[*eilungen*] 51 {2002}: 435–443)."

221 Schäfer, p. 21, questions whether Gyllius and Gerlach identified the same monuments: "Dieser Umstand lässt es fraglich erscheinen, ob Gerlach die gleiche Kirche meint wie Gyllius oder ob die von Gyllius als Theodosiakirche bezeichnete Anlage zur Zeit Gerlachs überhaupt noch vorhanden war." Cf. Gerlach, pp. 358 and 454. On this interesting personality, a Lutheran chaplain and an acquaintance and informant of Martinus Crusius, cf., among others, Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, pp. 247–248.

222 *Joannis Leunclavii Pandectes Historiae Turcicae. Liber Singularis ad Illustrandos Annales* (*sine loco*, 1587); and *PG* 159: cols. 717–922. This volume was meant (as its title indicates) to provide additional material for Leunclavius' learned treatises. He was one of the few European scholars who had consulted Ottoman authors. His Latin translation of Ottoman chronicles was based on a German translation from Turkish, as he himself states: *Annales…Hieronymi Beck a Leopolstorf Marci fil. Studio et diligentia Constantinopoli advecti MDLVI, divo Ferdinando Caes. Opt. Max. D. D. jussuque Caes. A Joanne Gaudier dicto Spiegel, interprete Turcico Germanice translati): Annales Sultanorum Othomanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti et ab Joanne Leunclavio*

*Latine redditi and Supplementum Annalium, quo res Turcicae continuantur ad annum Mahumetanum 996, qui Christianus et 1588, ex Joannis Leunclavii adversariis*. All three were published in 1588 and are conveniently printed in *PG* 159: 573–922. The quotation in our text appears in Cap. 200 [= *PG* 159: 873], titled: *Portæ XXIII urbis Constantinopolitanæ, cum multis memorabilibus, et ad historias intelligendas necessariis*. His works are not often consulted, unjustly, in our opinion, as they do contain valuable information and insights into Ottoman history after the conquest. It is a little known fact that Leunclavius also consulted the Greek polymath of the patriarchate, Theodosios Zygomalas, who is also known from his correspondence with Martinus Crusius; cf. Pandectes, cap. 128 [*PG* 159: 817]: *Sic enim audire de Theodosio Zygomala, patriarchali protonotario, valde doc to viro memini*.

223 We fail to understand why Paspates has criticized Leunclavius' learned note and sentence. Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 321, repeats the information supplied by Leunclavius, that after its conversion this building was known as the *mescidi* of Hasan Pasha, but adds (p. 321, n. 5): "Οὕτως ἐξηγῶ τὰ κακῶς γεγραμμένα τοῦ Λεουνκλαβίου," *Casanis Bassae messita* [*sic*]. Is Paspates (who does not quote Leunclavius' phrase accurately) criticizing the Latin style of Leunclavius or is the adverb κακῶς meant to imply that Leunclavius supplied wrongful information?

224 *Ibid.*

225 *The Garden of the Mosques*, ch. 2, p. 207. Paspates, who had read the learned Ottoman monograph, agrees with this testimony: cf. *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 322: Ἡ ἐκκλησία αὕτη παρὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν, μετεβλήθη εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, εἰς ἀποθήκην τῶν μηχανῶν καὶ ἐφοδίων τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ ναυστάθμου. Ἀκολούθως κατὰ διαταγὴν τοῦ Σουλτὰν Σελὴμ τοῦ Δευτέρου ἀνηγέρθη μιναρές, καὶ μετεβλήθη εἰς τέμενος [= *mescidi*]. Ὁ Σουλτὰν Σελὴμ διεδέχθη τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Σουλεϊμὰν τῷ 1566ῳ, καὶ ἀπεβίωσε τῷ 1574ῳ. Ὅθεν ἐν τῇ ὀκταετίᾳ ταύτῃ μετεβλήθη εἰς τέμενος ἡ ἐκκλησία αὕτη, οὖσα ἀπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς ἁλώσεως μέχρι τῆς ἐποχῆς ταύτης, ἀποθήκη τοῦ ναυστάθμου.

226 In spite of Paspates' observation that it was against the custom of the Ottomans to turn churches into storage depots (cf. *supra*, n. 222), this seems to have been the fate of numerous Greek religious establishments after the conquest. Cf. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, p. 188: "Some churches were taken over at once and put into secular uses. Saint Irene, close to Saint Sophia, became an armoury; Saint John in Dippion, near to the Hippodrome, housed a menagerie. In these cases the churches were in districts settled by Turks, and the Christians were prudent enough to make no protest."

227 Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 312. *The Garden of the Mosques*, ch. 2, p. 132; the translator of this work into English notes, p. 132, n. 1001: "Zeyrek Molla Mehmed Effendi (d. 1506), Turkish ulema of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries…is particularly remembered for a prolonged disputation on religious matters with the famous scholar Molla Hocazade in the presence of Sultan Mehmed II."

228 Cf., e.g., the story as reported by E. A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople* 2 (Boston, 1900), p. 422: "It was the season [spring of 1453] when Constantinople is fragrant with roses. The church [Hagia Theodosia] was everywhere embowered for its annual festivity. In memory of the picture it then presented, garlanded and flower-bedecked, to the victorious Moslems, they have called it ever since Giul Djami, or the Rose Mosque." Grosvenor was a classmate of Paspates at Amherst College and considered himself a student of Paspates, as he states in the preface to *Constantinople* 1 (Boston 1900), p. x: "Alexander G. Paspates, graduate and doctor of laws of my

own Alma Mater, my teacher and early friend, the most modest, the most patient, the most learned of all those who have striven to probe the mysteries of the classic and Byzantine city.”

229 During our numerous inspections of Gül Camii we searched in vain for a hint of a rosette that may have once decorated the interior or the exterior of this building. None was found and we thus concluded that the name could not derive from an ornamental feature in the architecture of the structure as it stands now.

230 Cf., e.g., the observation of Paspates. *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 321, n. 4: Σήμερον, πάμπολλοι καλοῦσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην, ῥόδον τὸ ἀμάραντον, πλανηθέντες πιθανὸν ἐκ τῆς Τουρκικῆς ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ ναοῦ. . Byzantios, who wrote before Paspates, expresses the same opinion and implies that the building received its name because of the elegance of its architecture: cf. p. 560: Ὁ ναὸς οὗτος, μεταβληθεὶς εἰς εὐκτήριον [= *mescidi*] Τουρκικόν, καλεῖται νῦν, διὰ τὸ κομψὸν τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς του κατασκευῆς, Γκιοὺλ-τζαμύ, τὸ ὁποῖον μεταφράσαντες τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὲς [= Greeks], ἐπωνόμασαν αὐτὸ ῥόδον τὸ Ἀμάραντον.... .... Paspates also reports that some scholars believed that the building received its Turkish name from its architectural beauty; cf. Paspates, *ibid*, p. 321: Ἡ ἐκκλησία αὔτη σήμερον καλεῖται Γκιοὺλ-τζαμιί, τέμενος τοῦ ῥόδου, δι᾽ αἰτίαν ἄγνωστον. Ὁ Πατριάρχης [= the nineteenth-century scholar and patriarch Konstantios] λέγει ὅτι οὕτως ἐκλήθη διὰ τὴν καλλονὴν αὐτοῦ. Paspates is referring to Konstantios, who had been the archbishop of Sinai before he served as the patriarch of Constantinople. His book, entitled *Κωνσταντινιάς Παλαιά τε καὶ Νεωτέρα* (Constantinople, 1824), was translated into French under the title *Constantiniade ou description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne* (Constantinople, 1846). He discusses the Gül Camii briefly, pp. 117–118: “Nous avons déjà dit que c’est à tort que M. J. Rizo dans son cour de littérature grecque, et M. Hammer qui dans son histoire de l’empire d’Orient suit l’opinion de M. Rizo, ont cru que l’église de sainte Théodosie située près de la porte de Sainte, Aya Kapoussi, et transformée maintenant en mosquée que les Turcs pour sa beauté extérieure nomment Gioul Dzamissi, c’est à dire mosquée de la Rose, on cru disons-nous que cette église fut bâtie par l’empereur Romain Argyrus le Triacontaphylle. Cet empereur nous le répétons ne s’appelait pas Triacontaphylle, mais avant d’élever l’église de Périvlepte [= Peribleptos], avait acheté la maison d’un certain Triacontaphylle, et après avoir démolie, fit bâtir sur ce vaste emplacement l’église de Périvlepte ce que confirme l’historien Byzantin Skylitzi, en ces termes. L’empereur Romain ayant racheté la maison de Triacontaphylle, y fit bâtir un Monastère en l’honneur de la Vierge, et n’épargna rien pour la beuaté et la magnificence de cet édifice.” While only a few words apply to the Gül Camii in these observations, one may notice the reference to “Triakontaphyllos.” Although it is beyond our scope to follow this connection (which has also been noted by Schäfer, p. 17, who however mistranslates “Triantakontaphyllos” as “der Dreihundert-blättige,” when it means “thirty leaves/petals”), we may observe in passing that the word τρια<κο>ντάφυλλον in Modern Greek is synonymous with ῥόδον and they both signify “rose.” Could there be some connection with the Turkish name of this mosque?

231 This beautiful church has been discussed, in some detail, by Paspates,

Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 320–322; by Ebersolt and Thiers, pp. 113–127 (with plates 27 and 28); and, in greater detail, by Grosvenor, 2: 420–422; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, ch. 8 (pp. 164–182), with plates 43–45, and figs. 58–60; W. K. Hanak, "The History and Architecture of the Church of Saint Theodosia," in *Thirtieth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Baltimore, 2004), pp. 90–91; among others. It is indeed unfortunate that this fascinating building has not attracted the focused attention of an architectural historian, and it deserves a full and separate study. The history of Hagia Theodosia in the Middle Ages is beyond the scope of our study but a concise account, with all the problems that surround this important site, is given in Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, ch. 8.; and Schäfer. For a refutation of Schäfer's architectural analysis, cf. Aran, pp. 223–228.

232 Cf., e.g., Grosvenor's evaluation, 2: 420: "Giul Djami… stands alone upon an eminence, entirely surrounded by the street, and with no other buildings near to obscure its proportions. Its bald and lofty walls, pale and sombre, rise from its prominent site with a grim majesty of their own. One gazes upon the gaunt, almost spectral outline with a kind of awe. Seen from the Golden Horn, it is the ghostliest of Byzantine churches."

Our plan of the church/mosque intends to reflect the original layout of the church, but also the reconstructions to the structure over the course of many centuries, mainly a consequence of earthquake damage. For a more recent plan of the asymmetrical reconstructions to the rear of the church/mosque, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, p. 179, and our pl. 12.

233 Schneider, "Mauern und Tore," pp. 72 ff. Schäfer, p. 89, expresses the same opinion, without citing Schneider: "Die Nachrichten über die Theodosiakirche könnten mit gleichen Recht auf Ruinen inder Nachbarschaft der Gül Camii bezogen werden." Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 347–348, is in agreement: "Schäfer's suggestion that the site of the Church of St. Theodosia be sought in the nearby ruins right at the gate called Aya kapi in the Golden Horn sea walls has much in its favor, particularly the fact that the gate here seems to have been named the Gate of St. Theodosia." For brief references to this church, cf. G. P. Majeska, "Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople," *DOP* 56 (2002): 93–108, esp. 102; and Lyn Rodley, *Byzantine Art and Architecture: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1994; repr. 1996), pp. 120, 201, and 267.

234 Cf. Van Millingen's confident statement with which he opens ch. 8 of his *Byzantine Churches*, p. 164: "There can be no doubt that the mosque Gul Jamissi (mosque of the Rose), that stands within the Gate Aya Kapou, near the Golden Horn, was the Byzantine Church of S. Theodosia." This interpretation is repeated by M. Maclagan, *The City of Constantinople* (New York and Washington, 1968), *passim.* For a counter-interpretation, cf. V. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328. Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 27 f., 177, and 179.

235 Grosvenor, 2: 421, states that the church was surrounded "by a band of sipahis (Ottoman cavalry)" "about eleven in the morning." No eyewitness supports these specifics and secondary accounts are unreliable.

236 Schäfer, p. 21 : "Eine Identifizierung der Gül Camii mit der Klosterkirche der Euphemia oder der Theodosia, so kann man zusammenfassen, lässt sich mit Hilfen des bekannten Quellenmaterials nicht vornehmen. In keiner schriftlichen Ueberlieferung findet sich eine detailierte Beschreibung oder Standortangabe, die einen exakten Identitätsnachweis ermöglichen könnte." In the conclusion to his monograph, the author adds that the dates he has deduced from his inspection in connection with the construction of the building will not allow an identification with the Church of Hagia Theodosia, p. 89: "Bisherige Identifizierung der Gül Camii mit der Kirche der Hl. Theodosia oder Hl. Euphemia konnnten nicht bestätigt

werden. Vielmehr lässt sich mit Sicherheit sagen, dass der Vorgänger der Gül Camii nicht jene Kirche sein kann, in der Theodosia nach ihrem Märtyrertod beigesetzt oder die nach dem Ikonoklasmus für sie erichtet wurde."

237 *Ibid.*, p. 85: "Eine Kirche isoliert identifizieren zu wollen, ohne gleichzeitige Berücksichtigung des bettrefenden Stadtgebietes und der daran angrenzenden Bezirke mit sicher fixierbaren byzantinischen Monumenten, heisst beim gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand, mit zu vielen Unsicherheitsfaktoren rechnen zu müssen. Eine Aufarbeitung des Quellenmaterials, wenn es auf derartig breiter Ebene wirksam werden soll, könnte nur durch ein Kollektiv von Spezialisten bewältig werden."

238 Thus Schäfer's tentative conclusions were raised to the level of certitude by Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, in his discussion of the church of Hagia Theodosia, p. 347: "On the basis of extensive archaeological study, Schäfer has demonstrated convincingly that the traditional identification of the present day Gül Camii, or Rose Mosque, with the Byzantine Church of St. Theodosia must be rejected."

239 We disagree with Schäfer's opinion, p. 84: "…die Theodosiakirche selbst ein zu kleines Gebäude war." Schäfer, in his discussion of the sources, pp. 83 ff., has not discussed or seriously taken into account the Slavonic testimony. He does not appear to have been aware of the intricate ritual and the large numbers of pilgrims that flocked to this church.

240 Schneider, "Mauern und Tore," pp. 73–74, first paid attention to these ruins and Schäfer, pp. 84 ff, placed emphasis on his observations.

241 In June 2003, we visited this site, which is located within 100 meters inside the Aya Gate. We were fortunate enough to be guided to the ruins by Dr. Haluk ? tinkaya. The structure lies within a lumberyard but its apse can be clearly seen as part of the lumberyard's wall. The structure continues into the next building, which we could not inspect. While we are evidently dealing with a religious structure, our impression was that it could not be Hagia Theodosia, simply because of the structure's size, an unimposing small one-story building, similar in size to many chapels throughout the city. Dr. Çetinkaya has recently published an article, "İstanbul'da Orta Bizans Dini Mimarisi (843–1204) [The Religious Architecture in Istanbul during the Middle Byzantine Period (843–1204)]," in *Sanat Tarihinde GencÇler Semineri 2004 Bildiriler*, Bilim Eşiği 2 (Istanbul, 2005), pp. 29–50, in which he analyzes the remains of a number of religious structures at their initial construction with an architectural plan. However, based on earlier conversations with him, we cannot accept the hypothesis that this chapel is the church of Hagia Theodosia.

There are further difficulties with the argumentation of Schäfer, Majeska, and Çetinkaya. First, the orientation of the Aya Chapel is northeast to southwest, with the rear of the apse facing to the northeast. All major Byzantine churches within the city face to the southeast, toward Jerusalem. The Aya Chapel as demonstrated by A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt*, Istanbuler Forschungen. Herausgegeben von der Abteilung Istanbul des Archäologischen Instituts des Deutschen Reiches, Band 8 (Berlin, 1936): 54, establishes that it is not a major ecclesiastical structure. Its approximate dimensions are 17 m. in length and 8 m. in width for the chapel proper, excluding a wing at the entrance, which is on the southeastern side, but no longer exists because of a street that parallels the chapel and has obliterated the wing. For Schneider's architectural plan of the Aya Chapel, cf. *infra*, fig. 3, p. 290. And lastly, there is neither literary nor physical evidence to support the conjecture that the Aya Chapel is the Church of Hagia Theodosia. It is true that its construction, building materials, and similar building designs approximate that of the extant Gül Camii, that is, the late eleventh early twelfth century. The Aya Chapel itself has had an interesting history in modern times. While it was visible for some time earlier in the twentieth century and some pictures of it were even published, and Schneider could also make a tentative architectural plan, it subsequently disappeared within the inner structure of a modern lumberyard and part of its apse was rediscovered by Dr. Çetinkaya recently. The remainder of the structure remains embedded within other modern buildings and cannot be identified with certainty. For an older black-and-white photograph dating back to the time when additional features of this chapel were still visible, cf. Freely and Çakmak, p. 227, fig. 117. The controversy over the fate of this structure seems to have been complicated by a comment in a scholarly publication. Cf. Freely and Çakmak, p. 227: "Mathews reports that the church 'has since been leveled,' but in fact most of it is still there, though almost totally obscured by the modern buildings that hem it in on all sides. Its apse, with its alternating courses of brick and stone, can be clearly seen from within a lumber warehouse on the shore road."

Furthermore, this chapel is not the only candidate in the area, if size plays no part in the argument. About 200 meters to the northwest of these ruins, and 100 meters west of the Yeni Aya Kapı, there is another structure (pl. 14), partially underground, whose walls are decorated with the late Byzantine meander. This structure could have been a religious establishment also and it does not appear to be of smaller size than the chapel by the Aya Kapı. The entire neighborhood, it is evident even from our sources, is crowded with religious buildings, as these were the grounds of extensive male and female monasteries. Of course, what is sadly lacking is definite epigraphical evidence that would settle these problems once and for all.

242 Thus in order to obliterate all the problems created by the disassociation of Gül Camii from Hagia Theodosia, investigators have gone to unnecessary complications involving a game of musical chairs: thus Gül Camii becomes the Monastery of Evergetes while Hagia Theodosia first emerges as Hagia Euphemia and its location must be sought elsewhere, even though we are viewing epigraphical evidence and imposing ruins. Cf. the complicated reasoning presented by Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 346–351.

243 Schäfer, p. 21; his conclusions are quoted verbatim, *supra*, nn. 235 and 236. As usual, Schäfer is followed closely by Majeska, who again adds a note of certainty to these tentative conclusions while caution is warranted; cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, p. 347: "The Theodosia Church was built soon after the end of Iconoclasm, while the core of the Gül Camii is an eleventh- or, even more likely, twelfth-century building."

244 Remains from the Ottoman phase include the dome, which clearly does not house a pantocrator on its interior, as it lacks a calligraphic inscription and an internal drum. In addition, arches, pilasters, and western walls are all of Turkish construction; cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 169 ff. The original Greek decoration of this building has vanished; cf. R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), p. 244.

245 Its impressive vaults should yield interesting archaeological evidence, but at this point they are not accessible and we were not able to examine them; cf. Grosvenor, 2: 420–421: "Under the church are spacious subterranean vaults, once tombs of prominent Byzantine families. Now their graves are inhabited by Ottoman households, not dead, but living. Lechevalier, ninety-four years ago, measured one of the vaults to which others converge, and found it one hundred and twenty feet in length. To one of the lateral passages, which the Ottomans never enter, attaches the vulgar tradition that it is a subterranean imperial way to Sancta Sophia." On the vaults, cf. Schäfer, pp. 37–61; and Ousterhout, p. 165, who provides the following succinct description: "…a substantial masonry platform provides the base for the building. It includes a series of small chambers and passageways that bear little relationship to the building above it. These extend under the bema, naos, and

narthexes and protrude further to the west and southwest. Although these were once thought to be reused from an older building, the masonry construction is identical to that of the church, and therefore the two must be contemporaneous.” Ousterhout also supplies a design that produces the plan of the upper structure superimposed on the passageways, fig. 126, p. 166, and a black-and-white photograph of one vault, fig. 154, p. 192. He further notes, p. 192, the similarity, obvious elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 197), between the Pantokrator Monastery and the Gül Camii, with a cautious note of our limitations, as archaeological work has not been carried out: “At the Pantokrator and in the substructures of the Gül Camii, many putlog holes are aligned with the exposed brick course, set between two recessed courses.... The same may have occurred in the superstructure of the Gül Camii, although the recent, heavy-handed application of mortar has destroyed the evidence.”

246 It is indeed unusual for traditional Islamic worship to associate places of burial with places of worship; cf. the observations of Grosvenor, 2: 420: “In the piers to the east are sepulchral chambers, their floor being raised several feet above the pavement of the church. The former Byzantine occupants were long since expelled, and the places filled by the remains of imams of distinguished sanctity. This is a peculiar fact, as among the Ottomans a dead body in a place of prayer is considered to vitiate the supplications offered therein, and even to contaminate the worshippers. But the special holiness of these remains is supposed to more than counteract their ordinary pernicious effect.”

247 Patriarch Konstantios wrote this section in a long letter that he sent to his friend S. Byzantios, who published it in his preface to the second volume: *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*, pp. *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*, n. 2. In addition, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 173–174.

248 His comments on this structure are quoted *supra*, n. 230.

249 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 170–171.

250 Konstantios’ letter to Byzantios, quoted in *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*, p. ι´: ...μνῆμα, φέρον ἐπιγραφὴν Ἀραβιστί: "ἐνταῦθα κεῖται εἷς τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." Byzantios transcribed the text of the inscription, quoted, a Greek transliteration of it, and corrected Konstantios’ translation, *ibid.*: Ἰδοὺ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ αὕτη: "μερκὰτ χαδεγοῦνε ἀσχὰμπ Ἰουσοὺχ ἐλλ μεσσέχ: Ἄλεχ οὺλ σελάμ!" (Τύμβος τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθητῶν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μεσσίου: ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν προσκύνησις [εἴη προσκυνημένος!]). Ἡ σημείωσις τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Πατριάρχου [= [= Konstantios] φέρει ἄλλην μετάφρασιν. For the English translation, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, p. 170.

251 Konstantios’ letter to Byzantios, quoted in *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*, pp. i-ia v.

252 There is probably another folktale that seems to be involved with these oil lamps. As we have seen (*supra*, text with n. 135), a lamp was supposed to light the “grave” of Constantine XI at Vefa Meidan also. This tradition of the ever-burning lamp at Vefa was also reported by Pears and Mijatovich, who add that it was lighted and its care and expense had been ordered by the conqueror himself at the time of the burial of the last emperor. The two scholars were corrected by Siderides, p. 140, and n. 61.

253 For these errors involving Pseudo-Sphrantzes’ inventions, cf. *supra*, text with nn. 124–126.

254 While Van Millingen criticizes Siderides’ views with regard to the supposed grave of Constantine XI in the Gül Camii, he also points out that Siderides enjoyed a reputation among the Byzantinists of his era; cf. *Byzantine Churches*, p. 174: “The tradition [of the remains of Constantine XI being housed at the Gül] has recently

received the honour of being supported by Mr. Siderides, to whom students of Byzantine archaeology are so deeply indebted." Siderides went on to edit, along with other eminent philologists, the collected works of Scholarios-Gennadios II.

255 Siderides, p. 143.

256 Thus the sultan becomes a legitimate successor of the Greek caesars. *Ibid.*, p. 142: … πιθανὸν καὶ πιστευτόν…θεωροῦμεν ὅτι τὸ εὑρεθὲν πτῶμα τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου κηδευθὲν ὡς ἐλέγχθη πομποδῶς, ὅπως γίνῃ πασίγνωστος ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπελπισθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι ἀμεριμνήσωσιν, ἐτάφη…. .

257 *Ibid.*

258 This point, with the various texts involved, by Damaskenos the Studite, Manuel Malaxos, and Pseudo-Sphrantzes, has been discussed in detail from the historiographical point of view, *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," sec. III, esp. text with nn. 162–166. In our text we quote only Malaxos' version. For the award of this church, cf. the text accompanying n. 162.

259 Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, p. 169. The exact date of the transfer is unknown. *Ibid.*, p. 184, he states: "[a] few months after his installation he [Gennadios] asked permission of the Sultan to move…." Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantes, who wrote a history of the patriarchate after the fall and left it in manuscript form to be published one century after his death by the archimandrite Germanos Aphthonides of Sinai, cf. *supra*, ch. 1, n. 130, places the transfer in 1459 (p. 5): Ἔτει σωτηρίῳ 1945 … Ὁ πατριάρχης Γεννάδιος καταλιπὼν τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι προσοίκου τοὺς χριστιανούς, καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ σουλτάνου τὸν ναὸν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου πατριαρχεῖον τοῦτον ἀπέδειξεν. From his phraseology, it is clear that Komnenos Hypsilantes is following the traditions that have been recorded by Malaxos, but he cites no source for the date of the transfer.

260 On Holy Apostles and its appearance as Fatih Camii, cf. the general remarks of Freely and Çakmak, pp. 144–146. Siderides, p. 143, states that the Christian Church was demolished περὶ τὸ 1456–1457. Cf. *The Garden of the Mosques*, p. 11: "The site of the [Congregational Mosque of Sultan Mehmed Khan the Second] was previously the location of a church. After falling into ruin, it remained unrestored. In that place, the abovementioned sultan built a blessed mosque with two minarets, each with one balcony. This is the date on the arch of the gate: 'In the auspicious month of Receb in the year eight hundred seventy-five, 875 [1470–1471]. It had been begun in Camaziyülâhon in the year eight hundred sixty-seven, 867 [1462–1463]. Ali bin Sufi has written it.'" On the sultan's tomb, the following information is provided, *ibid.*: "The aforementioned sultan set out for eternity in the year 'Benediction,' 886 [1481–1482]. After he was buried, a domed tomb was built over his remains before the *mihrab*, and an *ulema*'s turban (*örf-i ulema*) was fixed to the cenotaph (*sanduka*)." Essentially Komnenos Hypsilantes is in agreement, *Τὰ Μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν*, p. 12: Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει [= 1462] ἤρξατο ὁ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτης κρημνίζειν τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ κτίζειν ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ τζαμί, τὸ λεγόμενον τανῦν Σουλτὰν-Μεχμὲτ-Τζαμισί, ὅπερ ἐτελείωσε σὺν ταῖς περὶ αὐτὸ πολλαῖς οἰκοδομαῖς μόλις ἔτει 1471 καὶ τοῦ Χιτζρὲ 876.

261 Siderides, p. 142.

262 *Ibid.*, p. 143: "ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἐκεῖνος ἀρχιτέκτων Χριστόδουλος." Siderides is presumably relying on information that Komnenos Hypsilantes has

supplied, as there are no other references to this event. Khristodoulos, apparently, soon after he completed the building, fell out of favor with the sultan and was executed (but the story reported by Komnenos Hypsilantes perhaps betrays a folk tale). Komnenos Hypsilantes supplies the following information and quotes, in Greek translation, a document that this individual secured from the Conqueror and had been preserved at the Church of St. Mary of the Mongols, a church that was located in the neighborhood where he was given his land grant, near the Phanar. Cf. *Τὰ Μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν*, p. 12: Τότε δι᾽ ἀμοιβὴν ἐχάρισεν [Mehmed II] μίαν στράταν ὁλόκληρον, ὀνομαζομένην Κιουτζοὺκ-Τζαφὲρ, παρὰ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Μουγλίου, τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι Ῥωμαίῳ [= Greek] τοὔνομα Χριστοδούλῳ μὲ χάττισερίφι, ὁποῦ ἐσώζετο μέχρι πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Μουγλίου, καὶ ἔγραφεν οὕτως: "Ἐσὺ ὁποῦ ἔχεις τὴν τιμὴν νὰ ἦσαι σούπασης [= *subaşı*] τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐχαρίσαμεν ἡμεῖς δι᾽ εὐμένειαν τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι Χριστοδούλῳ, διὰ μισθὸν τοῦ κόπου του, τὸν μαχαλὲν τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κιουτζοὺκ-Τζαφέρ, θέλεις ὑπάγει εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Μουγλιότισσας, καὶ θέλεις διορίσει τὸν ῥηθέντα μαχαλὲν μὲ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς ἄνευ οἰκοδομῶν, καὶ θέλεις τὸν δώσει εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοδούλου, κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν πρόσταγμα, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον θέλεις δώσει πίστιν τὴν σήμερον." Komnenos Hypsilantes then adds that after the completion of the building Khristodoulos boasted that he could erect a bigger or more beautiful mosque than the Mehmed Fatih Camii. For this reason he was put to death: Ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὼν ὁ Χριστόδουλος ὕστερον ὅτι δύναται νὰ κτίσῃ καὶ ἄλλο τζαμὶ μεγαλήτερον καὶ ὡραιότερον ἐκείνου, ἐφονεύθη.

263 *Ibid.*: …Χριστόδουλος ὁ παρὰ τοῦ εὐνοοῦντος αὐτὸν Πορθητοῦ ζητήσας καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἐν Μουχλίῳ ἱερὸν ναὸν τῆς Παναγίας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀδέσποτα μέρη διὰ σουλτανικοῦ προστάγματος, οὗ τὸ κείμενον ἐν μεταφράσει διέσωσεν ὁ Δημ. Καντεμίρ…. The document in question is quoted in its Greek version (which may have been the document's original language), *supra*, n. 261.

264 *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143.

265 Cf. for example the criticism of Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 174–177, esp. p. 176: "To enter into a minute criticism of this tradition and of the arguments urged in its support would carry us far beyond our scope. Nor does such criticism seem necessary. The fact that the last Constantine was buried with royal honours affords no proof whatsoever that he was laid to rest in the church of the Holy Apostles. If he was ever buried in S. Theodosia, he may have been buried there from the first."

266 The fact is that some of the relics that had been housed in Holy Apostles were eventually seen at the Pammakaristos. Gerlach saw the column at which Christ had been scourged at the Pammakaristos, but originally it had been housed at Holy Apostles; cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, p. 173, n. 2.

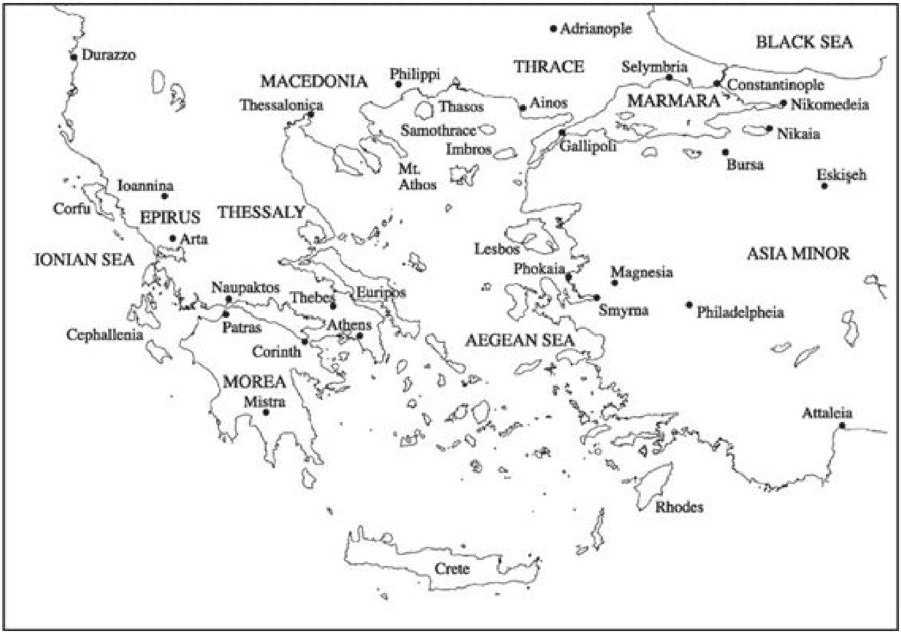
267 *Ibid.*, pp. 178: "It is difficult to resist the impression that the discovery of the tomb at that time gave occasion for the fanciful conjectures current among the Turks and the Greeks in regard to the body interred in the tomb." At the present time, during our inspections of Gül Camii we noticed that outside the mosque there is a stone sarcophagus (pl. 17) that serves as a basin for the faithful to wash before prayers. It is a Byzantine sarcophagus. Could it be that this is the sarcophagus recovered in the tomb that was opened in 1832, or is it the sarcophagus at the southeastern pier that had been attributed to Gül Baba (access to this crypt is restricted at present and no one at the mosque admits to possessing the key to the stairway's latticed doorway)? Or could it be that this was the sarcophagus that was to be found in the northeastern pier that was presumably removed at the time that the pier was walled up, and therefore must be the sarcophagus that had been associated with the remains of Constantine XI?

268 Among the most prominent we list the following three sites. None, naturally, bears the stamp of authenticity:

1. The only eyewitness source to suggest a burial place for the emperor was Nestor-Iskander. He claims that the emperor’s head was buried under the altar of Hagia Sophia. Cf. Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 82 (pp. 92–93): И ту срѣте его нѣкый Сербинъ, принесе ему цесареву главу.... И посла еи къ партіарху, да обложитъ ю златомъ и сребромъ, и сохранитъ ю, якоже самъ вѣсть. Патріархъ же埋 вземъ положи ю въ ковчезецъ сребранъ и позлащенъ и скры ю въ великой церкви подъ престоломъ, “There he was welcomed by some Serb, who brought to him [the sultan] the head of the emperor…. He [Mehmed II] sent it to the patriarch to encase it in gold and silver and preserve it, as it was well known. The patriarch took it and placed it in a silver chest. It was gilded and was then concealed under the altar of the Great Church.” In connection with this story, cf. Pears, p. 354, n. 2: “The Turks show a place in the bema of St. Sophia which they pretend to be the tomb of Constantine.”
2. Evliya Çelebi, the Turkish traveler of the seventeenth century, stated in the *Seyāḥatnāme* for the year 1620 that the tomb of the emperor was located in the Sulu Monastir [traditionally taken to be the Greek monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos]; cf. *Pertev Paşa ms.*, 1.11; also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, p. 177.
3. The remains of the emperor were buried, according to a nineteenth-century Turkish historian, in the church of Pege (Balıklı); cf. *ibid.*, p. 177, n. 2.

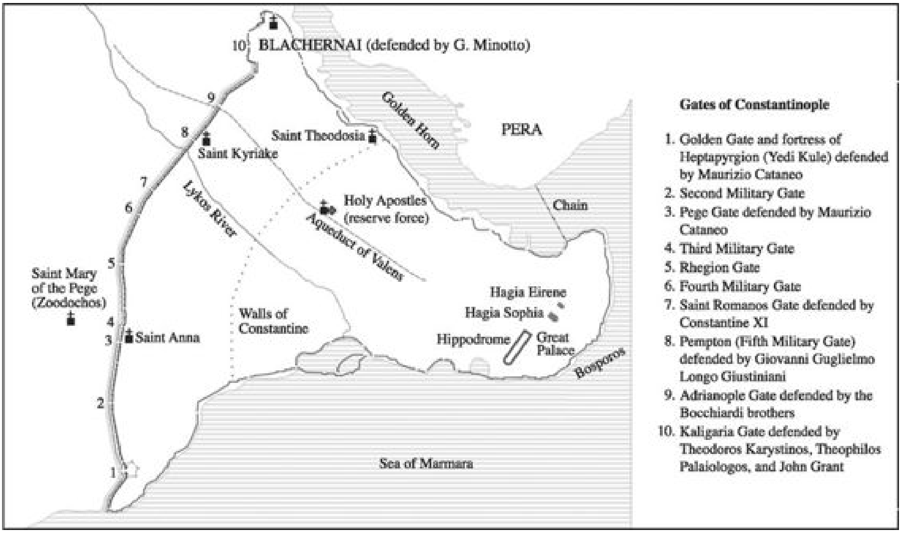
# PART II

# THE SWORD


Adrianople
BLACK SEA
Durazzo
MACEDONIA
Philippi
THRACE
Selymbria
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Thasos
Ainos
MARMARA
Nikomedeia
Samothrace
Gallipoli
Nikaia
Imbros
Bursa
Mt. Athos
Eskişeh
Ioannina
Corfu
EPIRUS
THESSALY
Arta
ASIA MINOR
IONIAN SEA
Lesbos
Phokaia
Magnesia
Naupaktos
Thebes
Euripos
Smyrna
Philadelpheia
Patras
Athens
Cephallenia
Corinth
AEGEAN SEA
MOREA
Mistra
Attaleia
Rhodes
Crete

Map 1

The Fragmented Byzantine Empire in the Fifteenth Century

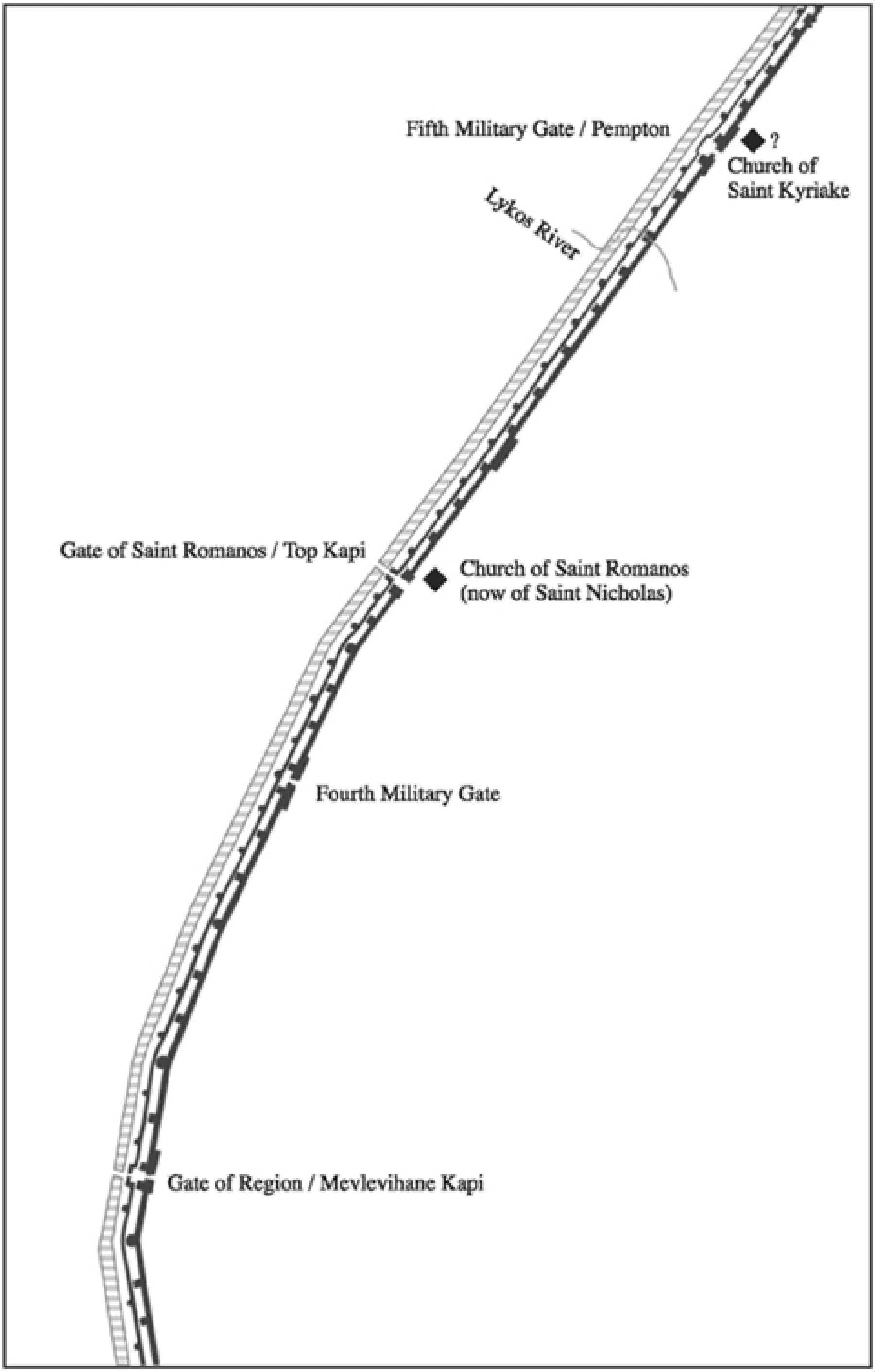

10
BLACHERNAI (defended by G. Minotto)
9
Golden Horn
PERA
8
Saint Theodosia
Saint Kyriake
7
6
Lykos River
Holy Apostles (reserve force)
Chain
Aqueduct of Valens
5
Saint Mary of the Pege (Zoodochos)
Hagia Eirene
Hagia Sophia
4
Walls of Constantine
3
Saint Anna
Hippodrome
Great Palace
Bosporos
2
1
Sea of Marmara

**Gates of Constantinople**

1. Golden Gate and fortress of Heptapyrgion (Yedi Kule) defended by Maurizio Cataneo
2. Second Military Gate
3. Pege Gate defended by Maurizio Cataneo
4. Third Military Gate
5. Rhegion Gate
6. Fourth Military Gate
7. Saint Romanos Gate defended by Constantine XI
8. Pempton (Fifth Military Gate) defended by Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani
9. Adrianople Gate defended by the Bocchiardi brothers
10. Kaligaria Gate defended by Theodoros Karystinos, Theophilos Palaiologos, and John Grant

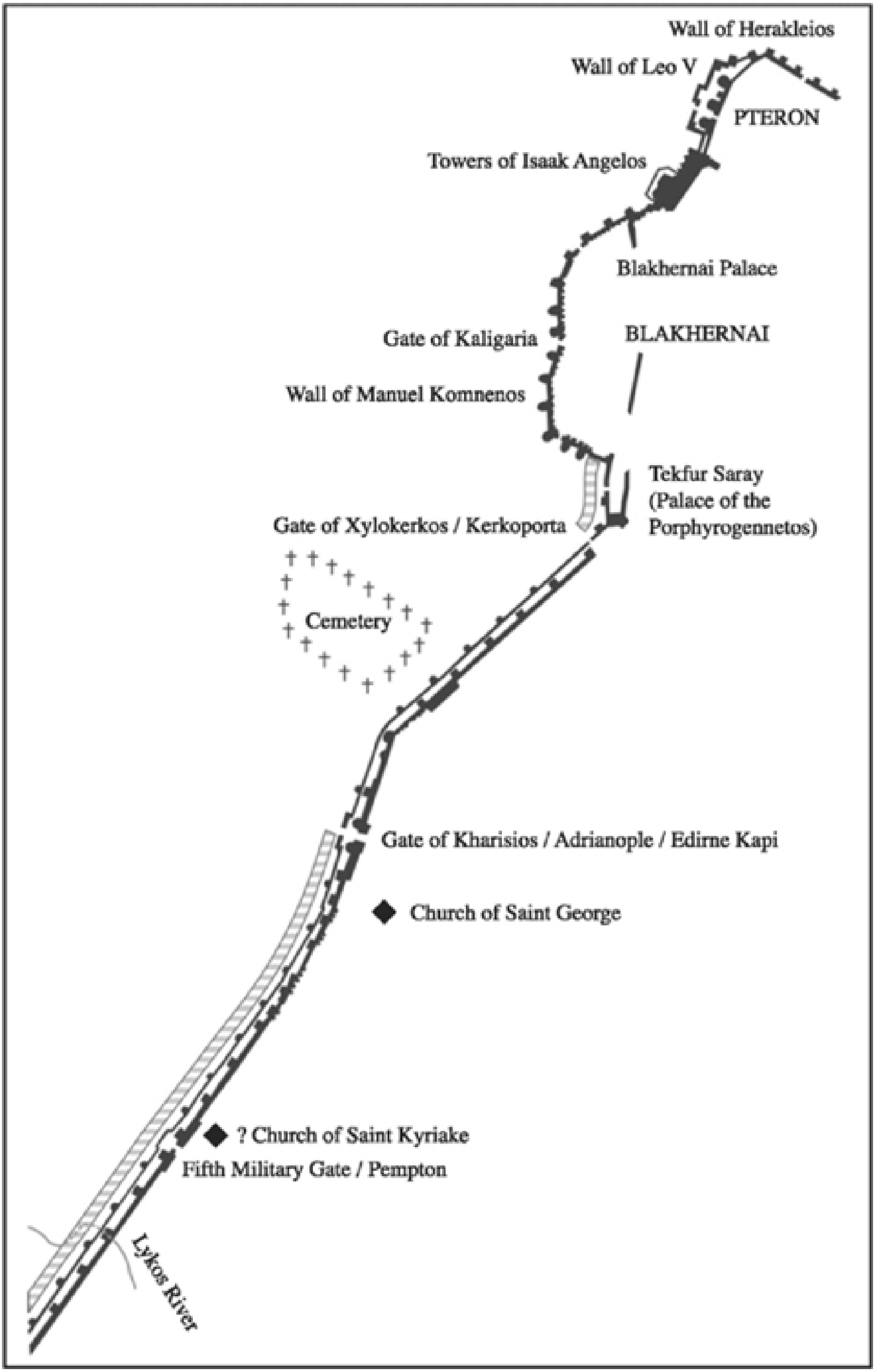
Map 2

The Land Fortifications


Fifth Military Gate / Pempton
◆ ?
Church of
Saint Kyriake
Lykos River
Gate of Saint Romanos / Top Kapi
◆ Church of Saint Romanos
(now of Saint Nicholas)
Fourth Military Gate
Gate of Region / Mevlevihane Kapi

Map 3

The Southern Mesoteikhion


Wall of Herakleios
Wall of Leo V
PTERON
Towers of Isaak Angelos
Blakhernai Palace
Gate of Kaligaria
BLAKHERNAI
Wall of Manuel Komnenos
Tekfur Saray (Palace of the Porphyrogennetos)
Gate of Xylokerkos / Kerkoporta
Cemetery
Gate of Kharisios / Adrianople / Edirne Kapi
Church of Saint George
? Church of Saint Kyriake
Fifth Military Gate / Pempton
Lykos River

Map 4

The Northern Mesoteikhion and Northwestern Fortifications

# Chapter 5

# The Land Fortifications: An Impregnable Fortress “Thou Art” or “Art Not”

# I. A Historical Digest of the Theodosian Land Walls[1]

Until the reign of Theodosios II (408–450), the East Romans had relied upon one main line of fortifications on the western frontiers of Constantinople,[2] the defensive wall of Constantine I the Great that had been modeled after the Servian Wall of Rome with its square towers.[3] For more than eight decades after the formal dedication of the imperial city in 330, this wall had well served the immediate needs of security. A second line of defense appeared with the construction of the Theodosian Walls in 413. The long wall of Anastasios I (491–518), initially constructed about 447 but rebuilt later in his reign, was more distant at sixty-five kilometers from the imperial city and stretched from Selybria to the Black Sea at a length of forty-five kilometers. Clearly remote in the defensive scheme of the city, the long wall was generally low, reaching a height of 5 meters with a breadth of 3.30 meters. The long wall proved insufficient for discouraging barbarian attacks.[4] Other controlling factors, however, appeared in the first century of the imperial city and these altered circumstances warranted new defensive schemes. Perhaps the most significant consideration for the imperial authorities, aside from the concerns of repeated barbarian forays, was the rapid westward expansion of the suburbs with the concomitant creation of new communities and religious centers.[5] This, undoubtedly, altered the initial character of the city and with westward urban expansion greater defensive needs arose.

The construction of the Theodosian Walls was undertaken in two phases. The initial construction, now the inner wall, began in 413 under the direction of Anthemius (d. 415), the Praetorian Prefect of the East,[6] during the minority of the emperor Theodosios II. This wall, a single circuit composed of curtain walls and lofty towers, was an imposing structure that was situated upon high ground approximately two kilometers west of the Constantinian barrier. The Theodosian Walls were a grand deterrent, both physically and psychologically, to barbarian invaders.[7] However, the Theodosian and Constantinian Walls suffered extensive physical damage as a result of severe earthquakes on September 25, 437, and a decade later, on November 6, 447. Marcellinus Comes provides one of the rare descriptions specifying the extent of destruction. He records:[8]

> *Ingenti terrae motu per loca varia inminente plurimi urbis augustae muri recenti adhuc reaedificatione constructi cum quinquaginta septem*

> *turribus corruerunt.*
>
> An enormous earthquake in various places threatened most of the walls of the imperial city that hitherto had been rebuilt, constructed with fifty-seven towers [that] were ruined.

Marcellinus Comes is referring to the 447 earthquake,[9] but his emphasis appears rather upon the “rebuilt” Constantinian Walls, although the Theodosian Walls were also severely damaged.[10] Requiring thorough renovation, repairs to the Theodosian Walls were undertaken under the direction of the Praetorian Prefect Constantine, and the work was accomplished in a surprisingly brief period of two months.[11] Three undated inscriptions, two in Greek and one in Latin, attest to the magnitude of this feat and the speed with which the walls were reconstructed. The first Greek inscription is found on the lintel at the Rhegium Gate (pls. 18 and 19) and reads:[12]

† ΗΜΑϹΙΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΦΙΛΟϹΚΗΠΤΡΩ ΒΑϹΙΛΕΙ †
ΚΩΝϹΤΑΝΤΙΝΟϹ ΥΠΑΡΧΟϹ ΕΔΕΙΜΑΤΟ ΤΕΙΧΕΙ ΤΕΙΧΟϹ †

In sixty days, by order of the scepter-loving Emperor,
Constantine[13] the Eparch added wall to wall.[14]

Also at the same gate is a Latin inscription that reads:[15]

THEODOSII JUSSIS GEMINO NEC MENSE PERACTO †
CONSTANTINUS OVANS HAEC MOENIA FIRMA LOCAVIT
TAM CITO TAM STABILEM PALLAS VIX CONDERET ARCEM †

By the joint orders of Theodosios, in less than two months,
Constantine erected triumphantly these stout walls.
Pallas could scarcely have built a fortification so quickly and so strongly.

The third inscription, in Greek but no longer extant, is preserved only in an early eighteenth-century anthology.[16] The inscription had appeared at the Xylokerkos Gate, near the Porphyrogenite Palace that is now known as Tekfur Saray:

ΘΕΥΔΟϹΙΟϹ ΤΟΔΕ ΤΕΙΧΟϹ ΑΝΑΞ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΑΡΧΟϹ ΕΩΑϹ
ΚΩΝϹΤΑΝΤΙΝΟϹ ΕΤΕΥΞΑΝ ΕΝ ΗΜΑϹΙΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ

The Emperor Theodosios and the Eparch of the East
Constantine built this wall in sixty days.

The earthquake of 447 is of particular significance. The major construction that was undertaken not only repaired the damage to the Theodosian Walls, but it also enlarged and reinforced them with new features. To the inner Theodosian Walls were added outer curtain walls with towers and parallel to the latter for some distance a substantial moat. Neither the outer wall nor the moat, however, was extended to conform to the full length of the inner walls. The outer walls abruptly end shortly after the Charisios Gate/Edirne Kapi and do not show physical evidence of having been continued to the Porphyrogenite Palace.[17] Like the outer walls, the moat also terminates about the Charisios Gate, but short of it. The moat may have resumed about the Porphyrogenite Palace, which we have surveyed, but there is no physical evidence today to demonstrate its possible existence without the conduct of extensive archaeological excavations.[18]

Following the construction of the inner walls and thereafter the outer walls and moat, the Theodosian fortifications suffered repeated earthquake damage. In addition to the earthquake of 447, other severe tremors occurred September 26, 487; 526, apparently prior to May;[19] again August 15, 554, and December 14, 557; October 26, 740; January 9, 869; October 26, 989; and late 1323. Throughout the course of this millennium, maintenance and repair of the walls was entrusted to designated officials, who bore the title variously as ὁ Δομέστικος τῶν Τειχέων, , the Domestic of the Walls; Τείχους, Ἄρχων τοῦ, the Governor of the Walls; or Κόμης τῶν Τειχέων,, the Count of the Walls.[20] Other natural disasters, especially flooding of the Lykos River below the Fifth Military Gate, called for extensive rebuilding of the facilities. The catalogue of earthquakes, at least the major tremors, over the course of a millennium, evidences the fact that sections of the towers and walls, and the moat, required urgent maintenance.[21] The urban officials and populace as a civic responsibility accomplished this upkeep. The *Codex Theodosianus* variously defines the specific categories of public officials required to perform *necessitas* (public service) and *murus* (obligatory service). Thus no official was exempt, because of either rank or privilege. Further, the *Codex Theodosianus 15.1.51*, dated April 4, 413 and addressed by the emperors Honorius and Theodosios to the Praetorian Prefect Anthemius, is explicit regarding the responsibilities of the Constantinopolitan urbanites to maintain the fortifications. The code reads:[22]

> *Turres novi muri, qui ad munitionem splendidissimae urbis extructus est, conpleto opere praecipimus eorum usui deputari, per quorum terras idem murus studio ac provisione tuae magnitudinis ex nostrae serenitatis*

> *arbitrio celebratur, eadem lege in perpetuum et condicione servanda, ut annis singulis hi vel ad quorum iura terrulae demigraverint proprio sumptu earum instaurationem sibimet intellegant procurandam, earumque usu publico beneficio potientes curam reparationis ac sollicitudinem ad se non ambigant pertinere. Ita enim et splendor operis et civitatis munitio cum privatorum usu et utilitate servabitur.*

> We command that the towers of the New Wall, which has been constructed for the fortification of this most splendid City [Constantinople], shall, after the completion of the work, be assigned to the use of those persons through whose lands this wall was duly erected by the zeal and foresight of Your Magnitude, pursuant to the decision of Our Serenity. This regulation and condition shall be observed in perpetuity, so that said landholders and those persons to whom the title to these lands may pass shall know that each year they must provide for the repair of the towers at their own expense, that they shall acquire the use of these towers as a special favor from the public, and they shall not doubt that the care of repair and the responsibility therefor[e] belongs to them. Thus the splendor of the work and the fortifications of the City shall be preserved, as well as the use of such fortifications to the advantage of private citizens.

But by 1453, the frequency of repairs of the Theodosian fortifications had become irregular.[23] This phase of neglect was ushered in with the Latin conquest of 1204. For the next two centuries there was a serious lack of funding and an unalterable decline in the urban population, although some attention occasionally was given to the upkeep of the defenses. The restored empire under the Palaiologan dynasty after 1261 lacked the financial resources to maintain the walls, towers, and moat on a regular basis.[24] The dynasty's sporadic and fruitless efforts in the last stages are clear in two examples. First, addressing the question of the dilapidated fortifications of Constantinople, the Byzantine emperor John VIII[25] introduced extensive renovation projects.[26] When John instituted these renovations is unclear in the sources and the chronology itself remains vague. An anonymous author of an *encomium* writes of a number of restorations that were undertaken and accomplished. He stresses that particular attention was devoted to the moat that had been neglected for a long period and relates:[27]

> Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αἱ διώρυχες περὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ οἱ τάφροι πάλαι μὲν βάθος ὠρύγησαν παρὰ τῶν τηνικαῦτα κρατούντων…χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἐν ὥραις χειμεριναῖς τῇ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροῇ κατὰ μικρὸν τὴν ὕλην ἐπισπωμένων ἐπληρώθησαν ταύτης ἄχρι τῶν ἄνω.

> Here the channels around the walls and the moat had long ago been dug to some depth by the emperors of old…but with the passage of time, in winters, under the influence of water, gradually the soil was loosened and filled the moat all the way up.

For the emperor, the task of rebuilding the moat was a Heraklean labor and the anonymous author compares John VIII's accomplishment to the feat of Xerxes, who in antiquity had cut a channel through the peninsula of Mount Athos.[28]

The narrative then concludes with the observation that the "cleaning" of the moat took no more than "two months," an unexpectedly short span of time that implies the great efforts expended by the planners and workers. The towers and walls from the Sea of Marmara to the Porphyrogenite Palace bear inscriptions that date between 1433 and 1444 and attest to the emperor's efforts to refortify the city.[29] The work, however, was periodically interrupted because of an insufficiency of imperial funding. The quality of restoration is also in question, at least for the sector of the Mesoteikheion that we shall examine shortly.

Like his brother John VIII, Constantine XI was also confronted with the dire need to attempt a restoration of the ruined Theodosian fortifications, especially in the sector of the Pempton or the Fifth Military Gate. He entrusted the task of restoration to Manuel Palaiologos Iagaris, a senatorial *archon*, and the monk Neophytos of Rhodes.[30] Rather than devote their complete and undivided attention to the project at hand, that is the renovation of the Theodosian curtain walls, gates, and towers, Leonardo of Chios tells us that the two men acted with diffidence and absconded with substantial imperial funds that had been intended for the repairs, and thus enriched themselves. Paspates and H. Lietzmann,[31] however, note the existence of an inscription bearing the name of Manuel Iagaris. Déthier places the inscription upon the tower at the Pempton Gate.[32] Perhaps the accomplishment of repairs was far more extensive and the charge of Leonardo of Chios is loaded with unreasonable exaggeration. He further adds with a measure of irony that their ill-gotten gains passed to the sultan eventually.[33] The archbishop Leonardo goes so far as to assert:[34] *Idcirco urbs praedonum incuria in tanta tempestate periit*, "for that reason, through the neglect of the robbers, the city perished in such a great storm." Lacking adequate fortifications on the western limits of the imperial city, it became most difficult if not impossible for the forces of Constantine XI to forestall and withstand the massive assault of Mehmed II.

Repairs to the northern sector were also carried out at the expense of Cardinal Isidore, the papal legate. These repairs took place in the vicinity of the Anemas Tower by the Blakhernai section. That the cardinal repaired more than one tower is evident in the phraseology of Leonardo, who uses the plural form:[35]*Hieronymus Italianus, Leonardus de Langasco, Genuenses, cum multis sociis Chsyloportam et turres, quas Anemadas vocant impensis cardinalis reparatas, spectabant*, “the Genoese Hieronymus Italianus and Leonardo de Langasco, with many associates, defended Xyloporta and the towers which are called Anemades that had been repaired at the expense of the cardinal.”

# II. The Physiognomy of the Theodosian Walls

The length of the inner Theodosian Walls is about 5,761 meters, although Wolfgang Lebek gives its stretch at 5.7 kilometers.[36] Schneider, however, states that it is about 6.5 kilometers in length.[37] The spacing between its ninety-six towers is not uniform. The gradient of the terrain, whether gradually sloping downward to the Sea of Marmara or the abrupt descent to the Lykos River valley (pl. 20) and then up again toward the Adrianople Gate/Gate of Charisios, determined the placement of the towers. According to Tsangadas, the gradient increases from 10 meters at the Sea of Marmara to 68.32 meters at the Gate of Saint Romanos, and then sharply descends to 33.75 meters at the lowest point of the Lykos River bed; the terrain then abruptly ascends to 77.17 meters at the Gate of Charisios,[38] the highest point of the city. At Tekfur Saray, the site of the ruins of the Porphyrogenite Palace, the gradient drops to 50 meters, and this is where the Theodosian Walls apparently terminate.[39]

The interval of the curtain wall between the inner wall towers along the full length of the Theodosian land walls conforms to the grade of the terrain and varies considerably between 21 meters and 77 meters in length. More often, as a rule, the distance between the towers is about 40 to 60 meters. Respectively, the lengths of the curtain walls between towers 13–14, 18–19, 40–41, 41–42, 51–52, 52–53, 54–55, 55–56, the Fourth Military Gate at tower 59 on the southern side are 63, 68, 70, 68, 65, 66, 70, and 76 meters. The placement of the towers and the lengths of the inner curtain walls reflect the gradual rise in the land's gradient until the seventh hill about the Gate of Saint Romanos. Maintenance of this area was much easier and even the moat most probably retained its waters. And although Mehmed II had placed his artillery along this length of the Theodosian Walls and they regularly bombarded the fortification, there is no evidence that he had planned a massive assault with human waves against this formidable section. Clearly, the imposing inner walls along with the outer walls and moat were sufficient deterrents to frustrate any anticipated speedy onslaught to take the city.

From the north tower 60 at the Fourth Military Gate to the Pempton or the Fifth Military Gate the length of the inner walls generally extends between 54 and 58 meters, with the following few exceptions: 31 meters at towers 64–65, 47 meters at towers 70–71, 64 meters at towers 71–72, and 62 meters at towers 76–77. Nonetheless, there is an exception to these statements. The stretch between the towers commencing with the Pempton or Fifth Military Gate (tower 78 on the north side) to the terminus of the Theodosian land walls presents a peculiar contrast. We observe the next four towers (79–82) set apart at 50–54 meters, then the curtain walls between towers 82–83 and 83–84 are 22 and 21 meters in length, followed by three walls between towers 84–85, 85–86, and 87–88 (excluding towers 87 and 88 of the Adrianople Gate) that are spaced respectively 23, 24, and 19 meters. The final six towers are separated at 52 meters each and we should note that this is the site of the highest point along the Theodosian Walls. This peculiar spacing and design of the inner land walls should be explained in terms of the gradient of the terrain and not simply of the strategic needs of the area. Where the fortification's defenses were substantial, the curtain walls were lengthy; but where the extreme slope of the terrain acted as a natural deterrent to any land invader, the extent of the inner curtain wall was undersized.

Generally, the widths of the towers of the inner wall vary between 10 and 12 meters, with some exceptions. The tower at the First Military Gate is 14 meters broad, tower 3 is 8 meters, tower 56 is 13, and tower 88 is 14. These are design features that should not be explained in other terms.

The heights of the inner land walls are considerable and average between 15 and 20 meters. The towers rise above the walls another 5 to 10 meters. These variations extend also to the thickness of the land walls, which deviates from 4.50 to almost 6 meters (pl. 21).

The outer walls, hitherto, have received little scholarly attention, although this outer circuit unwisely became the main line of defense against the forces of Mehmed II in 1453 rather than the inner walls. Meyer-Plath and Schneider are the rare scholars who have paid some attention to this outer circuit of walls, but even that effort by scholarly standards is meager. The outer circuit begins with a pentagonal tower mid-way between towers 1 and 2 of the inner wall and does not reach the shoreline at the Sea of Marmara. This perimeter comprises 62 known towers that are square or U-shaped structures and perhaps three additional towers whose foundations are not evident. Caution should be exercised in this estimation because the layout of the outer circuit of walls would indicate the existence of additional towers, especially in the vicinity of the Pempton, where repeated flooding and earth movement may have eradicated all evidence of their existence. The last known continuous line of outer towers appears between towers 81–82 of the inner walls, although the outer perimeter of walls extends farther to opposite tower 88 of the inner circuit, where it terminates with a U-shaped turret. The towers of this line of walls are generally 12–14 meters tall and their normal width is 4 meters. There are exceptions to this rule. Some towers such as the pentagonal at the beginning of the outer circuit, are 10 meters broad, while others in breadth are 5, 6, 8, and one of 12 meters (at the Rhegium Gate).

A further remark should be made regarding the absence of outer circuit towers when approaching the Adrianople Gate and the termination of the outer walls immediately above this gate. First, the design of the inner walls between towers 82 and 88, including their placement and the short curtain walls of 19–23 meters in length, precluded the need for outer towers. Second, after tower 88 there was no requirement for an outer circuit of walls and towers, since the Adrianople Gate sits at the highest point along this circuit and any invader would have had difficulty ascending this height for a land assault. The topography of the region and the difficulty of traversing the abrupt terrain, therefore, worked to the advantage of the defenders, even in 1453.

The length of each of the curtain walls of the outer perimeter is not uniform. While their height can generally be established at 9 meters (pls. 22 and 23), including the arches placed upon the walls that served as battlements, their stretch varies substantially between 48 and 78 meters, although the predominant length is between 50 and 66 meters (pl. 24), with a thickness of 1 to 2 meters. Exceptions exist to this rule of measurements. The initial curtain wall opposite the inner towers 1 and 2 is 23 meters in length. As well, immediately above the Golden Gate at inner towers 10–11, there are three outer towers with curtain walls respectively at 18 and 13 meters in extent. A similar design feature was extended to the Gate of Saint Romanos. The stretches of the two sections of outer curtain walls north of the gate are 21 and 26 meters. Problematic is the design of the outer walls about the Pempton Gate. Between inner towers 74 and 79, no outer towers are apparent, which poses the question of whether there had been initially constructed an outer circuit of walls and towers about this military gate, given the frequent flooding of the Lykos River and the repeated structural damage that the river had caused to the fortification in this sector. And the inward curvature of the outer curtain wall toward the towers of the Pempton Gate appears to justify raising the question of whether or not after the initial construction of this sector in 447, following repeated natural disasters, induced the Byzantines to abandon the idea of rebuilding the outer wall’s towers at this specific location (pl. 25).

There exist walkways between the inner and outer circuits of walls: a *peribolos* (ὁ περίβολος), an inner terrace. and as well between the outer walls and the moat a *parateikhion* (τὸ ἔξω παρατειχιον), ,[40] an outer terrace, each of which varies considerably in width, ranging from approximately 5 to 20 meters. These promenades were important for permitting adequate and easy movement of foot soldiers and cavalry wherever a defensive need arose. Access to the terraces was gained through posterns at the sides of towers, both within the *peribolos* and the *parateikhion* (pl. 26).

The moat,[41] as we have noted above, did not parallel the inner Theodosian Walls throughout their full extent. Its width has been recorded as much as 20 meters and its depth, perhaps at the extreme, at 7 meters. We should recognize that the width and depth were determined by the contour of the terrain. Given the gradual slope downward from the Fourth Military Gate to the Sea of Marmara, this sector provided the best opportunity for constructing a substantial moat system that would retain its waters through a series of dams and provide adequate defense. As well, the relatively level terrain from this gate to the Gate of Saint Romanos favored the construction and maintenance of a considerable moat. Thereafter, the steep decline of the terrain into the Lykos Valley and the rapid rise of the ground to the heights of the Adrianople Gate posed construction and maintenance problems, because of repeated flooding and earthquakes that caused earth movement, which by 1453 the officials and residents of the city could not address and all but abandoned its upkeep. Immediately opposite the Adrianople Gate to the west and in close proximity to the inner wall exists a Christian cemetery that has medieval roots. Most probably, this cemetery served the Church of Saint George,[42] which had been situated just inside the city to the southeast of this gate. It is quite improbable that a moat would be placed next to a cemetery and the situation of the cemetery negated the existence of an outer wall. These factors, therefore, give credence to the argument that the moat fell short of the Adrianople Gate and reappears only intermittently thereafter, mainly along the western front of the Porphyrogenite Palace.

The late H. St. L. B. Moss summed up well the importance and the solidity of the land walls:[43]

> The Theodosian defences, on the other hand, with their formidable moat and glacis encompassing the double circuit of towers and curtain walls, were never breached by an external enemy until the crusaders’ assault of 1204; and the fortunes of Byzantium repeatedly turned on their existence.… The completed system now formed a barricade 190–270 feet [58.50–83 meters] in depth, and over a hundred feet [30 meters] high, when measured from the bed of the moat.

## III. Mesoteikhion

The Mesoteikhion (Μεσοτείχιον), the mid-section of the Theodosian land walls, and notably the Achilles heel or weakest sector of the land walls as it has been so identified,[44] has been assumed to be situated about the Gate of Saint Romanos,[45] although in fact this is not the mid-point in the land walls. The exact location of the mid-point is arbitrary. Before we pursue a more detailed study of this issue, we should note that scholarship has provided a variety of opinions regarding the lower (southern) and upper (northern) limits of the Mesoteikhion. Edwin Pears and Raymond Janin, for example, hold that the Mesoteikhion is bounded at the south by Top Kapi (the Gate of Saint Romanos) and on the north by the Adrianople Gate;[46] hence this section of the walls is seven-eighths of a mile in length. They stress that the term Mesoteikhion applies to the walled area perpendicular to the Lykos Valley on two sides. Kenneth Setton, however, emphasizes the existing confusion and locates the northern terminus of the Mesoteikhion opposite the so-called military Gate of Saint Romanos, which, according to his reckoning, is the Pempton.[47] Byron Tsangadas argues "the region from [the] Rhegium Gate (Mevlevihane Kapi) to the Gate of the Pempton was known as the Mesoteichion, or middle wall(?)."[48] Alexander van Millingen places the Mesoteikhion between the Gates of Saint Romanos and the Charisios, which is also known as the Polyandros or the Myriandros (Πόρτα τοῦ Πολυανδρίου, τοῦ Μυριάνδρου, the Gate of the Cemetery)[49]. Wolfram Kleiss expands the sector, noting that "Mauerstrecke zwischen Rhesion-Tor *[sic] (Mevlana Kapı)* und Charsos-Tor *(Edirne Kapi)*, dabei Bresche von 1453."[50] Perhaps Alfons Maria Schneider, who describes the limits as the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton, provides the most limited stretch of the Mesoteikhion.[51] It is apparent that modern scholarship has formed no general consensus on the upper and lower demarcations of the Mesoteikhion, and has variously defined the location of this sector, but has generally fixed the sector about and including the Gate of Saint Romanos.

The mid-point of the Theodosian land walls has been fixed at two different locations, depending upon the methodology employed. First, the extent of the curtain wall between towers 48 and 49, the latter immediately to the south of the Gate of Rhegium, is at the halfway mark of the Theodosian land walls, and this factor has influenced scholars to extend the Mesoteikhion to this southern most point.

However, these same scholars more often than not depict the location of the Mesoteikhion on their charts at the Gate of Saint Romanos, which is at variance with the physical situation of the inner wall. Tsangadas, unlike Janin, who places the mid-point at the Gate of Rhegium, argues in favor of the mid-point at the Fourth Military Gate.[52] Janin is more accurate in his positioning; that is, he places the mid-point about tower 49, whereas towers 59 and 60 that enclose the Fourth Military Gate are not at the center of the land walls. On the other hand, if we consider an approximate length of 5,761 meters as the full extent of the Theodosian inner walls, the mid-point remains about tower 49; hence the center of the Theodosian land walls is the first tower to the south of the Gate of Rhegium. The situation of the Mesoteikhion is less elusive than appears at first sight.[53]

# IV. The Gates in the Theodosian Walls and the Neighboring Ecclesiastical Structures

The civil and military gates within the Theodosian Walls provide a consistent scheme for entry into and egress from the imperial city. The five civil gates served the needs of the urban residents, farmers, merchants, travelers, and others, and provided access to the major routes linking Constantinople with outlying areas and more distant towns and communities. The five military gates, on the other hand, facilitated the defensive needs of the city's walled region.

A clarification of the various names that have been applied to the civil and military gates that are of concern to us is warranted at this point in the discussion.[54] Beginning at the conceivable southern limits of the Theodosian Walls, the nomenclature of the First Military Gate and the other military gates requires no special attention, with the exception of the Fifth Military Gate, which is frequently referred to as the Pempton and then the Gate of Saint Kyriake and the Gate of the Sulu Kule (the Water Tower), but in modern scholarship is confused as the "military" Gate of Saint Romanos.[55]

Perhaps the most famous of the entrances is the Golden Gate, whose historicity has been extensively studied, but about which there remains much disagreement regarding its date of construction, ornamentation, and historical events attendant on it. The Golden Gate has been identified especially in secondary references as the Porta Aurea, but often in primary sources as Χρυσαῖ Πύλαι or Χρυσεία Πύλη, or *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, and since 1453 as Yedi Koulè Kapoussi, also Yedikoulé Kapı.[56]

The first civil gate is the Xylokerkos, Πύλη τοῦ Ξυλοκέρκου or Ξηροκέρκου (pl. 28),[57] also known in Turkish as the Belgrad (Belgrat) Kapi. Déthier and Van Millingen misidentify this civil gate as the Πόρτα τοῦ Δευτέρου,[58] the Second Military Gate that is actually located at towers 30–31, although only slight physical evidence of the original of this formerly sealed gate is apparent today.

The next civil gate is the Gate of the Pege (pl. 29), Πύλη τῆς Πηγῆς, the Gate of the Spring, but more commonly as the Πύλη τῆς Σηλυβρίας, the Gate of Selybria, because it provides access to the road leading to Selybria. Turkish sources have preserved the place-name designation and know it as Silivri Kapı.[59]

The Gate of Rhegium, (pl. 30), is given alternatively as

Πύλη τῶν Ῥηγίων or Πύλη τῶν Ῥουσίων, (the Gate of the Red Faction),[60] and also variously in the numerous Byzantine sources as Πόρτα τοῦ Ῥησίο[61] or τῶν Ῥουσίων,.[62] as well as Μυρίανδρον, Πολυάνδριον,, and Κοιλίανδρον..[63] The Turkish designation for the Gate of Rhegium is Yeni Mevlevihane Kapi or Yeni Mevlevi Haneh Kapoussi.[64]

The Gate of Saint Romanos[65] or Πύλη τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ (pl. 31), is given in Turkish sources as Top Kapi or Top Kapoussi, the Gate of the Cannon, which appeared in common usage as early as the sixteenth century. The Turkish designation is more commonly employed in modern (especially English) histories to distinguish the gate from the Fifth Military Gate or Pempton.

And lastly, the Gate of Charisios (pl. 32), the Πύλη Χαρισίου, ,[66] is also known as Πύλη Πολυανδρίου,,[67] the Gate of the Cemetery. Turkish sources label it as Edirne Kapi, hence the Adrianople Gate.[68]

## A. The Golden Gate

The Golden Gate is neither a civil entrance nor a military gateway. The structure is a double gate whose enclosing towers, 9 and 10, at the inner wall are constructed of polished marble and, given its design features, it has been identified by leading scholars as a “triumphal gate,”[69] at which military victories were celebrated throughout the course of centuries and formal entries were made into the city. Byzantine writers commented upon its majesty immediately after its construction. Under which emperor that arch was built remains disputed. Du Cange maintains that the Golden Gate was constructed to commemorate the victories of Theodosios I the Great over his rival, the usurper Maximus, in 388.[70] If Theodosios I is the builder of the Golden Gate, then this structure must have been built between 391, the year of his return to Constantinople from his Italian expeditions, and 395, the year of his death. Van Millingen believes “the Porta Aurea was originally an Arch of Triumph, erected some time between 388 and 391,” that is after Theodosios I’s victory, but before his return to Constantinople.[71] In all likelihood, the construction would have taken place nearer 391, for he died in Milan while on a march that had begun the year before his death. Cyril Mango, on the other hand, attributes the construction “most probably” to the grandson, Theodosios II, believing that the Golden Gate had been incorporated into the plans for the inner Theodosian Walls; that is, it “was planned in the context of the new land walls.”[72] Sarah Bassett maintains that the construction of the Golden Gate took place in "two separate stages, an inner portal erected between 412 and 422, and an outer or *propylon* gate built originally in 447."[73] However, the gate was adorned with the statue of Theodosios the Great and, among other ornamentations, the stone works were embellished with the carving of a team of four elephants.[74] Clearly, the Golden Gate was intended to be an imperial state entrance into Constantinople.[75]

But in 1261, although the Golden Gate under the Latin rule of Constantinople had fallen into serious disrepair, Michael VIII Palaiologos used the gateway to make his triumphal entry into the city and to celebrate the restoration of Byzantine rule.[76] However, the gate was sealed soon after this event and it was not until the reign of John V Palaiologos (1341–1391) that pains were taken to repair the severely damaged outer gate.[77]

John V, according to John Barker,[78] did make extensive repairs to the Golden Gate and even added or improved upon an extant fortress, which later became the model for and comparable to the present Yedi Kule, the Fortress of Seven Towers.[79] Bayezid I, the Turkish sultan, a contemporary of John V, became extremely distressed about the presence of this stronghold. He demanded that the Byzantine emperor demolish the fortification; the Byzantines adhered to this ultimatum.[80]

More important are the defensive features that incorporated the four towers, two at the inner wall and two at the outer, coupled with a deep moat (pl. 33). This defensive scheme made the Golden Gate virtually impregnable to foreign besiegers.[81] The very dimensions of the inner and outer gates were sufficient to deter aggressors. At the southern tower 9 and the northern tower 10 of the inner walls, the tower widths are almost identical, each being respectively 18.34 and 18.32 meters. They project from the inner walls respectively 16.88 and 16.87 meters and reach a height of approximately 20 meters. Meyer-Plath and Schneider give their height as 19.18 meters.[82] The full width of the Golden Gate at the inner towers is 66 meters, making this gate one of the most majestic and imposing of structures. Mehmed II did position artillery between the Golden Gate and the Sea of Marmara, and Turkish maps regularly define the sector as Top Kapı, the Gate of the Cannon, but not to be confused with Top Kapı at the Gate of Saint Romanos.

Controversy among modern scholars persists over the fact that two or three towers to the north of the Golden Gate is located an entrance that also bears the name Yedi Koulé Kapoussi. Van Millingen[83] believes that this identically named gate was a public entrance into and egress from the city, while the original Golden Gate was a "state entrance," reserved for imperial use. Paspates[84] maintains that the Ottoman Turks constructed the public entry, unlike Mordtmann,[85] who argues in favor of Byzantine workmanship. Tsangadas[86] has concluded that a common designation for nearby gates was a regular practice, explaining why two gates bear identical names, but the formal gate was preempted for official use and the other was recognized as a public entry (pl. 34). Schneider[87] views the second entrance, though quite irregular in its construction, with off-center crosswalks through the outer wall and over the moat, as a side gate. Paradoxically, Gyllius designates the secondary entrance as “the New Gate,”[88] without admitting that the entrance may well have been constructed in the time of the Ottoman Turks.

Strangely enough, no attention has been give in scholarly studies to the existence of a public gate[89] immediately on the north side of the Golden Gate, now a part of Yedi Kule Kappisi, the fortress of seven towers. Clearly, on the city-side of the entrance is embedded above the gate a Christian cross. Perhaps a stronger case can be made that this gate has early roots and should be identified as the public entrance of the Golden Gate.

The task of verifying the identity of religious structures about the Golden Gate in 1453 is a most laborious one, if not an impossible undertaking. Even the stone foundations of these structures have disappeared with the passage of time. The effort to reestablish and to identify the ecclesiastical structures in 1453 is dependent upon earlier sources that are not always accurate and perhaps no longer appropriate for the final phase of Constantinopolitan history. And with the disappearance of secular residences and large estates, as well as religious facilities, the area about the Golden Gate was substantially depopulated of lay residents, secular clergy, and male and female monastic communities. The question of ecclesiastical establishments is additionally complicated by the fact that none of the extant mosques about the Golden Gate, among them Yedi Kule and Fatih Camileri, Haci Piri Cami, and Kürkçüba§e Cami, whose construction dates to the sixteenth century and later periods in Ottoman history, bears any physical signs that they were erected upon foundations of former Christian buildings or reused their building materials. Other nearby mosques of more recent origin have been demolished or have fallen into disrepair and disuse. This paradox is applicable not only to the area about the Golden Gate, but as well to the situation at the other civil and military gates.

Byzantine, Muscovite, and western sources do provide some insight into the prior existence of major ecclesiastical edifices about the Golden Gate, but these references establish that the structures were few in number. And travelers’ accounts of the sixteenth and later centuries, though contradictory and incomplete in their topographic descriptions, do demonstrate the paucity of Christian structural roots.

Gyllius,[90] drawing upon unnamed writers, relates that in the age of Justinian I:

> *Fuerunt, inquiunt, terræ motus horribiles, qui muru[m] urbis in Exacionio everterunt, & templa magnifica, & domos splendidas in porta urbis aurea victoriæ signum prostraverunt….*
>
> There were, [according to] those who investigated, frightful earthquakes, that overturned the city walls in the Exacionion [= Exokionion], and cast down magnificent churches and distinguished houses in the Porta Aurea of the city.

The city and its residents were energetic on that occasion and rebuilt their household and religious institutions. The *Chronicon Pachale*[91] supports this rebuilding effort and records that when Bonus, the co-regent in 627 in the reign of Heraklios, expired, his body was interred in the Monastery of Saint John the Forerunner and the Baptist, known as the Stoudion "by the Golden Gate." Theophanes the Confessor, however, notes in an earlier [92] entry:

> Τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ Στούδιος τὸν ναὸν ἔκτισεν τοῦ Προδρόμου, καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τῶν ᾽Ακοιμήτων ἐν αὐτῷ κατέστησεν.
>
> In the same year [5955 = 447? or 462/463] Stoudios [a consul in 454] built the church of the Forerunner and established in it monks from the monastery of the Sleepless Ones.

The *Anonymous Description*[93] places this monastery to the left of the Golden Gate: есть на лѣве манастырь, рекомыи Студия, "there is to the left a monastery, called the Studion." This does not imply that the monastery was in close proximity or adjacent to the gate, and rather as Majeska may correctly surmise, the monastery was more distant from the Golden Gate.[94] The *Anonymous Description* relates that a female monastery, dedicated to Saint Eudokimos, a Cappadocian who died in 840, is located very near the Golden Gate.[95] The near proximity of ecclesiastical churches is complicated by the admission, according to the *Anonymous Description*, that the Church of Saint Diomedes is adjacent to the Golden Gate: есть церковь Демид святыи на правои сторонѣ пыти близ Колыанова городка, "there is on the right side of the road near the little fortress of Kalojan [John V] the Church of Saint Diomedes."[96] Perhaps, at the time of the fall of the city in 1453, the only surviving ecclesiastical structure about the Golden Gate was the Church of Saint Diomedes, and male and female monasteries had been abandoned for decades prior to the fall because of the increased peril posed by an anticipated Ottoman assault upon the imperial city.

## B. The Civil Gates

**1. The Xylokerkos Gate/Belgrad Kapı.**[97] The gate is situated at inner wall towers 22 and 23 (we hereafter employ Schneider's numbering of the inner wall towers), and has a projection of 10 meters, a width of approximately 8 meters, and a height approaching 20 meters. Given the poor physical condition of the gate, more exact measurements are difficult. Within the towers, the inner wall stretches 12 meters and the entrance of the gate is 5 meters. Van Millingen admits that the gate may have served as a civil portal, but he favors its identification as a military gate, basing this classification on the fact that the gate is adjacent to a quarter of the city that was labeled as Deuteron (τὸ Δεύτερον) and thus the gate derives its name from this district.[98] Clearly, this designation is at variance with the reasoning of Schneider, who holds that it was only a civil entry and who locates the Second Military Gate to the north, at towers 30–31.[99] Van Millingen's numbering of the inner wall towers is suspect, for he places the Xylokerkos Gate at the thirteenth and fourteenth towers above the Golden Gate, at which point there is no entry. According to Van Millingen's numerical designations, he would place the military gate at either towers 24–25 or 25–26, again at a place where there is no gate. Tsangadas, after Schneider, locates the Xylokerkos Gate at towers 22–23 and the Second Military Gate to the north.[100]

No major religious structures adjacent to the Xylokerkos Gate are evident in 1453, substantiating the notion that the surrounding neighborhood had been largely abandoned and required no religious facilities. The only exception is a church that was more remote from the gate, the Church of Saint Mokios, so named after a legendary figure that met his martyrdom during the persecutions of Diocletian.[101] Although a specific physical location for the church has not been established, scholars generally place the facility about the cistern of Mokios, not far either from the Xylokerkos or the Golden Gate. Besides this ecclesiastical structure, no foreign travelers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries record any other major facilities, nor do Byzantine sources reflect upon this.

**2. Pege Gate/Silivri [also Selivri] Kapı**[102] is placed at the heptagonal towers 35–36 of the inner wall. The dimensions of the gate are as follows: its projection outward is nearly 12 meters and the width is almost identical, while the height approaches 20 meters. The gate derives its Greek designation from a spring, πηγή, which is situated some distance to the west beyond the Theodosian Walls where a church and the famous Monastery of the Mother of God[103] were established. This ecclesiastical site appears to date to the fifth century and lent its name to the gate and the road leading to the holy fountain. However, after 1453, the common Turkish designation became Silivri Kapı, rendered in Greek accounts as Πύλη τῆς Σηλυβρίας, hence the road leading to Silivria or formerly Selybria in Thrace.

The gate and its namesake have two notable preservations, one an inscription and the other a recent archaeological find. First, upon its south tower are reflected the repairs initiated by John VIII perhaps in 1438, but completed early in the next year as noted on the inscription:[104]

ΙΩΟΥ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΑΥΤΟ
ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟϹ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΙΑΝΟΥ
ΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ,ϛϡμϛʹ ΕΤΟΥϹ

[The Tower] of John [VIII] Palaiologos, the Emperor in Christ,
in the month of January, the year 6946 *[anno mundi*, that is, A.D. 1439]

A second important and recent discovery occurred in 1998 when restoration of the Theodosian Walls was undertaken. A *hypogeion* (ὑπόγειον) was uncovered (pl. 35) and during the archaeological excavations at the gate stone reliefs were found within that date to the late fourth and fifth centuries. The subterranean chamber also contained a sarcophagus and a number of tomb lids. The function of the *hypogeion* was that of an early and perhaps later Christian burial chamber, but perhaps not a *martyrion* (μαρτύριον), since no martyr saint is identified with the find.[105] Further, no archaeological evidence has been found to demonstrate that the *hypogeion* was used for burial purposes during the siege of 1453, although the possibility of casualty entombment during the course of the assault should not be dismissed, for other grave sites of that period have been uncovered along the Theodosian Walls.

**3. The Gate of Rhegium /Yeni Mevlevihane Kapı** is situated at towers 50 and 51. Although the gate has been largely reconstructed in recent decades and its measurements somewhat differ from the original, Meyer-Plath and Schneider provide the following precise measurements for the gate as they found it and began their surveys in the mid-1920s:[106] the south tower projects unevenly outward, respectively at 10.80 and 11.10 meters, and has a width of 10.63. The north tower, also uneven in projection, extends outward respectively 10.92 and 10.89 meters, and has a width of 10.79 meters, giving the gate a full breadth of 37.60 meters. The curtain wall between the towers is 16.22 meters in length and the entry gate is 3.64. The heights of the towers are approximately 23.30 meters. We should, however, bear in mind that over the course of centuries, in part to reinforce the gate and to repair the damage caused by natural disasters and matter-of-course aging, the city-side entry had been reduced in size and the lintels lowered.

Although this was a major civil gate on the road to a coastal town on the Sea of Marmara, paradoxically, no major ecclesiastical structures, either churches or monasteries, are identified with the gate. However, E. Mamboury,[107] conducting excavations with his colleagues outside the Rhegium Gate in 1940–1941, discovered at the level of the moat an undated Christian church, that of Saint Stratonice[108] or Saint Kallinikos,[109] with two private springs. There was also a royal residence with a grand hall nearby that was inhabited by a commandant.[110] The church may have served the religious needs of the commandant, his family, and personnel. Notwithstanding this significant discovery, the travel accounts after the Byzantine reoccupation of the city in 1261 fail to make mention of any notable religious structures on either sides of the gate. The city-side quarter adjacent to the gate appears to have been devoid of residents by 1453.

The Rhegium Gate is conspicuous for the exceptionally large number of inscriptions preserved on its towers, perhaps seven, of which only six have been recorded.[111] The most frequently cited inscription is:[112]

ΝΙΚΑ Η ΤΥΧΗ
† ΚΩΝϹΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟ †
ΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΔΕϹΠΟΤΟΥ
† † †

The Fortune of Constantine,
Our God-Protected Despot, Triumphs…

**4. The Gate of Saint Romanos/Top Kapı** is found between towers 65 and 66,[113] although the southern tower has been only partially reconstructed in the past decade to the height of the inner curtain wall. The dimensions of the gate's towers, therefore, are elusive approximations and only the north tower provides more opportunity for accurate measurement. Its projection is about 11 meters, whereas the tower width is approximately 10 meters. The original height is indeterminable, but we estimate that the tower had a height of about 20 meters. The southern tower, given its poor state and modern reconstruction, may have had similar dimensions. The curtain wall between the towers has a width of no more than 10 meters, and the gate entry is 4 meters.

The Gate of Saint Romanos soon after the completion of the Theodosian Walls derived its name from a nearby church.[114] But the presence of a religious complex in close proximity to the Gate of Saint Romanos has raised difficult questions for modern scholars and evoked a variety of interpretations. Even the very existence and location of a church or a monastic complex has been challenged and confused by numerous authorities.

The Church of Saint Romanos has its foundation in late antiquity. The edifice was consecrated and dedicated to honor a third-century Christian martyr, Romanos of Palestine. His death probably took place in Antioch during the persecutions of Diocletian. The saint's feast day is commemorated on November 27.[115]

C. du Fresne du Cange and Van Millingen maintain that the Church of Saint Romanos dates its beginning to Helena, the mother of Constantine I the Great.[116] This would place its construction prior to her death, which has not been firmly established, but perhaps well after 326, the year of her pilgrimage to Palestine and the holy places, and before 337, the year of the death of her son Constantine I the Great. Du Cange draws upon Kodinos, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and Skylitzes to elaborate how the church collapsed and was rebuilt by Basil I.[117] Du Cange makes no reference to a monastery at this site. Berger, however, dates the construction of the church to the end of the fourth century.[118] Medieval Russian sources cite the presence of the relics of Daniel the Prophet and of Saint Niketas in the sanctuary of the church.[119]

But any discussion hereafter becomes complex. Was this edifice simply a church, that is the Church of Saint Romanos, or did it shortly after its construction and consecration evolve into a monastic facility? Ersen is of the opinion that an Egyptian monk, Raboulas, established the monastery about the end of the fifth century, during the reign of Anastasius I.[120] It continued to function as a monastery to the eleventh century.[121] George Majeska, drawing upon medieval Russian sources, has convincingly and comprehensively developed that the relics of Daniel the Prophet and of Saint Niketas were retained in the monastery church in their appropriate reliquaries and thus the structure existed late into the fourteenth century,[122] although we should exercise caution and note that it was most probably abandoned by 1422, the year of the attack of Murad II, and certainly was vacated by 1453.[123] This abandonment of the church and monastery facilities explains why Nestor-Iskander, Barbaro, and other commentators of that age had no knowledge of the name of the church.

There survives physical evidence that the structural remains, portions of a south wall (as well as a portion of the northeastern terrace walls, pl. 36), of the Church of Saint Romanos were incorporated into the extant religious facility that is now occupied by an Armenian community. The church bears the designation of Saint Nicholas and has preserved original Byzantine construction methods in its brick and stonework.[124] The stone marker above the doorway into the church reads: *S. Nisoğayosiu Ermeni Kilisesi,* ՆԻԿՈՂ ԱՅՈՍ ԵԿԵՂԵՑԻ ՁԱՅՈՑ [The Church of Saint Nicholas] (pls. 37 and 38). The church was rebuilt in 1831, but what scholarly attention has been devoted to it has misidentified its name and even its location.

The situation of the Church of Saint Nicholas places it immediately above the Gate of Saint Romanos. Müller-Wiener identifies the edifice at this site as Surp Nicogos and places the Church of Saint Nicholas two blocks to the north, at what today is the site of the Greek Orthodox Church of Saint George.[125] He provides no explanation for this inconsistency. Elsewhere in his *Bildlexikon von Konstantinopel* he identifies Surp Nicogos as a mosque, which is quite improbable and it would be contrary to Orthodox canon law to reestablish a Christian church upon a Muslim site. Majeska, after MüllerWiener, is inclined to place τοῦ Κύρου if not on the site of Saint Romanos, then in close proximity to the Church of Saint Nicholas.[126] Rather, we should associate Ἅγιος with Saint Kyriake that is to the north, above the Lykos River. Müller-Wiener alone should not be criticized for his lack of visual identification and mislocation. He does stress the existence of numerous churches and monasteries in the vicinity of Top Kapı, which may have added to his confusion of sites.[127] Mordtmann, on his 1891 map, correctly notes the presence of two religious structures one block apart above Top Kapı, but does not identify them by name.[128] On the other hand, Van Millingen in neither of his major works has noticed or given any attention to either Saint Romanos or Saint Nicholas. Schneider is predisposed to place Saint George by Top Kapı: τοῦ Κύρου Γεώργιοςrewpgioç bei Topkapi…. Ist wohl identisch mit. Ἁγ. Νικολάου.” ” He adds that it is not now known by the name of Saint Romanos.[129] Janin, unlike Müller-Wiener and other scholars, admits the presence of Saints Nicholas and George above this gate.[130]

The southernmost church should be identified with the Byzantine Church of Saint Romanos. However, if a monastic facility was established at the site, doubtless it incorporated at the least a three-block area that includes the modern Church of Saint George. Müller-Wiener devotes significant attention to the existence of Islamic mosques in the vicinity. In particular, he maintains that the Mosque of Kara Ahmed Pasa Camii, a mid-sixteenth-century structure that is also known as the Top Kapı Camii, was erected at the site of the Church of Saint Romanos and its monastic facility, which he expands at least four blocks eastward.[131] The mosque has at least nine columns and some with original capitals that are of Byzantine provenance (pl. 39). This is the only evidence at the site demonstrating reuse of Byzantine building materials, although this does not conclusively prove that the major church of Saint Romanos was at that site. A further visual inspection of the mosque site reveals no other remains of a Christian structure, which may have been in ruins by the time of the construction of a new edifice. While the Church of Saint George was remodeled in 1856, its surrounding terrace wall upon visual inspection is clearly in part of Byzantine construction (pl. 40). The existence of these two Christian churches, Saint Nicholas and George, has generally been ignored, misidentified, or understudied by modern scholars,[132] but their existence and proximity to the Gate of Saint Romanos establish that in the late Byzantine period the area was known for religious activity that most probably included a monastic facility within what today is a three-ten block area and contained a number of religious buildings. Mijatovich makes a significant observation for the events of 1453: “The Emperor further decided to make his own headquarters in the Church of St Roman, which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the gate, and at that place of greatest danger and honour….”[133] He cites Sphrantzes as the source of his information, which is problematic, for neither the chronicle of Georgios Sphrantzes *(Minus)* nor that of Pseudo-Sphrantzes *(Maius)*, that is the work of Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, makes a similar claim.[134]

Doukas, providing a general description of the sector between the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Charisius Gate, writes that “the emperor and Giovanni Giustiniani were positioned at the fallen walls, outside the stockade in the enclosure….”[135] However, assuming the accuracy of Mijatovich and the probability that Constantine XI established his headquarters about the Church of Saint Romanos that was protected by brick and stone walls still intact across the narrow street, then the Genoese *condottiere*, Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, and his 700 men[136] manned the wooden stockade that had been hastily erected at the location of the Fifth Military Gate, the Pempton. This sector from the Gate of Saint Romanos to the Pempton was most vulnerable to the assaults of Mehmed II, and placing the emperor about the Gate of Saint Romanos and Giustiniani Longo about the

Pempton provided significant defense for the city. We have confirmation of this in a general way from a number of contemporaneous sources attesting to the importance of this sector as a formidable line of defense. These sources add clarity to the issue of the situation about Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton, and attest to the fact that Mehmed II encountered substantial difficulty over a stretch of two months in breaching the walls with his stone shot about the Gate of Saint Romanos and launching human waves of his armies against especially the Pempton sector.

We should first consult among the contemporaneous sources Barbaro, who has been most often misquoted and misinterpreted. He writes:[137]

> …*e altre quatro bombarde messele alla porta de San Romano,* ***dove che sun la più debel porta*** *de tuta la tera. Una de queste quatro bombarde che sun a la porta da San Romano, la piera de la bumbarda se pexa livre mile e duxento a la grossa, volze la piera quarte tredexe, considerate che colpo teribile che la fea dove che la zonzeva*.

> …and another four [cannons] at the Gate of Saint Romanos, *the weakest section* of the whole city. One of the four cannons, which was at the Gate of Saint Romanos, threw a ball [stone shot] that weighed about twelve hundred pounds, more or less, and thirteen *quarte* in circumference….

Barbaro may not have meant the Pempton, contrary to the interpretations of modern scholarship, especially the conclusions of Déthier, Pears, and Bury, who interpret Barbaro's statement to infer the Pempton or the Fifth Military Gate. In defense of Pears, he does admit that "Barbaro's knowledge of places and names is not accurate,"[138] yet Pears depends upon him for the development of his argumentation. The issue is compounded by the fact that Barbaro does not assign an Italian defender at the so-called "civil" Gate of Saint Romanos, which could be interpreted to imply that the emperor, Constantine XI, positioned himself along with one of his lieutenants and his forces at this gate.[139] Barbaro is speaking of *the weakest section,* and this does not imply a specific location along the walls in the sector of the Mesoteikhion. Rather, he intends a broad area that is common to military terminology without identifying where it precisely begins or ends. To argue that he proposed this *weakest section* to mean unequivocally the Pempton or Fifth Military Gate is insupportable given the evidence at hand.

Like Barbaro, Kritoboulos addresses the generalities of the sector and the importance of the Gate of Saint Romanos. The latter records:[140]

> …καὶ ἀφικνεῖται δεκαταῖος ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ στρατοπεδεύεται πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἐγγύς που τοῦ τείχους ὅσα ἀπὸ σταδίων πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις Πύλαις τοῦ ῾Ρωμανοῦ.
>
> …and on the tenth day he [Mehmed] arrived at Byzantium [Constantinople] and camped facing the city, rather close, a few *stadia* [lengths] from the wall, opposite the so-called Gates of Saint Romanos.
>
> Kritoboulos later writes:[141]
>
> Μεχέμετις δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατόπεδον θέμενος αὐτοῦ που περί τε τὸ καλούμενον Μεσοτείχιον καὶ τὸ Μυριάνδριον οὐ πόρρω τοῦ τείχους….
>
> Mehmed the King [= Sultan] encamped in the vicinity of the so-called Mesoteikhion and the Myriandrion, not far from the wall….

Nestor-Iskander confirms Kritoboulos' location of Mehmed's camp. He writes:[142]

> Самъ же безвѣрный нарекъ себя посреди ихъ, противу вратъ святаго Романа и разрушеннаго мѣста.
>
> The impious man [= Mehmed] took his place in the middle of them, against the Gate of Saint Romanos and the breach.

Hence he was located on the northern ridge of the seventh hill rather than encamped on the steep decline down to the Lykos valley.

Kritoboulos places Mehmed opposite the land walls at the sector between the Mesoteikhion and the Myriandros. This placement is significant. Assuming that the Mesoteikhion begins just below the Gate of Rhegion, then the mid-point of this sector would fall about the Gate of Saint Romanos.[143] The Turks later renamed the Gate of Saint Romanos Top Kapı, the Gate of the Cannon, and there is no reason to ascribe this designation for any other reason. Of this, we have confirmation by Joannis Leunclavius, who in 1587 records the following:[144]

> … *recenti vocabulo Turcico dicta Top capisi, quo significaturporta bombardaria, sive tormentorum bellicorum. Graeci ante captam a Barbaris urbem, nominabant S. Romani portam.*.
>
> …the Turks recently called [the gate] Top Kapı, which signifies the gate of the bombard, or of the siege engines. The Greeks, prior to the fall of the city to the barbarians, designated [it] the Gate of Saint Romanos….
>
> Leonardo of Chios,[145] the Latin archbishop of Mytilene, relates that

Mehmed first placed the great cannon[146] at the Kaligaria Gate, and then repositioned it near the Gate of Saint Romanos, opposite the Bactatinean Tower. Scholars have been unable to locate this tower, which may be tower 64, immediately to the south of the Gate of Saint Romanos. Tower 64 is almost completely destroyed and only its foundation with a sub-chamber and a little of the sidewalls remain. It would have been illogical to place the great cannon opposite the Pempton. The cannon, without a cradle, would have had to be positioned in a ditch dug in the soft riverbank by the bed of the Lykos. It is improbable that this could have been accomplished in the early spring following the rains and perhaps flooding of the river plain in late winter. Further, it is unlikely that Mehmed would have pursued such a folly. Rather, it is reasonable to assume that he located the great cannon on the Seventh Hill, in a ditch dug on a solid surface, opposite the Gate of Saint Romanos after his initial failure to breach the walls about the Kaligaria Gate (pl. 41). The Saint Romanos site, at a substantial height, would provide the sultan with the advantage of directing his fire either directly against the Gate of Saint Romanos or downward toward the breach about the Pempton. The Athenian historian, Laonikos Khalkokondyles, confirms this:[147]

> ἵδρυτο δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν τηλεβόλων κατὰ τὰ ἐκείνων βασίλεια, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ῾Ρωμανοῦ καλουμένην, ᾗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς.

> one [great cannon] he [Mehmed] located at the place of the *basileus* [Constantine XI], striking downward from afar toward the gate designated Romanos; another indeed at the encampment itself of the *basileus*.

**5. Adrianople Gate/Edirne Kapı/Charisios Gate** is one of the most distinctive architectural monuments, after the Golden Gate, within the complex of the Theodosian Walls. Situated at inner wall towers 86 and 87 (pl. 42), its hexagonal towers on the west side without doubt manifest a marked contrast with the other gates. Designed as an imperial entrance and probably a staging area for royal entry into the city, the hexagonal towers are 52 meters apart at their fullest, but this gate also has inner rectangular towers that are 29 meters at their broadest. While the hexagonal towers are identical in design and construction, each is 15 meters wide with a projection of 15 meters, we can only approximate their height at 20 meters. The rectangular towers on the city side are respectively 16 and 12 meters broad, that is the north and south towers, and their projections eastward are respectively 8 and 2 meters. The entry at this gate from west to east is reduced from 24 meters to less than 3. As the hexagonal towers, most probably the rectangular towers also reached a height of about 20 meters.

The Charisios Gate in nineteenth-century scholarship has not only been mislocated,[148] but perhaps its name is one of the most frequently misinterpreted and misapplied.[149] The derivation of its name has been attributed to a leader, Charisios, of a Blue Faction who participated in the initial construction of the Theodosian Walls.[150] Apart from this attribution, nothing further is known of Charisios and the claim of his leadership fades into the realm of myth. Schneider,[151] however, believes that the name Charisios for the gate derives from a nearby cloister, founded by an illustrious but scrupulous man bearing the appellation Charisios. The *vita* of Saint Theodore[152] relates: μονὴν ἀπὸ ἰλλυστρίου Χαρισίου σεμνὴν οὖσα, "the monastery of the illustrious Charisios, a revered estate." At what date he lived, although he is associated with the reign of Theodosios II and the time when the cloister was established, the answer to this question is either disputable or amendable. More often the gate has been identified as the Adrianople (Edirne in Turkish) Gate, so named for the road leading to that city. The main religious structures in the area were the Churches of Saints George and Romanos (?), which we could not locate nor identify and might have been a minor edifice, and the Monastery of Saint Michael.[153]

## C. The Military Gates

**1. The First Military Gate**, found at tower 1 (pl. 43), has seldom been studied. Few modern works have fully addressed its location, features, and postern. Meyer-Plath and Schneider[154] are inconsistent in situating the postern at the tower either on the sea side or city side, whereas Metin Ahunbay and Zeynep Ahunbay present two contrasting maps of the area, the second of which depicts the postern on the east side of the tower, although this tower is not the main focus of their article.[155] The postern reasonably should be found on the south side, providing easy access for the local militia to the Marmaran shoreline, whereas a city-side postern would make access for the militia to the west of the tower much more difficult. The pentagonal tower, if correctly depicted, has a breadth of 14 meters and a projection as well of 14 meters. We can only approximate the height of the tower, which is now reconstructed at 20 meters.

No major ecclesiastical structures have been identified in the immediate area of the First Military Gate, although the assumption should be made that most probably there were local churches of small size to serve the religious needs of the community adjacent to the gate and the imperial dock.

**2. The Second Military Gate** (τὸ Δεύτερον), as we have discussed above, has been misidentified as the Belgrad/Xylokerkos or the civil Gate of Belgrad.[156] Placed between towers 30 and 31, few visible remains of the original gate are evident and its modern reconstruction may not be a true representation of the former (pl. 44), although it does preserve the remains of an earlier tower. Study of the gate is additionally complicated because the foundation evidence at the site appears to demonstrate that the military gateway may have had only a single tower on the south side, unlike the other civil and military gates, which generally had two towers spanning the entry. The projection of the tower was 10 meters and its width was 8 meters. Its height is indeterminable, but may have been 20 meters. A peculiar design feature locates the entry 14 meters above tower 30, demonstrating the limited use of this gate for the interior movement of military forces between the inner and outer walls.

Van Millingen[157] would identify the gate with the Deuteron quarter and the known early Byzantine churches associated with the district, including the major Church of the Saints Notarii and the Church of Saint Anna.[158] These churches were no longer active facilities by the fifteenth century. The quarter had earlier also included a number of minor churches which he lists.

**3. The Third Military Gate** (τὸ Τρίτον), though rarely cited in the sources and briefly mentioned in modern literature, is situated at the southern extension of the *sigma* (Σίγμα), at towers 39–40 (pl. 45).[159] Its towers are dissimilar in size. The south tower is irregular and has a projection respectively of 11 (southern side) and 12 (northern where the gate is recessed) meters, with a width of 10 meters, whereas the north tower appears to project evenly on each side at 13 meters and has a breadth of 10 meters. Each of the towers probably had a height of 20 meters. The entry reduces from 13 to 3 meters from west to east. As the other civil and military gates, so too does the Third Military Gate bear a tower inscription recording the repairs undertaken by John VIII.[160]

The Monastery of Abramites had previously been situated about this gate, but travelers' accounts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries fail to make any reference to its continuous residence, leading scholars to the conclusion that it had been long abandoned or dormant as a religious community at the time of the fall of the city.[161]

**4. The Fourth Military Gate,**[162] also given as Πύλη τῶν Τετάρτων, between towers 59 and 60 (pl. 46), though sealed at present, has retained its appellation without alteration. The towers of the Fourth Military Gate are 45 meters at their fullest extent, and like the Rhegium Gate are 10 meters wide. Each of the towers has a projection of 11 meters and a breadth of 10 meters. Their height, as other military towers, was approximately 20 meters. The entry from the inner to the outer wall is 3 meters, with a span of 26 meters between the towers and with no apparent access to the moat area.

Above the sealed portal of the outer wall on the west side is a partial lintel, overlooked by Paspates, Janin, and Tsangadas, that bears the following inscription:

Ι ΠΡΙΝΜΕΝ ΠΑΝ CΕΠΤΟC
[ΓΕ]ΟΡΓΙΟCΕ ΤΕΙ ΕΝCΕ

[?] all august
George in the year [?]

It is not clear from the evidence at hand whether the lintel is original to the gate at the outer wall or was added to reinforce the wall at that spot. The reference to a George may well be the Serbian George Brankovic, who had been granted the title of despot by John VIII in 1429 and may have contributed funds in 1448 for the upkeep of the Theodosian Walls.[163]

This lintel, however, has provoked controversy between Déthier and Mordtmann. The former[164] reads the inscription as follows, adding his own interpolation and supplying the missing letters:

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΙΝ ΜΕΝ ΗΝ ΠΑΝΣΕΠΤΟΣ
ΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΕΥΞΕΝ ΕΥΙ-

Déthier renders the inscription to read:

Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἦν πάνσεπτος αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις
Γεώργιος ἔτευξεν εὐγενὴς ἀνήρ.

Mordtmann[165] maintains that there is little justification for Déthier’s interpolation of the inscription and corrects it to read:

ΚΑΙΠΡΙΝΜΕΝΗΝΠΑΝCΕΠΤΟCΟ
ΕΩΡΓΙΟCΕΤΕΥΞΕΝΕ...

Mordtmann incorrectly[166] interpolates the text as

Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἦ πανσεπτος ο(υτος ὁ νάος)
Γεώργιος ἔτευξεν εὐ(τελὴς...)

For him, it translates into French as: “Au paravant déjà [cette église] était vénérée par tous.... Georges, l’homme pieux construisit....” It is clear that there is no general scholarly consensus for interpolating this incomplete and obscure inscription.

The controversy, however, does not rest here. In a recent article,[167] the Turkish archaeologist Neslihan Asutay advances a controversial interpretation for the Fourth Military Gate, maintaining that the gate is the Gate of Saint Romanos. Her argument is predicated on a lintel that she observed and photographed on the west side of the inner wall. She provides no evidence for the origin of the lintel and we can only speculate on its roots. The lintel is not embedded at the top of the gate; rather it sits on two granite posts, perhaps midway or a little upward from the top of the gate’s entrance. The lintel, given its shorter length, does not appear to have been embedded above the entrance.

The inscription on the lintel reads:

†ΠΟΡΤΑ ΜΕCΗ ΕΙCΦΕΡΟΥCΑ†ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΡωΜΑΝΟΝ†

She renders this to translate: “Das Mittlere Tor, das zum Heiligen Romanos führt.”[168] On the basis of this inscription she holds that this, the Fourth Military Gate, is the Gate of Saint Romanos. She does not consider the primary sources on the subject; nor does she note that during the excavations of the 1950s for an extension of Millet Caddesi, whose extension we address below, the lintel may have been uncovered at that time and was temporarily or mistakenly placed at the site she observed. We should add one other point. Before the extension of the Millet Caddesi, all topographic maps of the area demonstrate that the road curved to the northwest where it terminated at Top Kapı, the Gate of Saint Romanos.

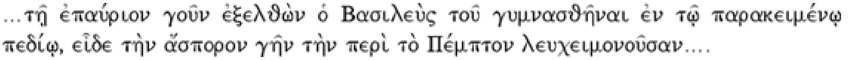
Addressing the religious structures in the vicinity, located on the south side of the broad avenue Millet Caddesi that was extended in the mid-1950s to penetrate the curtain walls immediately above the Fourth Military Gate, there is a small chapel identified as Manastir Mescidi, which has a limited and clouded history. There is no agreement among scholars when this chapel was first constructed, some dating the original structure to the eleventh century and others to various dates. The edifice has a rectangular shape (pl. 47).[169] Our most comprehensive source on this chapel remains the work of Paspates,[170] who has concluded that this place of worship belonged to a monastic complex dedicated to the Theotokos.[171] Phokas Maroules built it, he believes, in the fourteenth century. Phokas Maroules was a “domestic of the imperial table” who served the emperor, Andronikos II Palaiologos. Maroules was also a commander of guards during the reign of Andronikos III Palaiologos.[172] If this information is accurate, then the rebuilt structure dates between 1300 and 1340. Maroules must have died about the latter date, for his widow in 1341 appealed to a patriarchal tribunal to have the monastery converted from a female to a male institution. The ecclesiastical court held that the original intention of its founder was to establish a female monastery and his desire should be preserved. Further, a monastery on canonical grounds could not change its sexual identity.[173]

Paspates adds that the chapel was constructed on the site of a former Christian church that had been dedicated to three martyred sisters: Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora, whose feast day is given as the tenth of September.[174] Like Saint Romanos[175] and Saint Kyriake, whom we shall examine below, the three sisters were martyred in the late antique period, about 304, during the reigns of Maximian and Diocletian. The chapel, therefore, is another of numerous known monuments to be dedicated to martyred figures along the full extent of the Theodosian Walls. However, the structure appears to have no direct relationship to the monastic facility of Saint Romanos, which was situated immediately to the north above the Millet Caddesi. Saint Romanos was a male facility, while the Manastir Mescidi remained a female monastery.

Opposite the Manastir Mescidi, across the Millet Caddesi, is located a sixteenth-century mosque, Kürekçibasçî Camii, whose external structure has incorporated into its stone and brickwork Byzantine materials (pls. 48 and 49).[176] This edifice in its original appearance was most probably one of countless minor and particularly insignificant Christian churches that were scattered throughout this region of the Mesoteikhion. No name has been discovered to provide the structure with identification. The rectangularshaped mosque reused Byzantine materials in its construction. This reuse is clearly apparent in the columns with their Byzantine capitals at the front porch. The columns also have drill holes, giving evidence of Christian crosses mounted on them. To the right of the columns may be observed a water receptacle that could have been a baptismal font and Holy Water container. Van Millingen notes that “an old font, turned upside down and made to serve as a well-head by having its bottom knocked out, lies on a vacant lot on the same side of the street as Monastir Mesjedi [*sic*], but nearer the gate of S. Romanus….”[177] The font may have been relocated to the present site at the mosque.

**5. The Fifth Military Gate, the Pempton**, immediately above the Lykos River between towers 77 and 78 (pl. 50), is usually given in Greek as Πόρτα τοῦ Πέμπτου and in Turkish variously as Aya Kiriaky, Sulu Kule Kapı [the Gate of the Water Tower], and Örülü Kapı [the Mended Gate].[178] After the fall of the city, the gate came to be labeled Hücum Kapı, the Gate of the Assault. The towers guarding the Fifth Military Gate, the Pempton, are at their greatest extent 41 meters apart and like the other gate towers have a projection of 11 meters, a width of 10 meters, and most probably a height of 20 meters. The entry is 5 meters broad.

This military gate, which played a vital role in the siege of 1453, has been substantially documented as early as the fifth century in notable Byzantine sources. Palladios' *Life of Saint John Chrysostom* and the *Life of Philaretos*,[179] among other works, are clear in their identifications of the Pempton. Palladios, in particular, writes:[180]



> …τῇ ἐπαύριον γοῦν ἐξελθὼν ὁ Βασιλεὺς τοῦ γυμνασθῆναι ἐν τῷ παρακειμένῳ πεδίῳ, εἶδε τὴν ἄσπορον γῆν τὴν περὶ τὸ Πέμπτον λευχειμονοῦσαν….

> …on the next day the emperor came out to exercise in the nearby field and he saw the unsown earth around the Pempton….

Over the course of centuries, the gate underwent substantial repair and modifications. Natural disasters as seasonal flooding of the Lykos River, earthquakes, as well as general aging and normal deterioration contributed to the need for repair and modifications. This alteration is especially apparent in the current state of the gate (pl. 51). The arch had been lowered through successive repairs by utilizing smaller bricks and stones.[181]

Unlike other gates, the outer wall curves inward (pl. 52) toward the gate towers at the inner wall. The design of the gate demonstrates that it had only a military function with no bridge or ramp over the moat for commercial and civilian traffic. It is doubtful that in 1453 a moat was extant. Most probably, because of repeated natural disasters, only a ditch for defensive purposes existed before the military gate. However, on the occasion of Mehmed II's attack in 1453, some modern English scholars have mentioned that the gate was transformed for broader uses after the Gate of Saint Romanos was closed. Pears states:[182] "…I believe that when Top Capou, which beyond doubt had been known as the Gate of Saint Romanos, was closed, the Pempton was generally spoken of as the St. Romanus Gate. The Italians, who had the largest share in the defence in the Lykus valley, probably ignorant of any name for the Military Gate which led from the city into the *peribolos*, called it by the name of the nearest Civil Gate." The contentions of Pears, Bury, Setton, and others who adhere to this speculation are without foundation. By April 1453, the immediate sector about the Pempton was in considerable disrepair. The scheduled repairs had not taken place prior to the assault. This necessitated the hasty construction of a wooden stockade, as the accounts attest.[183] Without doubt, the site of the Fifth Military Gate was the most vulnerable sector for the repeated assaults of human waves of Mehmed's armies. But Baker and Pears, among other scholars,[184] maintain that Mehmed placed his great cannon (pl. 53) against this gate. The illogicity of this placement is apparent. In military terms, Mehmed would have employed strength against strength; hence, a great cannon, in itself quite weighty and bulky, that fired a 1,200-pound stone shot missile against a wooden stockade makes no sense. The great cannon was designed as a bombard to breach the facilities of a stone and brick gate and its adjacent stone and brick towers and curtain walls.

The presence of a religious structure, the Church of Saint Kyriake, in close proximity to the Pempton Gate became fundamental in the argumentation of modern scholars. Like the Church of Saint Romanos, the Church of Saint Kyriake was also commemorated to a martyred saint. Saint Kyriake died during the persecutions of Diocletian. Her death, however, is not a direct result of execution. Rather, after extensive torture she prevailed upon her captors before her scheduled execution to permit her to recite her final prayers and while doing so she expired.[185] Her feast day is celebrated on the seventh of July.

Among the first scholars to devote attention to the Church of Saint Kyriake was Hammer.[186] He identifies the church as Aja Kyriaki, that is, the Church of the Holy Sunday. Déthier,[187] investigating the burial site of an infant child of Justin II and the postern of Georgios, identifies the child's name as Baia and the church of his internment known then to the Byzantines as Κυριακὴ τῶν Βαΐων and also the Church of Palm Sunday. Déthier cites an inscription which he admits may not be accurate that reads:[188]

> Ἐνθάδε κατακεῖται Φερμῖνα Βαΐα γενημένη τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἰουστίνου τοῦ ἐνδόξου κουροπαλάτου μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίου α´ Ἰνδικτιῶνος ΙΓ.
>
> Here lies Fermina Baia, the offspring of the daughter of Justinus, the glorious Kouropalates, [who died] on the first [day] of October, of the 13th Indiction.

If Déthier is inclined to identify the burial site with the Church of Saint Kyriake that was established opposite the inner high walls of the city, he admits that he has deferred further discussion of the church until a later date. But he acknowledges that the high (inner) walls are of interest to archaeologists.

Manouel I. Gedeon,[189] perhaps following up on the observations of Déthier, writes that an inscription for the Church of Saint Kyriake dates to 1730. Unfortunately, he has not preserved the text of the inscription, unless it is the same as noted above by Déthier or something similar. Important, however, is the contribution of Mordtmann,[190] who draws upon Kananos,[191] whose account dates to 1422 and the siege of Murad II, to establish the existence of the

Church of Saint Kyriake. Kananos records:

> ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος καὶ σοῦδα καὶ πύργος πλησίον Κυριακῆς τῆς ἁγίας, μέσον Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τῆς Χαρσῆς τε τὴν πύλην, καὶ πλησιέστερον τούτων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Λύκον.

> As for the place, the moat, and the tower in the vicinity of Saint Kyriake, that is midway between Saint Romanos and the Gate of Charisios and is nearer this river called Lykos.

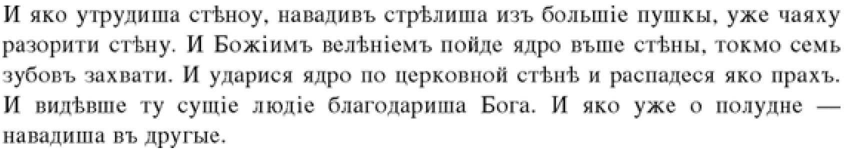
Janin,[192] without providing sufficient evidence or citing a specific source, believes that it is very plausible that a female monastery was associated with the Church of Saint Kyriake. We have no concrete written, architectural, or archaeological knowledge to conclude that this was indeed true and all statements remain conjectural.

The exact location of the Church of Saint Kyriake is problematic.[193] Hammer places two mosques in proximity to the Pempton Gate, the first being located two blocks to the northeast and the second at least four blocks to the southeast.[194] These locations appear quite unlikely as sources for Déthier's miscalculations. If the Church of Saint Kyriake is also to be identified with that of τοῦ Κύρου, then Guilland,[195] after Janin, would situate the church not far from the Gate of Saint Romanos, which Guilland clearly identifies as Top Kapı. Janin,[196] elsewhere, believes that the Church of Saint Kyriake depended upon the ramparts in this area for protection, but he later[197] does not clarify the distinction between Kyriake and τὰ κυριακοῦ, which are not the same institutions.[198] The younger Mordtmann[199] recognizes that a church was associated with the Pempton and notes that the Byzantines locally called the Fifth Military Gate the Gate of Saint Kyriake, which is not improbable. He leaves no doubt that at the end of the nineteenth century the gate was identified by the Turks as Hücum Kapı, the Gate of the Assault. Pears[200] and Van Millingen[201] also admit the proximity of Saint Kyriake to the Pempton. Van Millingen, however, bases his conclusion on the statement of Kananos.[202]

That a Church of Saint Kyriake existed, perhaps as late as 1453 and even later in a rebuilt and remodeled form, is indisputable. Its origins, however, have not been documented and, given the absence of physical evidence, no conclusions can be reached. Even its location remains uncertain. To the present, our visual observations in the area of Sulu Kule and in close proximity to portions of the surviving inner land walls and towers, which are in very poor state of disrepair, have shown no evidence of the church or a monastic facility.[203] There is an exception to our preliminary conclusions. E. Mamboury[204] summarizes the archaeological excavations of 1933 that were conducted about the Mosque of Fatih and the burned-out Mosque of

Feneri Isa, which are several blocks removed from the inner wall. Excavations have uncovered the remnants of a grand structure. More significant was the find of a sarcophagus that bears the family inscription of the late sixth-century Byzantine emperor Maurice. The relationship of these finds to the Church and Monastery of Saint Kyriake was not established and more work at the site and study of the artifacts needs to be accomplished.

A contemporary to the events of 1453, Nestor-Iskander, the young Russian monastic novice, reflects vividly the puzzlement then present at the height of the battle. Nestor-Iskander writes:[205]



> И яко утрудиша стѣноу, навадивъ стрѣлиша изъ большіе пушкы, уже чаяху разорити стѣну. И Божіимъ велѣніемъ пойде ядро въше стѣны, токмо семь зубовъ захвати. И ударися ядро по церковной стѣнѣ и распадеся яко прахъ. И видѣвше ту сущіе людіе благодариша Бога. И яко уже о полудне — навадиша въ другые.

> With a shot from the great cannon they [the Turks] attempted to fatigue the wall with the hope of destroying it. Through the will of God, the shot passed above the wall, grasping only seven teeth [= battlements]. The shot struck a church wall and fell apart as dust. Seeing what had happened, the people gave thanks to God. Since it was already mid-day, they [the Turks] aimed both [cannons].

Nestor-Iskander, obviously, does not identify the church by name because it was unknown to him; nor do any Greek or Genoese sources record this event. What is clear is that at the height of the conflict, confusion prevailed and the designation of religious sites, perhaps long abandoned, was not germane to the immediate needs of the struggle.

However, this singular event has precipitated a major historiographical misjudgment that continues to the present. In the nineteenth century, Philippe A. Déthier, then director of the Imperial Museum of Antiquity in Constantinople, ushered in this monumental miscalculation with his French translation of Nestor-Iskander's *The Tale of Constantinople*, which account he retitled the *Anonymous Moscovita*[206] In his interpolation of the cited passage, Déthier correctly understood that a stone shot from the great cannon had struck the battlements and then incorrectly states that the stone shot imbedded itself in a church wall. He identified this church as Saint Kyriake and herein lies the problem that has had a profound influence on subsequent interpretations of this event and the overall Turkish campaign.

Déthier argues that the *basilika* or great cannon was placed opposite the Pempton,[207] which during the course of the siege came to be identified by the Italian defenders as the "Gate of Saint Romanos."[208]

The fact that a shot from the great cannon as Nestor-Iskander notes struck the battlements[209] and then impacted a church wall led Déthier to the conclusion to fix the site for this event about the Pempton and the Church of Saint Kyriake, which he believed was nearby.

Edwin Pears, after Déthier and strongly influenced by him, has elaborated extensively on this misidentification. Pears unequivocally states:[210]

> The *only church* in the neighbourhood either of Top Capou *[sic]* or the Pempton was one dedicated to St. Kyriakè, which was in the Lycus valley near the Pempton.

Pears is correct in his rendering of the topographical features of the vicinity about the Pempton Gate. His statement that the church of Saint Kyriake is the only church in the neighborhood encompassing the Mesoteikhion is erroneous. As we have noted above, there was a Church of Saint Romanos nearby to the south and most probably it was a part of a monastic complex that casts a new and different light on the subject and necessitates reinterpretation.

John Bagnell Bury, who edited Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, notes:[211]

> The chief place of assault was in the Lycus Valley, which lay between the Gates of Hadrianople (Porta Charisii) on the north, and Romanus on the south. Here was the Pempton or Fifth Military Gate. Dethier suggested, and Pears…has made it *virtually certain*, that the 'Gate of Romanus' in the accounts of the siege is meant, not the old gate of that name, but the Pempton. This assumption alone is consistent with the circumstances of the final attack. The present name of the old gate of S. Romanus, Top Kapu = Cannon Gate, seems to have been due to *reverse transference*.

That Pears heavily influenced Bury is obvious.

Sir Steven Runciman appears to equivocate when he made the following statement in his work on the fall of Constantinople. He writes:[212]

> The Gate of Saint Romanus, the present Top Kapusi, was at the highest point of the ridge. The ground then dropped about a hundred feet into the valley of the little river Lycus, which passed through a conduit under the walls two hundred yards south of the Fifth Military Gate. This gate, which was thus on the floor of the valley, had been known to the Byzantines as the Gate of Saint Kyriake, from the name of a nearby church. But it *seems* to have been called popularly the Military Gate of Saint Romanus; and

> writers describing the siege continually confuse it with the civil Gate of Saint Romanus.

He adds in a note:[213]

> But I accept *unhesitatingly* Pears's view that the Romanus Gate mentioned in the accounts of the siege must generally be identified as the Fifth Military Gate. As he [Pears] points out, the old name 'Pempton' never occurs after the seventh century, nor does the later name of the Gate of Saint Kyriake appear in accounts of the siege. Yet it is the only gate in the Lycus valley, in the section of the walls where the fiercest fighting took place. It seems clear that it was known at the time as the Military Gate of St. Romanus and that when contemporary writers refer to the Romanus Gate they usually mean it rather than the Civil Gate of St. Romanus, the present Top Kapu, up the hill to the south.

Runciman, therefore, has confounded the question by introducing two gates of Saint Romanos, a civil and a military. And yet there was no transference or reverse transference of gate names.

More often than not the Italian scribes, who had no direct opportunity to observe first hand the combat at the walls, write in broad and general terms and speak of sectors rather than specific points along the inner walls. Their lack of precise knowledge is understandable. Byzantine sources are not at issue because none of the four major Greek scribes who were contemporaneous to the events of 1453 was present at the height of the conflict in the vicinity of the Mesoteikhion. Even Nestor-Iskander, who was present in the sector and most probably on the walls or in the towers between the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton, demonstrates that he had no precise knowledge of their names. Such confusion is commonplace at the peak of combat. Turkish sources had no reason to double name the Pempton Gate as the Gate of the Cannon and the Gate of Assault, and their current designations and distinctions remain valid. Déthier introduced the misconceptions regarding these gates and Pears compounded the problem with his eloquent discussion of the situation at the walls. Runciman, doubtless, demonstrates inventiveness, for at no time can we discover evidence to justify the designation of a civil and military Gate of Saint Romanos. Rather, until the discovery of new written sources and physical evidence contemporary to 1453, their conclusions are at best conjectural.

# V. The Northwest Fortifications

The defensive fortifications in the northwest (albeit not an extension nor intended to be an extension of the Theodosian Walls[214]), from Tekfur Saray or the Porphyrogenite Palace to the Golden Horn, are difficult to study. Little scholarly attention has been devoted to them and the few references to them both in primary and secondary sources are comparatively brief. That these walls were built in three main stages over a span approaching six hundred years, with intermediate and subsequent reconstruction, modifications, and repairs, demonstrates that they were added with no precise defensive scheme in mind, but rather satisfied the needs of the moment.

## A. The Walls of Herakleios, Leo V the Armenian, and Manuel I Komnenos, and Their History

Lacking distinctive features, the single wall of Herakleios (610–641) was erected in 627 and is designated in the sources as Μονοτεῖχος Βλαχερνῶν[215] or τεῖχος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν. .[216] The main reason for its construction[217] was to provide a defensive barrier that would protect the Blakhernai Palace (pl. 54) beside the Sixth Hill and the nearby Church of the Virgin. An additional reason for this fortification was to provide a protective restraint for the Blakhernai quarter that was in fact an exposed and vulnerable suburb outside any defensive scheme for the city and its environs.[218] The Blakhernai quarter, however, had had a defensive barrier, *proprio muro vallata,*[219] which apparently was insufficient at the moment or had probably required major repair or replacement by 627. The chief threats to this sector then were the armed assaults of the Avars, Slavs, and their allies the Persians.[220] The *Chronicon Paschale* attests to the seriousness of these aggressions that had commenced the previous year (626).[221]

The wall (pl. 55) of Leo V the Armenian (815–820), constructed in 813 for the main purpose of thwarting the anticipated attacks of the Bulgar Khan Krum,[222] adds a perplexing dimension to the Herakleian Wall, which today is in poor condition and not visible because of the construction of the former. In essence, Leo V added a wall and broad moat before the Herakleian fortification.[223] The former was placed at a slant from south to north approximately 22 (71.5 feet) to 16 (52 feet) meters before the Herakleian Wall,[224] thus forming a citadel.[225]

This stronghold came to be designated the Brachionion of Blakhernai, τὸ βραχιόνιον τῶν Βλαχερνῶν. And yet the fortification of Leo V has received only fleeting scholarly attention.[226]

Scholars have devoted more interest to the lengthier wall (pl. 56) of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180).[227] This structure, unlike the previous short walls in their construction methods,[228] employed novel approaches for the defense of the Blakhernai sector.[229] While the Theodosian Walls have an inner and outer barrier, the wall of Manuel Komnenos was constructed with a single rampart, employing distinctive craftsmanship. It links with the Porphyrogenite Palace, bends to the west at almost a ninety-degree angle and then to the north at a perpendicular, ultimately linking with the fortifications of Herakleios and Leo V. The Komnenian fortification lacks a moat, mainly because of the difficulty of the terrain. The abrupt rise and descent of the land surface negated the need for a water barrier.[230]

## B. The Physiognomy of the Northwestern Fortifications

Addressing first the Herakleian Wall, this fortification was situated in a relatively level area with some declining slant of the terrain at the north end. The area was also noted for its marshy characteristics. The length and dimensions of the rampart are problematic and are, therefore, not interpreted by several scholars, notably Van Millingen and Tsangadas. For Meyer-Plath and Schneider, the wall has little interest. Foss and Winfield,[231] however, begin the Herakleian Wall a few meters (actually 5 meters) south of tower 16, at the north side of the Gate of Saint Nicholas, excluding tower 15, which lies within and on the southeast corner of the citadel complex. They note its extension on the north side linking with the sea wall about the postern of Saint Anastasios and the Kiliomene Gate (now the Ayvan Saray Kapısi) near the Golden Horn. The full length, reckoning all sections of the curtain walls including towers and gates, approaches 230 meters (747.5 feet). Within the citadel proper, the total length is approximately 115 meters (373.75 feet). The three hexagonal towers within the stronghold, that is towers 15, 16, and 18, have respective widths of 14, 15, and 12 meters, and projections beyond the curtain wall of 12, 14, and 10 meters. The tower heights are 24, 25, and 20 meters. The heights of the curtain wall vary substantially. The southernmost curtain wall, outside the citadel is approximately 30 meters long (its height varies between 5 and 6 meters), although it remains unclear whether this extension, like the northern, was part of the original construction or a later addition. Within the citadel, the curtain wall's height between towers 15 and 16 meters is 5 meters, with a length of approximately 20 meters. Between towers 16 and 18, the curtain wall is interrupted by a rectangular tower (numbered 17, but whose function is unclear) that has a width of 7 meters and projects westward approximately 4 meters, with a tower height of 10 meters. The walls on each side are dissimilar. On the southern side of the rectangular tower the curtain wall has a length of 15 meters and a height of 7 meters, while to the north of it, the wall length is much shorter at 8 meters, but has a height of 8 meters. Angling to the northeast outside the immediate stronghold, if the enclosed area is not considered a part of the citadel, although it appears to be, the Herakleian Wall has a length of approximately 36 meters and a height of only 5 meters. Beyond the stronghold, the curtain wall to the Kiliomene Gate has an approximate length of 75 meters and a height of 5 meters. This extension is punctuated by three rectangular towers, which appear to be modeled after the tower within the citadel. Its two curtain walls, approaching 27 meters in length, appear to have nearly identical dimensions. The overall thickness of the Herakleian Wall along its full extent appears to be about 3 meters. There seems to be no rational explanation, neither topographic nor relating to the subsoil, that could influence construction methods, for the substantial variations in the dimensions of these walls and towers. Clearly, the Herakleian Wall is distinguished by the complexity and peculiarity of its design, but is noted for the simplicity of its construction.[232]

The wall of Leo V, doubtless, is notable for its uncomplicated design, crenellated construction,[233] and the absence of substantial towers along its length, except for the three towers at the north end of the wall. Beginning with the southern extension of the curtain wall, which parallels the exterior prolongation of the Herakleian Wall, the former has a length of 25 meters and a height of 10 meters. Turning ninety degrees to the west, the Leonine Wall extends 23 meters and then parallels the Herakleian for 100 meters, with the exception of a design feature, an outward projection of 4 meters and a length of 25 meters at the approximate center of the curtain wall, that mimics the facing of a fortress entrance, which it is not. Whether the original intention was to have a fortress facing containing a main entry is unclear from any evidence at hand. At the northwestern corner stands the tower of Saint Nicholas. To its northern side was added a short curtain wall, perhaps no more than 10 meters in length and a height of perhaps 5 meters, but which includes one side of the structure that houses the Holy Well of Saint Nicholas. The overall length on this northern side is 20 meters. The bulwark, then, short of the mid?point has an unnumbered and unnamed tower according to all sources, and projects northward up to 9 meters with a width of only 6 meters and a height of 7 meters. The curtain wall continues for another 28 meters and terminates with an irregular-shaped tower that is neither square nor rectangular, but polygonic. It is four-sided (if we incorporate a portion of the Herakleian Wall on the southern edge), with its eastern wall substantially shorter than its western. The overall length of the Leonine Wall is approximately 161.5 meters and generally the height of the curtain walls is 5 meters with a thickness of 5 meters in the southern sections and 3 meters in the northern, which does not present an insurmountable deterrent to an invader.

The wall of Manuel Komnenos (pl. 56) commences at the Porphyrogenite Palace (Tekfur Saray), then abruptly turns to the northwest for approximately 111 meters (360.75 feet).[234] It then proceeds northward, eventually curving to the northeast where it links up with the underground vaults and the towers and walls of the Anemas Prison.[235] The full length of the Komnenan Wall is 551 meters (1,790.71 feet).[236] Towers punctuate the wall. The first five towers are U-shaped, the next three are pentagonal (the sixth side is the curtain wall with an entry gate), and the last five are rectangular, although some sketches of these represent them as square. Foss and Winfield[237] depict the first eight as U-shaped and the next four as square. In a northwestward direction proceeding from the Porphyrogenite Palace, towers 1–4 have an identical width of 15 meters and a height of more or less 15 meters. Their outward projection is 11 meters. On the other hand, tower 5 has a width of 13 meters and a projection also of 13 meters. Hereafter, the three pentagonal towers 6–8 are respectively 14, 13, and 14 meters wide and each projects beyond the curtain wall at 11 meters. The remaining rectangular towers, 9–13, present a marked contrast. Tower 9 is the largest, at a width of 13 meters and a projection of about 10.5 meters. Its height is given as 17 meters. Towers 10–12 are nearly identical in dimensions, being individually 10, 10, and 11 meters wide, and extending outward at 6, 7, and 6 meters. Their height is uniform at 15 meters. Tower 13, at the limits of the Blakhernai Palace plateau, is dissimilar in design and dimensions. Having a width of 11 meters, its southern wall is 7 meters in length, while the northern wall has an extent of 10 meters. Its height stands above the other Komnenian towers at 19 meters.

The Komnenian curtain walls show significant variation in length and height. The first wall, beginning at the Porphyrogenite Palace, has a length of 43 meters, and the next two walls have stretches of 16 and 22 meters. Hereafter, a specific uniformity was added to the design of the walls. The next four walls are identical in distance at 30 meters, and the two following are 32 and 33 meters. The four curtain walls approaching the Isaac Angelos and Anemas Towers are two each at 26 and 23 meters, and the terminal wall is the shortest at 18 meters. The heights of the first seven curtain walls to the Kaligaria Gate are 12 meters, then north of the gate the height varies between 7 and 8 meters at the next curtain wall because of the slant of the terrain. Except for a 10-meter-high wall between towers 8 and 9, the next two walls reach a height of 15 meters, and descend to 12 meters for the two succeeding walls. Paradoxically, the terminal wall reaches a height of 21 meters to the link with the Anemas Tower. The overall thickness of the walls is about 4 meters.

## C. The Civil Gates and Adjacent Structures

Of the four civil gates[238] within the northwestern fortifications, doubtless the Kaligaria Gate (ἐν τοῖς Καλιγαρίοις, Gate of the Bootmakers' Quarters[239]), the southern most in this extension of the walls, played a most important role in the initial stages of the siege of Constantinople. There is general scholarly agreement that this gate, with an entry width of 3 meters, and an approximate height approaching 5 meters, occupied a most prominent position, the first major gate to encounter at the onset of the siege in early April 1453, the bombardment of Mehmed II's cannons, and especially the *basilica* and in the last weeks of the siege the mining activities of the sultan's engineers.[240] Mehmed II had placed his great cannon, the bombard, opposite this site. The trajectory of his shots required an extremely high projectile path, proving the futility and unproductiveness of this tactic. Ultimately, he realized the futility of this bombardment and abandoned this assault because of the steepness of the terrain, that is, the abrupt rise in elevation of the terrain from west to east.

The topography of this sector, however, did facilitate his mining activities. As we have noted above, the wall of Manuel Komnenos was distinguished as a single wall without a moat. The absence of a moat is attested by Leonardo, who relates:[241] *…ob partem illam murorum simplicem, quae nec fossatis nec antemurali tutebatur, Calegaream dictam…*, "at a portion of that simple wall, designated Kaligaria, on which side there is no ditch [moat] to guard against the wall. ." The bishop further observes:[242] *Erat tamen murus perlatus fortisque…*, "the wall, nevertheless, is extensive, strong…."

The second gate, immediately to the north of the Kaligaria Gate, is the Gyrolimne Gate (ἥ Γυρολίμνη πύλη, the Gate of the Silver Lake).[243] The gate is located slightly north of the midpoint between towers 11 and 12 of the Komnenan Walls, having a breadth of 5 meters and a height that most probably did not rise above 8 meters. Given the gate's situation within the curtain wall, it is difficult to establish its main function, although the gate did provide direct access to the Blakhernai Palace.[244] Given also its close proximity to the Anemas Prison facility, the gate might have provided access to its underground chambers. The Gyrolimne Gate did, however, facilitate entry into and egress from the city for the residents of the sector. The gate and the adjacent curtain walls did undergo frequent repair and restoration during the Palaiologan era, as an inscription on a nearby wall attests.[245]

The Blakhernai Gate (πόρτα τοῦ μονοτείχους τῶν Βλαχερνῶν[246]), embedded within the Herakleian Wall, provides passage to the palace complex, whereas the Gate of Saint Nicholas[247] in the Leontine Wall furnishes entry into and egress from the citadel on the west, and access to the Church of Saint Nicholas.[248] Most probably the Gate of Saint Nicholas was so designated for the ecclesiastical structure and the sacred well at the northern end of the citadel. The dimensions of the respective gates are: the Blakhernai (though now sealed) is 3 meters at the west expanding to 5 meters on the east and probably had a height of no more than 3 meters since the adjacent curtain walls were only 5 meters high; the Gate of Saint Nicholas is larger, with a width of 4 meters and a height approaching 8 meters within a curtain wall that is 10 meters high. Within the citadel, the south tower contains inscriptions bearing the names of Michael II and Theophilos, under whom repairs were accomplished on the complex.[249]

Perhaps the least significant of the four gates in the northwestern fortifications was the Xyloporta[250] (Ξυλόπορτα, Ξυλίνη πύλη, the Wooden Gate). Byzantine sources give brief notice to it,[251] making fragmentary references, and modern scholarship has generally ignored the gate because it played a minor role in the activities linked to the siege and fall of Constantinople.[252] Even its very location has not been clearly fixed. The most accurate placement is at the terminus of the Herakleion Wall and its juncture with the sea walls along the Golden Horn. Because of subsequent modifications and repairs to the walls over the course of centuries, deterioration of some of the fortifications, and rebuilding in the area, the gate is no longer visible (pl. 58), nor can its dimensions be calculated, although we can safely assume that its height and width were comparable to those of the other gates in the northwestern fortifications.[253]

The ecclesiastical structures about the northwestern fortifications are few, but several merit comment. Addressing first the Church of Saint Nicholas (Ἅγ. Νικόλαος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν or ἅγιος Νικόλαος τῆς ἁγίας), a relatively minor church, within the northern extension of the citadel, there is no clear scholarly consensus on the nomenclature of this edifice nor its precise location, and its very name has been confused with another religious building since the designation of Saint Nicholas was commonly used for ecclesiastical structures throughout Constantinople and elsewhere. The importance of the citadel church arises because of the immediate proximity of the holy well and a tower that bear the same name as the church. The Church of Saint Nicholas is mentioned in the period of the Avar threat, 627.[254] The *Chronicon Paschale*[255] furnishes a brief notice of the appellation relative to the Avar assaults, noting how some Armenians exited from the wall of Blakhernai (?)[256] and cast fire upon a portico near the Church of Saint Nicholas. This source is not precise in establishing which ecclesiastical structure it is making reference to, for there may have been more than one church designated Saint Nicholas in the vicinity; however, the appearance of the name at this early date is important. On the other hand, neither the antiquity nor the date of the initial construction of the church within the citadel can be verified in Byzantine sources. Procopius is familiar with the existence of a nearby church that he designates as a structure dedicated to Saints Priscus and Nicholas.[257] Majeska confounds the problem of these designations.[258] He states: "Judging from its location, this Church of St. Nicholas was probably the Church of SS. Priscus and Nicholas restored by Justinian, which is described as being 'in Blachernae,' and 'near the walls of Blachernae.'"[259] Hence the Church of Saints Priscus and Nicholas may well have been immediately outside on the north side of what were then regarded as the terrace walls of the palace complex and not fortification walls. Since the citadel had not been constructed nor enclosed at this early date, the statement may be correct for the age of Justinian, but not thereafter. And subsequent references to it, moreover, confuse its location. The two religious structures are at least 280 meters apart, but the question whether Saint Nicholas within the citadel and the Church of Saints Priscus and Nicholas are one and the same structures remains unsettled in modern scholarship. Most likely, the Church of Saint Priscus and Nicholas was a palace church reserved for royal use, whereas Saint Nicholas was a popular place of worship accessible to the sector's residents, particularly those living to the west. The Church of Saint Nicholas within the citadel, nonetheless, had no role in the siege of 1453, and these and other issues raised must be addressed in subsequent scholarship to resolve whether the church was intact at this last date, or in ruins as some modern historians seem to intimate.

One other point should be considered regarding its nomenclature and confusion with another ecclesiastical structure. Van Millingen[260] correctly points out that the Church of Saint Thekla should not be confused with Saint Nicholas, which is within the citadel, but is in close proximity to the former. He places Saint Thekla on the heights overlooking Avian Serai, near the junction of the Herakleion Wall with the sea walls of the Golden Horn, within a few blocks.[261] Further, the earliest references to this church in Byzantine sources appear in the eleventh century, four centuries after the establishment of the Church of Saint Nicholas.[262] Saint Thekla stood on the palace grounds of Blakhernai, as noted by Skylitzes:[263] ἐντὸς τῶν βασιλείων· ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν. The church, however, has earlier roots about which we have only fragmentary and inconclusive evidence.

Though now a mosque, Toklu dede Mescidi,[264] which occupies the site of the former Church of Saint Thekla, the Christian edifice derives its name from its patroness, Thekla, the oldest daughter of the Byzantine emperor, Theophilos (829–842), who dedicated perhaps nothing more than a chapel (εὐκτήριον) to honor her saintly namesake.[265] The structure was initially attached to her palatial residence in Blakhernai. In 1059, the Byzantine emperor Isaak Komnenos rebuilt the structure, and subsequently it was demolished and rebuilt by John Komnenos in the succeeding century. Thereafter, its history is mute and we have no sources that make reference to it; nor do we have any knowledge of it in 1453, for it played no role during the siege. We can only speculate that some portions of its walls and foundations became the basis for the mosque.

Although the previously discussed ecclesiastical structures are regarded as minor edifices, there is little disagreement among scholars concerning the location and importance of the Church of Our Lady the Mother of God in Blakhernai (Θεοτόκος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν).[266] Procopius[267] situates the church πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου, ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις, “before the enclosed space, in the district called Blakhernai.” The *Chronicon Paschale*[268] concurs with Procopius. The church is especially famed for housing the girdle (and robe?) of the *Theotokos*[269] The church most probably was built *ca.* 450 by the empress Pulcheria. The placement of the church was to the immediate northeast of the Towers of Anemas and Isaak Angelos, in the mid-center to the northeast of the enclosed palace area.

By 1453, the church was in complete ruin. Although it was incinerated in 1070 and then rebuilt, a major fire in 1434 left little of its foundations and walls. The relic or relics perished decades before the fall of the city; we have no knowledge that they were transferred elsewhere. During the months of the siege, no reference in the sources survives to demonstrate that the ceremonial aspects of the cult of the Virgin[270] continued and played an instrumental role in rallying the Constantinopolitans against the Ottoman aggressors.

The Blakhernai Palace, a majestic imperial residence, sits on the hill that bears the same name, the βουνὸς τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.[271] Aside from the fact that it is a royal dwelling, imperial processions may have originated at the site, and then proceeded to the Golden Gate for a triumphal entry into the city.[272] The palace complex had no military function beyond its domicile characteristics.

No precise date has been established for the construction of the Blakhernai Palace, given the silence of the sources prior to the seventh century. The main focus of Byzantine annalists was upon the repeated threats to the fortifications in the northwest. Cyril Mango, however, believes that the palace was erected *ca.* 500[273] and hence would anticipate the construction of the northwestern fortifications. Rather, it would coincide with the defensive barrier *proprio muro vallata.*[274] It is clear that Blakhernai Palace was a royal residence under the Komnenian emperors.[275]

The last of the most important structures in the Blakhernai sector was the Anemas Prison (pl. 59), including the famed tower and the adjacent subterranean chambers. This facility was notable for incarcerating high-ranking Byzantine political figures, some for treasonable activities and others for serious crimes. Janin regards the substructures as part of the Blakhernai Palace and a support for the grand palace terrace.[276] This may be right.

There is no clear scholarly consensus on the origins of the name “Anemas”[277] for the tower. Alexander Kazhdan cites numerous possibilities for the source of the tower’s name, but arrives at no conclusion. He identifies the term as a family name of the military aristocracy and prefers to cite abundant references to them in the Byzantine sources.[278] Paradoxically, he either gave no credence to the account concerning Anemas in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene or simply overlooked it. Anna relates how her brother, Michael Anemas and his three brothers, along with other conspirators, plotted to unseat the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and was the first prisoner confined to the tower, hence the origin of its name.[279] Whether during the siege in 1453 the prison was used to house Turkish captives is unreported in the sources, but given its proximity to the Golden Horn and the events that transpired there, this is a possibility even if the facility was in need of great repair.

The northwestern fortifications had been weakened over the centuries and immediately before the siege they had received some overdue reinforcement. This consisted mainly of emergency repairs to the Anemas Tower, due to the funds that were donated by Cardinal Isidore.[280] More important, the Venetian residents and boat crews volunteered their labor to dig a ditch before the Kynegon district,[281] a difficult project that lasted until the arrival of the Turkish army, as

Barbaro relates.[282] He also describes the actual military operations against this sector. Barbaro first relates the account of a major assault against the western land walls that occurred on May 7, which was repelled by the defenders after three hours of fighting,[283] and then he states that the Turks launched another major assault against the palace, presumably the Blakhernai, attempting to burn their way through its narrow gate:[284]

> *Ma subito che i diti Turchi se partì de là, dove che i combateva, e perché i vete non aver posudo far cosa niuna, i deliberò e andò con gran cridori, e cazà fuogo in la porta del restelo del palazo, e bruxola tuta incontinente, e subito che la fo bruxada, i nostri si corse là, e ribatè i diti Turchi in driedo, e murò quelaporta de muro*.
>
> Immediately after the Turks withdrew from there [the western walls], where they had launched their attack and because they had left empty-handed, they decided to go with great shouting and set the gate of the palace fortress on fire, which burned down entirely, without restraint. As soon as it was burned down our side hastened there and fought the Turks back. They walled up that gate to the fortifications.

He then relates about a major assault that took place against the palace at midnight, May 12:[285]

> *A dì dodexe pur <de> mazo a l'ora de la meza note vene a le mure del palazo, da Turchi cinquanta milia ben in ordene, circondato tuto el palazo de questi cani Turchi con grandisimi cridori segondo lor so costume, e cusì de sonari de nacare e de tamburli; i diti Turchi per questa note i dè una granda bataia a le mure de questo palazo, che quaxi la maxor parte de queli de la tera veramente si credè perder questa note la zitade. Ma il nostro misericordioso misser Jesù Cristo non volse, che questa note si devese perder cusì vilmente questa zitade.…*
>
> On the twelfth day of May at the hour of midnight there came to the walls of the palace fifty thousand Turks in good order and these Turkish dogs surrounded the entire palace with the loudest shouting, in accordance with their custom, to the sound of instruments and drums. It was in this night that the Turks launched a strong attack against the walls of this palace. Most people within the territory formed the impression that the city would be lost that night. But it was not the wish of our merciful lord Jesus Christ that this city be lost so easily that night.…
>
> As we have previously noted and as we shall elaborate below, in

1453, the primary military action was restricted between the Kaligaria Gate and the Golden Gate. And along the full length of the Theodosian land walls the first and foremost main point of interest for the forces of Mehmed II was the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector, although on a broader scale special attention had been devoted to the section between the Adrianople and Fourth Military Gates. Yet in the opening stages of the siege, the concentration of the engineering corps of the sultan was upon the Kaligaria Gate and therefore some military operations took place against these northwestern fortifications, but they were limited in scope when compared to the operations that took place elsewhere. During the final assault of May 29, the Turks concentrated their efforts on the Pempton, but they conducted sufficient activity at both the sea walls and the northwestern sector to keep the defenders engaged and to prevent them from reinforcing the critical sector of the Pempton.

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# Notes

[1] The most significant modern but brief histories of the Theodosian Walls remain: Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 40–51; A. M. Schneider, "The City-Walls of Istanbul *" Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archæology* 11 (1937): 461–468; B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, Denkmäler antiker Architektur, Band 8, 2 (Berlin, 1943): 2–7; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 32 ff; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographia Istanbuls*, pp. 286–295, esp. p. 295 with extensive bibliography; and B. C. P. Tsangadas, *The Fortifications and Defense of Constantinople* (Boulder and New York, 1980), pp. 7–15, although each work has some shortcomings and errors in fact. Among recent Turkish studies, cf. D. Kuban, *İstanbul, bir kent tarihi. Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul* [Istanbul, A History of a Unique City: Byzantium, Constantinople, and Istanbul] (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 47–54. Of some value for the study of the Theodosian Walls, the gateways, and the gates, cf. K.-P. Matschke, "Tore, Torwächter und Torzöllern von Konstantinopel in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte* 16/2 (1989): 42–57; repr. in *idem, Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und Neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453* (Hamburg, 2008), pp. 189–222. No attempt will be made in this chapter to analyze the construction methods and building materials utilized for the towers and curtain walls, but for notable discussions, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: *passim;* F. Dirimtekin, *İstanbul'un Fethi* [Istanbul's Conquest] (Istanbul, 1949), pp. 95 ff; and C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), pp. 25–37 and 60–65. For general comments, cf. Freely and Çakmak, pp. 49–55.

[2] Of significance for the study of the imperial city is the article of M. I. Pérez, "La geografia erudita de Constantinopla," in A. M. Cortés, ed., *Elogio de Constantinopla.* Colecció 100 (Cuenca, 2004): 51–83; also of importance in a broader context is the work of C. Barsanti, "Costantinopoli e l'Egeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo: la testimonianza di Cristofor. Buondelmonti," *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia d'arte* 56 (2001): 82–253. Noteworthy as well is the study of A. Bilban Yalçin, "Byzantion'un Tarihsel Topografyasi [The Historical Topography of Byzantion]," in O. Belli and B. Barış Kurtel, eds., *60. Yaşinda Sinan Genim'e Armağan Makaleler* (Istanbul, 2005), pp. 673–697.

[3] While there exist extensive references to the Walls of Constantine the Great, since the walls are hardly visible in modern times, little historical or archaeological research has been conducted on them and literary documentation, therefore, is meager. For a brief list of pertinent secondary works, see C. Mango, "Constantinople, Monuments of: Walls," *ODB* 1: 519–520. Omitted from his list, perhaps for good reason, is Tsangadas, who maintains, p. 7, that the Constantinian Walls were not a defensive fortification, but then, if not defensive, then what? It is doubtful that the Constantinian Walls were constructed simply to define the western limits of the imperial city or to beautify the city with an enclosure. Cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 263–265, and *passim*, for the problems and questions related to this circuit of walls; and F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihden Önce, Halic Surlari* [The First Conquest, the Urban Walls at the Golden Horn] (Istanbul, 1956), esp. p. 32, where he notes that the Constantinian Wall had not yet reached the shore of the Golden Horn and that gap was enclosed only in 439. The difficulty of studying the Constantinian Walls stems from the fact that with the construction of the Theodosian Walls, the former after 447 had no practical use, were not maintained, and fell into disrepair,

being allowed to crumble and disappear with time. The most recent study offering some insights into the Constantinian Walls and their relation to the Sea of Marmara and the Golden Horn, cf. C. Mango, "The Shoreline of Constantinople in the Fourth Century," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoglu, pp. 17–28. K. Dark and F. Özgümüsç, *Istanbul Rescue Archaeological Survey, 1998, The Districts of Koca Mustafa Pasa and Yedikule, First Preliminary Report*, (*sine loco, sine anno*), p. 5, note that in the course of their survey in 1998 they found no evidence of the Constantinian Walls that are now completely destroyed. For other aspects of the early city, cf. C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>-VII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1990; repr. 2004), esp. ch. 2: "La ville de Constantin."

[4] The most significant recent study of the long walls is that of M. Whitby, "The Long Walls of Constantinople," *Byz* 55 (1985): 560–583. Whitby takes issue with the conclusions of B. Croke, "The Date of the 'Anastasian Long Wall' in Thrace," *GRBS* 23 (1982): 59–78. Croke believes that the long walls were constructed by Anastasios I. Whitby, p. 560, however, argues "that the Constantinopolitan Long Walls were constructed soon after the humiliating peace with the Huns dictated to Theodosios II in 447, that they were seriously damaged by the earthquakes of August and September 478, and that they remained an ineffective ruin until their restoration by Anastasios in the period 495–505." On the long walls, cf. J. Crow and A. Ricci, "Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: Interim Report on the Anastasian Wall Project," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 235–262; and R. Bayliss, "Archaeological Survey and Visualisation: The View from Byzantium," in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, eds. L. Lavan and W. Bowden, Late Antique Archaeology 1 (Leiden and Boston, 2003), pp. 288–313, esp. 291–299. Also still meriting attention, the observations of Gyllius, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*, Book 1, cap. 21 (p. 57). Cf. Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, Book 1, ch. 21 (pp. 48–49); Byrd, pp. 57 and 299–300; also, the essay of A. Kazhdan, "Long Wall," *ODB* 2: 1250, with additional bibliography.

[5] Themistius, *Oratio XVIII*, provides a vivid picture of how the imperial city was rapidly changing in character with the swift growth of population, and new defensive measures were required. He elaborates for the year 384 that "if the city continues to expand as it has recently, it will require a new circuit of walls in the coming year." For the full passage, cf. Themistius, *Orationes*, ed. W. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1832), 223b (272), who records: ὥστε εἰ κατὰ λόγον ὁ ἔρως ἐπιδιδοίη τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰς νέωτα ἡμῖν ἑτέρου κύκλου δεήσει, καὶ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἤδη ἔσται εἰ μείζων καὶ ἀριπρεπεστέρα ταῖν πόλεοιν, ἣν Θεοδόσιος προσύφηνε τῇ Κωνσταντίνου, ἢ ἣν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τῇ Βύζαντος; also *Discorsi di Temistio*, ed. R. Maisano, Classici Greci… (Turin, 1995), 223b (p. 636). Other writers contemporary to Themistius provide as well further evidence of urban growth. Among them, cf. Zosimus, *Historia nova*, ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1887), 2.35; *idem, New History*, trans. R. T. Ridley, Byzantina Australiensia 2 (Canberra, 1984) 2.35 (p. 39); Eunapius Sardianus, *Vita Aedes*, in *FHG* 4 (Paris, 1868): 22; and Sozomen, *Kirchengeschichte*, eds. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1960), 2.3. Also for the growth of the city, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 41 ff. This westward expansion to 550 and the establishment of especially female monasteries between the Walls of Constantine the Great and the Theodosian Walls is evident in the article of G. Varinlioğlu, "Urban Monasteries in Constantinople and Thessaloniki: Distribution Patterns In Time and Urban Topography," in J. J. Emerick and Deborah M. Deliyannis, *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker* (Mainz, 2005), pp. 190–191, and 194, fig. 7, Monastic Map of Constantinople: 330–550.

[6] For an extended discussion and an excellent synthesis on Anthemius and of the sources that cite him and his labors in the construction of the inner Theodosian

Walls, cf. W. D. Lebek, “Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel und ein neues Bauepigramm (Θευδοσίου [*sic*] τόδε τεῖχος),”,” *Epigraphica Anatolica, Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens* 25 (1995): 110–119; for an earlier interpretation of Anthemius, cf. Gibbon, 3 (London, 1909): 405, n. 65. On this, cf. P. Speck, “Der Mauerbau in 60 Tagen,” in H.-G. Beck, ed., *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, Heft 14 (Munich, 1973): 135–178.

7 Schneider, “The City-Walls of Istanbul,” p. 465, makes an interesting observation: “As a defensive work the wall of Theodosius has really no parallel in late Roman times; so that as far as I can see, this type of fortification, consisting of a moat and two walls raised in tiers above one another, appears for the first time at Constantinople. However, we must remember that the art of fortification was then at its zenith, and that therefore a brilliant engineer, as the architect of the wall of Theodosius undoubtedly was, could arrive at this innovation only from practical considerations.”

8 Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicle*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH AA* 11/2: *Chronica minora* (Berlin, 1894): 447: XV.1. 9–12 (p. 82). Cf. *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*, trans. B. Croke (Sydney, 1995), p. 19 and p. 88, where he stresses that the most severe destruction occurred about the Constantinian Walls. Croke, however, believes the reference to the fifty-seven towers is to the Theodosian Walls, although there is no evidence from the sources that a substantial portion, over half, of the Theodosian Walls had been “recently rebuilt” unless this work was undertaken after the earthquake of 437. The *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1832), makes no reference to an earthquake in 437, but for the 447 quake, 1: 586, relates: Ἰνδ. ιε΄. λθ΄. ὑπ. ...Καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένοντο σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι, ὥστε τὰ τείχη πεσεῖν· ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνον, ὥστε μὴ τολμᾶν τινα ἐν οἴκῳ μένειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔφυγον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πάντες λιτανεύοντες ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· γέγονε γὰρ ἀπειλὴ μεγάλη, οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς· τινὲς δὲ ἔλεγον καὶ πῦρ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τεθεᾶσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ ἀνάμνησις κατ᾽ ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖται μέχρι νῦν τῆς λιτανείας ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ μακροθυμίας ἐν τῷ Τρικόγχῳ πρὸ ἣ ἰδῶν νοεμβρίων. ἐν γὰρ τῇ τοσαύτῃ ἀπειλῇ οὐκ ἐθανάτωσέν τινας.. See the English translation by M. and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD* (Liverpool, 1989), pp. 75–76.

9 The Byzantine sources and the scholarly controversies surrounding the date of November 6, 447, and alternative dates are significantly analyzed by Lebek, pp. 119–129, who most importantly also draws upon epigraphic materials.

10 Neither Byzantine sources nor modern scholarship are by any means clear or precise on the frequency and in their descriptions of these earthquakes. See especially the following contrasting essays, which amplify the contradictions of the sources and the dates assigned for the earthquakes: G. Downey, “Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342–1454,” *Speculum* 30 (1955): 596–600; and P. Lemerle, *et al., Traité d’études Byzantines*, 1: V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958): 476–481. For an alternative listing of Byzantine and Turkish sources with pertinent quotations that relate various incidents relative to the Theodosian Walls, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 152–166. Also pertinent for the intervening period, that is, the age of Justinian I the Great and the reactions of Agathias to the tremors of 551 and 557 in explaining the causation and consequences of earthquakes for his age, cf. the article of M. Whitby, “Greek Historical Writing after Procopius: Variety and Vitality,” in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, 1: *Problems in the Literary Source Material*, eds. Averil Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Princeton, 1999): 32–38.

11 Foss and Winfield, p. 42, state that the reconstruction effort took six months, but without attribution to a specific Byzantine source.

12 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 47; also P. A. Déthier, *Der Bosphor und Constantinopel* (Vienna, 1873), p. 53. Gyllius, Book 1, ch. 3, p. 19, precedes this

inscription with an opening line: Εἰς τὼ πύλω τὸ ῥηγίου ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. . Also Byrd, pp. 24 and 266. Clearly, this is not a part of the original inscription, but an addition of Gyllius (p. 19) noting the location of the inscription on the Rhegium Gate. For a correct rendition of Gyllius' citation, cf. Gilles, Book 1, ch. 3 (p. 12); also Byrd, pp. 24 and 266. The inscription, as given in our text is also cited and discussed by Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, , Inscr. no. 20 (Paspates' own enumeration), pp. 47–48. Paspates, states that this inscription is not to be found on the Rhegium Gate, which bears no inscription whatsoever, but on the lintel of the outer side of the "Melandesia Gate": Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνωφλίου τῆς ἔξω εἰσόδου τῆς Μελανδησίας πύλης…Ἄδηλον διατί…συγγραφεῖς ἀναφέρουσι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Πύλης τοῦ Ῥηγίου, μὴ ἐχούσης οὐδεμίαν ἐπιγραφήν.

13 For an extensive discussion of the controversy regarding whether Constantine the Eparch or the Prefect Cyril was responsible for the erection of the walls, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 48–51. The issue arises because later Byzantine historians, Theophanes the Confessor and Leo Grammatikos, ascribe the rebuilding of the walls to the Prefect Cyril. Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Classen, CSHB 1 (Bonn, 1839): 148–149, records, however, the year of the earthquake as A.M. 5937 (437 according to Classen's calculation and not 429 or 447): Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κῦρον τὸν ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν πραιτωρίων, ἄνδρα σοφώτατον καὶ ἱκανόν, κτίσαντα τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀνανεώσαντα πᾶσαν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, περὶ οὗ ἔκραξαν οἱ Βυζάντιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καθεζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως In the English rendition of this passage, in *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, eds. and trans. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford, 1997), p. 151, the passage reads: "AM 5937 [AD 444/5] In this year Kyros, the City prefect and praetorian prefect, a very learned and competent man, who had both built the city walls and restored all Constantinople, was acclaimed by the Byzantines in the Hippodrome, in the presence and hearing of the emperor… 'Constantine built…, Kyros restored….'" Mango and Scott add, p. 152, n. 1, that Kyros, that is, Cyril did not build nor rebuild the city walls. They emphasize that Constantine the Eparch supervised the reconstruction of the walls. For the credit to Cyril, cf. Leon Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1842), pp. 108–109. J. Dallaway, who had been chaplain and physician at the British Embassy to the Porte, in his monograph: *Constantinople Ancient and Modern…* (London, 1797), p. 16, makes an interesting observation in n. k: "The walls of Constantinople were extended in 413 during the minority of Theodosius II. by his guardian Anthemius, and the whole completed with incredible diligence in two months. These were overturned by an earthquake in the 39th [year, 447] of Theodosios, and rebuilt under the direction of Constantine, the prefect of the East in 447, as mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* [italics his]." In his detailed study Lebek makes no mention of Ammianus Marcellinus, for the obvious reason that Ammianus Marcellinus had died soon after 392 and could not have commented upon the events of the next century. Clearly, Dallaway must have intended Marcellinus Comes and has confused him with Ammianus Marcellinus. For further clarification of the confusion of Cyril and Constantine, cf. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1: 103, esp. n. 135. That Mango and Scott place the date of the earthquake at 444/445 is as well problematic. Theophanes does not record an earthquake or earthquakes either in 444/445 or 447. Downey, p. 597, stresses that the *Chronicon Paschale* and the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus Comes furnish information that is ascribed to 447, but may well belong to the earthquake of 437.

14 Ball, the translator of Gyllius, Gilles, Book 1, ch. 3 (p. 11), renders the inscription

to read: “These walls by Theodosios’s royal will, And Constantinus Prefect of the East, In sixty days, surprizing speed! were built.” See Byrd, p. 266, for a retranslation that includes the phrase “God-loving emperor” rather than “scepter-loving emperor.”

15 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 47; and Lebek, p. 135. Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, also records and discusses this inscription (no. 22 in his enumeration), pp. 50–51.

16 A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale sive antiquitates Constantinopolitane*, 2 (Paris, 1711): part vii, n. 428.

17 For our reasoning of the abrupt termination of the outer wall, see below our discussion in section II of the physical dimensions and other features of the curtain walls and towers.

18 Again our surveys of the moat pose questions that modern scholarship has not taken into consideration. See below in section II our discussion of the moat and relevant matters explaining our rationale.

19 For a good survey of Constantinople in the sixth century and the situation of the Theodosian Walls, although outdated with some errors in fact, cf. W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora: A History of the Sixth Century A.D.*, 1 (London, 1905; repr. Piscataway, 2002): 27–34. He makes only two references to earthquakes, *ibid.*, pp. 13 and 317, but these are not specific references to that of 526. Also significant is the recent article of P. Schreiner, “Geträumte Topographie: Isidore von Kiev, ein unbekanntes Kloster und die Justiniansäule zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts im Vat. gr. 1981,” in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, Travaux et Mémoires 14 (Paris, 2002): 553–560. Cf. Schneider, “The City-Walls of Istanbul,” pp. 466–467.

20 Cf. Kodinos, *De officiis*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1839), p. 41; also, *idem, Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1996); Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. Reiske, 2 vols., CSHB (Bonn, 1829–1839), pp. 6, 295, and 589; also *idem, Le livres des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, 2 vols., 4 parts (Paris, 1967); and Theophanes, p. 616 (under A.M. 6211). Cf. Theophanes, eds. Mango and Scott, p. 553, n. 12, for a commentary on this office.

21 For a dating comparison of the recorded earthquakes and their sources, cf. Downey, p. 600; and Grumel, pp. 477–481. Inscriptions on the towers signify when reconstruction was accomplished. for these, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 95 ff.; Tsangadas, pp. 60 ff.; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 123 ff.

22 *Theodosiani libri XVI…*, eds. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer (Berlin, 1905), 15.1.51 (p. 813), also *passim* for *necessitas* and *murus*; the English translation is that of C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, 1952), p. 429. For an earlier English rendition, cf. *idem*, ed. and trans., *The Theodosian Code, Book XV* (Nashville, 1946), p. 22. Cf. Lebek, p. 113.

23 M. C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 123, however, believes that the Theodosian Walls over a thousand-year period had been “repaired continuously,” although his supposition is not supported by the credible Byzantine sources that speak of irregular wall and gate maintenance especially after the Latin conquest of the imperial city in 1204.

24 Gibbon, 6 (London, 1912): 495, provides a good observation on the condition of the Theodosian Walls: “In the distress of the Latins, the walls and towers of Constantinople had fallen to decay; they were restored and fortified by the policy of Michael [VIII Palaiologos], who deposited a plenteous store of corn and salt provisions, to sustain the siege which he might hourly expect from the resentment of the Western powers.”

25 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 104–108, consistently misnumbers John VIII, labeling him as John VII.

26 K.-P. Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, pp. 315–328, speaks of the fact that large areas of the city remained undeveloped and uninhabited, particularly at the onset of the fifteenth century. There was an aristocratic building boom, but he stresses in his article that there was also an acute shortage of building and rebuilding materials, and of construction workers among the ranks of the lower classes.

27 The historical significance, unusual in a rhetorical showpiece of this genre, of this anonymous *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα [Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον]*, 3 (Athens, 1923): 292–308, was realized by I. K. Bogiatzides, who supervised vols. 3 and 4 of this publication after the death of S. P. Lampros, the original editor of the series. The passage quoted above appears in vol. 3: 296. The anonymous author does not state exactly when John VIII had initiated this renovation program, but presents a rather vague chronology of events; cf. ΠκΠ 3: 296: Ἐπαναζεύξαντος τοίνυν τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως μετά γε τῆς νίκης καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πέλοπος……. In addition, the panegyric of Isidore (whose true authorship was not known to Lampros), in *PkP* 3: 132–199, also provides a description of the moat, p. 136: Τάφρος ὀρώρυκται πρὸ τούτου, ὧς μὲν εὐρεῖα, ὧς δὲ βαθεῖα, ὧς δὲ μήκιστος καὶ διὰ πάσης ὑποτρέχουσα τῆς ἠπειρωτικῆς ἐκείνης πλευρᾶς, τῶν χειλέων αὐτῆς ἀμφοῖν λίθοις μεγάλοις λογάδην τιτάνῳ προσερηρεισμένοις, συνηρμοσμένων καὶ συνδεδεμένων ἰσχυρῶς, ταῖν θαλάτταιν ἀμφοῖν πρασαποδίδωσι.

28 ΠκΠ 3: 296: … …ἣν ἔργον δεόμενον χειρὸς Ξέρξου τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως, ὅν φασι κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρώην ἐκστρατεύσαντα κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον ἐπαγόμενον στρατόπεδον, ἐλθεῖν <λέγεται> ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ ναυσὶν ἀπείροις καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον περαιωθῆναι τούτου ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου, αὖθις < δ᾽> ἀνακυκλεῦσαι ἑκατὸν δήπου σημείοις πρὸς ἕω, κατολιγωροῦντα, διώρυχα κελεῦσαι τοῦτον ποιῆσαι ὡς ἐν πελάγει τὴν ἤπειρον <λέγεται> διελθεῖν.

29 For the inscriptions, on the towers and gates, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 104–108; and Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, pp. 44–45.

30 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 108, renders the monk's name as Neophytus, whereas Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 45, erroneously gives the name as Nikodemos. Nevra Necipoglu, "Constantinopolitan Merchants and the Question of Their Attitudes towards Italians and Ottomans in the Late Palaiologan Period," in Scholz and Makris, pp. 255–256, notes his participation at the Council of Florence in 1439 and pro-Latin positions because of his family's substantial economic ties with the Italians. Sphrantzes suggests that Neophytos was connected with the Notaras family in the imperial court. In *Minus* 33.5, Sphrantzes states that Neophytos was the godfather of Notaras' children (as well as Sphrantzes') and that he resided at the Kharsianites Monastery.

31 Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 44 (Inscription no. 17) records the text as ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΓΑΡΙ. He states that this inscription is found "on the fourth tower south of the Pempton." In its proximity there was an inscription recording the large-scale repairs carried out in the reign of John VIII (p. 44, Inscription no. 16): † ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙCΕ ΤΟ ΚΑCΤΡΟΝ ΟΛΟΝ ΙΩ<ΑΝΝΗC ΕΝ> Χ<ΡΙCΤ>Ω<Ι> ΑΤ|ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟC ΕΤΕΙ ϛϡΜΑ´ [= 6941 *anno mundi*, i.e., A.D. 1433] †. Cf. H. Lietzmann, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel. Vorbericht über die Aufnahme 1928*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 2 (Berlin, 1929): 26.

32 Déthier, *Der Bosphor*, p. 55, although caution should be exercised in reading this source because of the author's confusion of the Charisios Gate, a civil gate, with the military gate of the Pempton.

33 *PG* 159: 936; and Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 30. Leonardo gives the misappropriated amount at 20,000 florins, and those they left to the Turks in a concealed container with 70,000 florins.

34 *PG* 159: 936. Cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 108; and Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 45.

35 *CC* 1: 150. On this tower, cf. *infra*, n. 277.

36 Lebek, pp. 110 ff. *OGN*, p. 194, reduces the inner wall to a length of 4,950 meters with ninety-four towers. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 265, places the extent at 5,632 meters. Mango, "Constantinople: Walls," pp. 519–520, on the other hand, gives a length of 6 kilometers. See *infra*, n. 39, for his argumentation.

37 "The City-Walls of Istanbul," p. 462. Cf. *idem, Byzanz.*

38 Tsangadas, *passim.*

39 Mango, "Constantinople: Walls," 1: 519–520, believes that the Theodosian Walls extended from the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) to the Golden Horn, terminating about the Blakhernai Palace. This is quite probable, though problematic, because little physical evidence of such an extension beyond the Porphyrogenite palace has survived and the area is heavily crowded with residences. It is unlikely that the architects of the Theodosian Walls would simply terminate the walls about Tekfur Saray and leave the area to the north, to the Golden Horn, exposed and without some means of adequate defense.

Many scholars, whether knowingly or unwittingly, have assumed that there was an extension of the outer walls and moat from the Adrianople Gate to the Porphyrogenite Palace, and have depicted on their maps of the land walls a prolongation of the outer wall, including the moat, from the Adrianople Gate and to Tekfur Saray. Our visual survey of this sector and research on our sources demonstrate that there is neither physical nor textual evidence proving the existence of an outer wall beyond the Adrianople Gate and all such claims are untenable. Even the moat, as we shall note below, does not extend beyond the Adrianople Gate to Tekfur Saray. Further, our visual survey of the walls from Tekfur Saray to the ruins of the Blakhernai Palace again demonstrates that there was neither outer wall nor moat in the area. The geography of the region would have made these very difficult, if not impossible, to construct and maintain.

40 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 53 and 55; and Tsangadas, pp. 12 f. For a depiction of these walkways, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, end piece: "Approximate Section and Restoration of the Walls of Theodosios the Second." This cross-section has been frequently reproduced in a number of publications since its first appearance.

41 For an extended discussion of the moat, cf. Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, pp. 7–13; and Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 55–58. Tsangadas, pp. 13–15, follows these authors closely.

42 The Church of Saint George existed at this site until 1556, when the Greek Orthodox community was relocated several blocks to the north and a grand mosque, the Mihrimah Camii, replaced the original church site.

43 "The Formation of the East Roman Empire, 330–717," in *The Cambridge Medieval*

*History*, 4: *The Byzantine Empire*, part 1: *Byzantium and Its Neighbours*, ed. Joan M. Hussey *et al.* (Cambridge, 1966): 9; also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 46.

44 Our main focus, hereafter, is upon the inner wall that was the primary line of defense in this sector, although the Byzantines and their allies elsewhere manned the outer wall extensively. The moat walls are regarded as ancillary to the question and were of little consequence in the sector of the Mesoteikhion, that is, from the Gate of Saint Romanos to the Adrianople Gate. The moat walls, not particularly high—less than two meters, had been largely destroyed through aging, normal deterioration, and natural disasters as earthquakes and floods. On the Mesoteikhion, cf. Hanak, "The Constantinopolitan *Mesoteikhion* in 1453," pp. 69–98.

45 Hereafter, the differentiations of Runciman, *FC, passim*, regarding a civil Gate of Saint Romanos and a military Gate of Saint Romanos will not be retained, because we are not in agreement with his distinctions, as we shall develop below.

46 Pears, p. 240; and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 278. These inclusive *termini* have also been accepted by A. Ersen, "Physical Evidence Revealed during the Cleaning and the Excavation of the Outer Wall of the Land Walls of Constantinople at the Porta Romanus," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23 (1999): 105.

47 *PaL* 2: 115.

48 Tsangadas, p. 19. His reference to a middle wall in this context is confusing. Rather, he must have intended to say middle section.

49 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 84–85. For an extensive discussion of the sources with reference to the Polyandros or Myriandros Gate, see Th. Preger, "Studies zur Topographie Konstantinopels, I. Das Tor Πολύανδρος oder Μυριάνδρος,"," *BZ* 14 (1905): 272–276.

50 W. Kleiss, *Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan von Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1965), p. 6.

51 Schneider, *Byzanz, passim*, and esp. his map.

52 Tsangadas, pp. 90–91; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 278–280.

53 For another perspective of the extensive dimensions of the city and the lengths of each of its triangular sides, cf. Balard, "Constantinople," p. 171.

54 For an excellent chart listing the confusion of civil gate nomenclatures that appear in the sources of the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, among them Gyllius, Du Cange, Skarlatos, Déthier, Mordtmann, and Van Millingen, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 11. Although unknown to these authors, for a 1784 description, cf. *Federico Gravina: Descripción de Constantinopla*, ed. J. M. Sánchez Molledo (Madrid, 2001), *passim*.

55 Cf. *infra*, pp. 319–326.

56 On this gate, cf., among others, Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 75–81; Müller-Wiener, pp. 297–298; and Freely and Çakmak, pp. 44–47. After the naval battle of April 20 and the subsequent transfer of the Ottoman boats to the Golden Horn, which necessitated a redeployment of the defenders' scanty forces, the sector of the Golden Gate was defended by the Venetian Contarini; cf. Leonardo, *CC* 1: 140–150: *Catarinus inter Venetos clarissimus Contareno capitaneus Aureae portae et adiacentis turris usque oram maris, viriliter pondus sustinens, hostes impugnat.* Pusculo (*CC* 1: 206) agrees: *Huic* [*sc. Aurea porta*] *Catarinus adest Venetum de gente vetusta / Constantina, illi parebat multa iuventus.* Joannis Leunclavius in his 1587 book, *Joannis Leunclavii Pandectes Historiae Turcicae…*, provides the following information on this sector, the Golden Gate and the Heptapyrgion/*Yedi Kule* (*PG* 159: 875–876): *Aurea porta nunc* [*sc.* 1587]*, etiam reliqua conspicitur, sed obstructa, nec id quod audit, aurea: satis elegans tamen, expressos e marmore continens agones sive labores Herculis, artificio non vulgari…ad tertium urbis angulum Heptapyrgianum: occidentale vero tertium latus ab omnibus aquis immune, terrestri muro claudit urbem, qui juxta sinum Ceratinum a Pentepyrgio incipiens, ad Heptapyrgium juxta Propontidem desinit.* Cf. Appendix IV:

"Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 40.

57 The form Ξηροκέρκου appears in the *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 598B. Cf., among others, Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, p. 69 (who names this gate "Melandesia," and who further observes the good preservation of the nearby towers: Εἴς τινας πύλας, καθὼς τὴν Μελανδησίαν (Μεβλεβὴ-χανὲ-γενὶ-καπουσοῦ)…σώζονται [*sc.* πύργοι] ἄσχιστοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι. For added textual confusion, cf. ʻΠάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως III,' in Th. Preger, ed., *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum, 2* (Leipzig, 1907; repr. in Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum [Leipzig, 1989]): 139 (p. 259).

58 Déthier, *Der Bosphor*, p. 52; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, so indicated on his frontispiece map of the Theodosian Walls, but with qualifications in the text; cf. pp. 74–75. This contradiction is further examined below. The sector from the Pege Gate to the Golden Gate was defended by Cataneo; cf. Leonardo (*CC* 1: 148): *Mauritius inde Cataneus, vir nobilis Genuensis, praefectus inter portam Pighi, id est Fontis, usque ad Auream cum ducentis balistariis commixtis etiam Graecis contra ligneum castrum…decertat.* Cf. Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 40. Pusculo fails to mention Cataneo and assigns this command to the Greek Nikolaos Goudeles and to Battista Gritti (*CC* 1: 206): *Creduntur, Nicolae, tibi, praefecte, Gudello, / cui cognomen erat, Pegaeae limina portae. / Haud illo inferior Grittus Baptista fidelis / iungitur huic socius, Venetum decus.* On the action in this sector, the target of siege towers, cf. *infra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets," sec. II.

59 For references in the sources, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 64. Noteworthy for the reign of Justinian I and reference to this location is the extensive passage in ʻΠάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως III," 142 (pp. 259–260). Cf. the information supplied by Leunclavius on this gate (with some confusion), *PG* 159: 875: *Inde pervenitur ad decimam sextam, videlicet Silyvriae vel Selybriae portam, quae a priscis* χρυσῆ *porta, vel aurea porta nominabatur. et porta fontis. Nam extra portam hanc est hodieque [sc. ca.* 1587*] fons, qui* χρυσοπηγη *vel aureus fons a Graecis antiquo nomine dicitur, celebris in eorum historiis, quae saepenumero palatii* πηγῆς *sive fontis mentionem faciunt, et templi Deiparae virginis ad* πηγήν *sive fontem. Interpres Cedrini plerumque Pegen et in Pege rediddit. Aedificia nunc [sc. ca.* 1587*] diruta sunt, fundamentis adhuc exstantibus et ipso fonte: quem hodieque Graecorum vulgus* χρυσοπηγὴν *appelat, et invisere magno consursu, certo anni tempore, veluti si Deiparae virginis templum adhuc incolume staret, consuevit.* Leunclavius adds later in his narrative that this gate was the "fifth." The rationale behind his enumeration is not clear, as sometimes he begins at the northwest, after a discussion of the gates by the sea walls, but at this point he seems to start his enumeration from the south at the Golden Gate and the Heptapyrgion. Cf. *PG* 159: 878: *Quinta [sc. porta] Graecis* πέμπτη *fuisse dicta narratur, quod numero quinta scilicet inter portas esset terrestres. Olim Auream portam vocavere, nunc Silyvrianam appellari ostendimus.*

60 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 66.

61 *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. H. Beckby, 4 vols. (Munich, 1857–1958), 9.691; *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 1 (Leipzig, 1883): 230.

62 Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique*, p. 15. It is possible that this is Leunclavius' "fifteenth gate"; *PG* 159: 875: *Proxima secundum hanc [sc. portam S. Romani] est decima quinta [sc. porta], Turcis Geni capi, Graecis* νέα πόρτα, *quod portam novam significat.* He seems to think that this gate was of more recent construction, perhaps because of its name; cf. *PG* 159: 878: *Quod autem Geni capi sive nova porta non commemoratur, inter porta S. Romani et auream* [= Silivri Kapi and not the Golden Gate] *sita, propterea fit, quod nulla tunc fuerit, posterioribus scilicet exstructa temporibus, ut ipsum nomen innuit.*

63 The latter three terms appear respectively: Μυριάνδρον in Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1401–1477*, ed. Grecu, 253b (p. 396); *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. Reinsch, A 26 (1) (p. 41); and *Patria Constantinopoleos*, 2: 182. For Πολυάνδριον, cf. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 719.B; and *Patria Constantinopoleos* 182. For Κοιλίανδρον, cf. *Patria Constantinopoleos* 2: 182. For the controversies concerning the designation of *Polyandros*, cf. Tsangadas, pp. 90–92. These terms and the gate are also discussed by Leunclavius, who also takes into account the testimony of Leonardo, as well as his own personal inspection of the walls; cf. *PG* 159: 878: *Tertia [sc. porta]* πολίανδρος, *ab hominum multitudine dicta. Quippe traditum in historiis legimus, et in hoc ipso de aedificiis urbis libro, Theodosium minorem Augustum terrae motu collapsos urbis muros terrestres curasse per Cyrum praefectum urbanum instaurari: cujus quidem ea fuerit in opera maturando et urgendo sedulitas, ut intra sexagesimum diem absolutum fuerit. Hoc autem in opere, cum una populi pars ab angulo Pentepyrgiano, altera vero ab angulo adverso Heptapyrgiano muros condere coepisset: ad hanc demum portam pars utraque suis perfectis operis convenit, eaque de causa porta* πολύανδρον, *appellata fuit, ab hominum multitudine, qui tunc istic convenerunt. Nunc Hadrian-opolitanam vocari diximus. Et est illius in profecto situs, ut medium in muro terrestri locum occupet, id quod equidem diligenter observavi. Nam cum ab acropoli Pentepyrgiana, propter fossas muri terrestris, ad angulum vel acropolis Heptapyrgianam ituro, necesse sit unius horae spatium impendere: tantumdem temporis Pentepyrgio requiritur ad Portam Hadrianopolitanam, quantam ab easdem ad portam Heptapyrgio proximam. Apud Leonardum Chiensem reperitur hac ipsa in urbis ac murorum parte locis arduus (ut appelat) Miliandri. Non alibi quaerat hunc lector, quam ad portam Hadrianopolitanam vel* μυριάνδρον, *correcto tamen prius vel enuntiationis vel scripturae vitio. Nam pro Miliandro equidem minime dubito reponendum* muriandron, *quod idem est cum* πολυάνδρῳ:*: sive adeo per inscitiam vulgi factum fuisse dicamus Miliandron ex Myriandro, sive per oscitantiam scriptoris librarii corruptum nomen existimemus.*

64 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 66–68.

65 For the substantial number of Byzantine sources that make reference to this gate as that of Saint Romanos, cf. *ibid.*, 2: 69. Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-İstanbul: Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. 18 (Berlin and New York, 2007), pp. 83–94, has transposed the location of the Gate of Saint Romanos to the site of the Fourth Military Gate. Cf. *infra*, n. 169.

The sector of Saint Romanos was defended by the best troops, the emperor himself and the company of the professional soldiers led by Giovanni Giustiniani. Cf. Leonardo, *CC* 1: 148: …*Johanne praefecto Justiniano…. Iuxta igitur se eodem capitaneo cum tercentis commilitonibus Genuensibus posito, splendidis refulgentibus armis, delectis quidem coadiunctis Graecis aliquot strenuis, circas illam partem murorum Sancti Romani reparatorum, ubi magis urgebat pugna, imperator stetit.* Cf. the information supplied in Leunclavius about this gate, *PG* 159: 875: *Sequitur decima quarta* [*sc. porta*]*, recenti vocabulo Turcico dicta Top capisi, quo significatur porta bombardaria, sive tormentorum bellicorum. Graeci ante captam a Barbaris urbem, nominabant S. Romani portam, sicut et Leonardus Chiensis et Chalcocondyles testantur: cujus tamen interpres Gallicus ex Sancti Romani porta facere portam Romanam fuit* *ausus. A bombardis eam Turcos arbitror appellasse, quod obsidionis tempore tormenta bellica praecipue fuerint huic opposita.*

66 Cf. the information supplied by Leunclavius on this gate (*supra*, n. 60), who also believes that the last stand on May 29, 1453, was made at this location. *PG* 159: 875: *Decima tertia est illa…quaeque nobis primam recensendi portas urbis praebuit. Vocatur autem Hadrianopolitana, quod Hadrianopoli recta venientes, urbem ingredi per eam soleant. In hac porta periit oppressus hominum turba Constantinus Dragases, ultimus Graecorum imperator.* For Byzantine source variations on this, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 70–71; and Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique*, pp. 17 and 23.

67 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 84, also applies the nomenclature of Πόρτα τοῦ Μυριάνδρου. On this, cf. Tsangadas, pp. 90–92. The sector of the Polyandros was ably defended by a volunteer company led by the Bocchiardi brothers; cf. Leonardo, *CC* 1: 148: *Paulus, Troilus, Antonius de Bochiardis fratres in loco arduo Miliandri, quo urbs titutabat, aere proprio et armis summa cum vigilantia noctu dieque…viriliter pugnam sustinent.* Pusculo places Leontaris Bryennios and the Creto-Venetian Fabrucci Corner and does not mention the Bocchiardis, *CC* 1: 208: *Charsaeam servans Lontarius gente Briena / gaudet de socio clara de gente, Fabruci, Cornaria.* Cf. Appendix IV: “Some Defenders and Non-Combatants,” nos. 15–17, 22, and 48.

68 For further confusion of these gate names and their possible locations, cf. J. Dallaway, “An Account of the Walls of Constantinople, in a Letter from the Rev. James Dallaway…to Samuel Lysons…,” *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 14 (London, 1803): 232 f.; and D. Essad [Jalal Asad], *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul* (Paris, 1909), pp. 70–71. After Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels*, pp. 46 and 137, Mijatovich, pp. 142–143, attributes his conclusions to the former, stating: “To the right from the gate of St. Roman, in a northerly direction, was the gate called Charsias [*sic*].” Thus Mijatovich identifies the Charisios Gate with the Pempton, which is clearly in error. Mordtmann’s son, in his work, *Esquisse topographique*, esp. pp. 16 ff., appears to refute his father regarding the location of the Charisios Gate, placing it at its proper location, that is, the Adrianople Gate. For a revised second edition of Mordtmann, *Belagerung and Eroberung Constantinopels*, cf. *idem*, *Ἡ Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἐν ἔτει 1453*… (Athens, 1893).

69 The most recent studies are C. Mango, “The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate,” *DOP* 54 (2000): 173–186; *idem*, “Golden Gate,” *ODB* 2: 858–859; Guberti Bassett, pp. 117–133; and T. Macridy and S. Casson, “Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople,” *Archaeologia* 81 (1931): 63–84. Older, but still valuable, are Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, pp. 75 and 77; Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 39–62, and esp. 41 f., for the major Byzantine sources relative to the gate; and Müller-Wiener, pp. 297–300. For a restatement of the known evidence, cf. Freely and Çakmak, pp. 44–47.

70 C. du Fresne Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana, seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae*… (Paris, 1680), Book 1, pp. 50 ff.

71 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 63. For an extended discussion of this question, that is the date and initiator of the construction, cf. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, pp. 269–270.

72 Mango, “Golden Gate,” 2: 858; *idem*, “The Triumphal Way,” p. 179, n. 45.

73 Guberti Bassett, p. 117. It is curious that of the major studies of the Theodosian Walls, neither Van Millingen, Janin, Meyer-Plath and Schneider, nor Tsagandas, speak of the two major construction phases. It is clear that the inner wall was built about 412 and the outer in 447, to which Guberti Bassett makes no specific

reference. The source or sources for her statement, especially for the year 422, are unclear from her text.

74 For the ornamentation at the Golden Gate, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 64–66; Gyllius, pp. 215–216; Byrd, pp. 81–82 and 457–458; and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 271–272. Most recently, cf. Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, 2004), esp. p. 119, and *passim*.

75 On this, cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, pp. 500 and 506.

76 *Georges Pachymérès, Relations Historiques, Livres IîIII*, ed. A. Failler, CFHB 24/1 (Paris, 1984): Book 2, 150.

77 For a detailed study of the repairs to the outer gate at the Golden Gate complex, cf. Guberti Bassett, pp. 117–133.

78 *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 80, and 467–468.

79 For a brief history of and bibliography on the fortress, cf. Müller-Wiener, pp. 337–341.

80 On Khitrovo, cf. Doukas, *Historia Turco-byzantina*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), pp. 75–77; and *Ducae Michaelis nepotis historia Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1834), pp. 47–49. For a significant description of this fortress of John V, cf. Barker, *ManuelIIPalaeologus*, p. 546. For a Russian traveler's interpretation of the Byzantine fortress at the Golden Gate, cf. the account of Ignatius of Smolensk, in Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 102–105, and Majeska's commentaries on other Russian travel sources, pp. 410 ff.

81 *Ioannis Cantacuzeni imperatoris historiarum libri IV*, ed. J. Schopen, 3 (Bonn, 1832): Book 4, 293, 301, and 302. Cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 70 f.

82 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: figs. 10–12, pp. 46–47; cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, who on the plate opposite p. 60, provides the same metric dimensions as Meyer-Plath and Schneider, but substantially modifies these dimensions on p. 70, n. 2, wherein he cites: "the southern tower projects 55 feet 7 inches from the wall, and is 60 feet 5 inches broad; the corresponding dimensions of the northern tower are 55 1/2 feet, and 60 feet 4 inches." Neither Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 268 ff., nor Tsangadas,*passim*, provide any dimensions for the Golden Gate facility.

83 *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 72–73.

84 *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 78.

85 *Esquisse topographique*, p. 13.

86 Pp. 17–18, placing the *New Gate* "between the second and third towers north of the Golden Gate…."

87 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 60.

88 Book 1, ch. 20, pp. 55–57.

89 Freely and Çakmak, p. 53, make a brief reference to the gate with no further elaboration.

90 Book 4, cap. 4 (p. 201). The Whitbys *(Chronicon Paschale*, Appendix 2, p. 194), cite a tenth-century Vatican variant of the *Chronicle Paschale* that includes an insertion of the "Great Chronographer": "In the reign of Zeno, an earthquake occurred in Rhodes and destroyed its *gymnasia* and all the beauty of the city. And not long afterwards [478], in autumn, a great earthquake occurred at Byzantium [Constantinople] so that many houses, churches, and porticoes fell down; countless multitudes of men too were buried…. The said earthquake persisted for 30 days continuously, with the result that a considerable part of the walls also fell down, all the towers and many buildings were overturned, and the city stank from the corpses; and the areas outside the city and the Golden Gates were all demolished."

91 Ed. Dindorf, pp. 726–727; and eds. Whitby, p. 182.

92 Ed. Classen, p. 175; eds. Mango and Scott, p. 175. Mango and Scott raise the question of whether Stoudios was awarded a consulship after the foundation of the monastery, hence making the date of 447 more credible rather than their date of 462/463.

93 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 146–147.

94 *Ibid.*, wherein, pl. 2, he correctly places the facility more distant from the Golden Gate, on a line and closer to the civil Xylokerkos Gate. The monastery later became the Imrahor Mosque, but ruins of the church have survived. Cf. Dark and Özgümüs, *Istanbul Rescue Archaeological Survey, 1998*, p. 5.

95 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 148–149, and his commentary, pp. 316–318, wherein he identifies Saint Eudokimos as “the Younger.” For comparative purposes, cf. *ODB* 2: 740, which does not distinguish between a younger and elder saint.

96 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 146–147, and 313–314, wherein he notes that the church is a sixth-century foundation, but was still in existence in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.

97 For extensive sources that make reference to this gate, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 63, who also draw our attention to its similarity to the Kerkoporta about the Porphyrogenite Palace, which gate we shall discuss more substantially in Appendix III. Bury, in Gibbon, 7: 182, n. 38, draws attention to the Kerkoporta that is also known as the Xylokerkos. Also, Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 440–441, who provides variant uses of this name for other gates and locations within the imperial city.

98 *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 74–75.

99 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 63, and the charts of the Theodosian Walls as end plates.

100 Tsangadas, p. 18. For recent finds, a sculpture and building perhaps housing local militia immediately to the north of the gate, cf. F. Dark and F. Özgümüs, *Istanbul Rescue Archaeological Survey, 1999. The Districts of Balat and Ayvansaray. First Prelimiary Report, 1999* (*sine loco, sine anno*), p. 13.

101 For a brief account of the saint, cf. *OBD* 2: 1389–1390, with accompanying bibliography. For citations regarding the church in Russian travelers’ accounts, cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 317, 325, and 328.

102 For a comprehensive list of sources that mention this gate, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 64.

103 For recent discoveries at the monastery, cf. Dark and Özgümüş, *First Preliminary Report, 1998*, p. 9. Although her approach in this essay is quantitative, cf. Alice-Mary Talbot, “The Anonymous *Miracula* of the Pege Shrine in Constantinople,” *Palaeoslavica* 10/2 (2002): 222–228.

104 Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, p. 52 (Inscription no. 25); Paspates reasonably restores the text as follows: Ἰω(άννου) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ αὐτοκράτορος τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κατὰ μῆνα Ἰανουάριον τοῦ ς ϡΜΖ ἔτους [*anno mundi*, i.e., 1439 AD]. Also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 105; and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 275. In Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 128, inscription 20, we find a different dedication on the south tower: + Ἀνεκαινίσθη ἡ θεόσωστος πύλη αὕτη τῆς ζωοδ[ό]χου πηγῆς διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου Μανουὴλ Βρυεννίου τοῦ Λεοντάρι· ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων Ἰωάννου καὶ Μαρίας τῶν Παλαιολόγων, ἐν μηνὶ Μαΐῳ [ἰνδικτιῶν]ος α΄ ἐν ἔτει ,ς ϡμϲ΄. The following translation for the passage is provided by Essad, p. 70: “Cette porte de la fontaine vivifiante, protégée par Dieu, fut réparée avec le concours et aux frais de Manuel Bryenne Leontaris, le loyal serviteur de l’empire des très pieux empereurs, Jean et Marie Paléologue, au mois de mai 6946 = 1438.” Modern scholarship has not sufficiently addressed the question of the two inscriptions; rather, they simply note one that is cited by Van

Millingen and Janin.

105 Cf. M. İ. Tunay, "Byzantine Archaeological Findings in Istanbul during the Last Decade," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, pp. 217–220.

106 For sources and further descriptions of the gate, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 65–68.

107 E. Mamboury, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul et ses environs," *Byz* 21 (1951): 428–429.

108 Attempts, especially by Déthier and Essad, have been made to identify the gate with the Rus' attack and treaty of 912, hence with the Slavs. Cf. Essad, p. 70. Stratonice appears to be a Slavic appellation, but may be a derivative of *strategos* (στρατηγός); hence this may well have been a church associated with a military facility.

109 The *ODB*, 2: 1094, identifies a Syrian, Kallinikos, who fled to Constantinople in the late seventh century and who is associated with the "Greek fire." Cf. J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 12–14.

110 Mamboury, p. 429; and A. Ogan and A. M. Mansel, "Fouilles de Rhegium—Küçük Çekmece Hafriyati. Rappoport préliminaire sur les travaux de 1940–1941," *Belleten* 6 (1942): 21–22.

111 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 79–80, states that there were seven inscriptions— five on the gateway and two on the south tower; Meyer-Palth and Schneider, 2: 132–134, record only six inscriptions and only these are visible at present. The discrepancy may be resolved since one inscription on the gateway is indistinct and therefore unreadable. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 276–278, notes only two inscriptions, one recording the repairs of John VIII in October 1437, and the second honoring the earlier renovations of Leo, Constantine, and Irene.

112 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 133; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 79; and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 277, who emended the inscription to read: Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν Θεοφυλάκτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ Ἡρίνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης ἡμῶν αὐγούστης. Earlier, Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 46 (no. 18), recorded the text as Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου, and compares it to another inscription that had been recorded on a column with the following text: Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Κωνσταντίνου Μεγάλου Βασιλέως τοῦ συστατικοῦ νικητοῦ καὶ Βενέτων εὐνοούντων.

113 For Byzantine and other sources relevant to this gate, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 69–70.

114 For a comprehensive list of Byzantine sources attesting to the existence of the church and naming of the Gate of Saint Romanos, cf. *ibid.*, 2: 69–70. For the derivation of the name, cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 461; Ersen, p. 104; and *PaL* 2: 113.

115 There are three other Romanoi, which complicates this discussion. First, R. Guilland, *Etudes de Topographie de Constantinople Byzantines*, Berliner Byzantinischen Arbeiten, Band 57/2 (Berlin, 1969): 99, appears to favor identification of the church with Romanos the Melode, a sixth-century Syrian hymnographer. Guilland analyzes extensively the location of the palace of Anthemius and its physical relationship to the church τοῦ Κύρου. Equally complicating the question are two other Palestinian martyrs named Romanos, whose feast days are jointly celebrated on November 18, and both of whom are identified with the persecutions and their executions at the hands of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian. For this, see further *Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, ed. S.

Eustratiades (Athens, *sine anno*), pp. 410–411. Further, see "Ρωμανός," in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 10 (Athens, 1967): 924–925, with extensive bibliography. Useful is the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, ed. F. Halkin, 2 (3rd ed., Bruxelles, 1957): 226, which is predisposed to identify Romanos' feast day as November 18, although the saint is also associated with Antioch and the Palestinian martyrdoms.

116 Du Cange, p. 135. Cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 81.

117 Du Cange, p. 135.

118 A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Poikila Byzantina 8 (Bonn, 1988): 667–669.

119 Cf. Banduri, esp. part iii (p. 55).

120 Ersen, p. 104; however, he misstates that the Church of Saint Romanos later became known as the Church of the Prophet Daniel.

121 Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 461.

122 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 316 ff.

123 Varinlioğlu, *passim*, establishes that by 1453, due to depopulation of the imperial city, only one female and four male monasteries remained active establishments. On the question of gradual depopulation of Constantinople, cf. K. Dark, "The Distribution and Density of Occupation in Byzantine Constantinople 1100–1453," in Kate Giles and C. Dyer, eds., *Town and Country in the Middle Ages. Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100–1500*, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 22 (London, 2005): esp. 19 ff.

124 J. von Hammer, *Constantinople und der Bosporos, Örtlich und Geschichtlich*, 1 (Pest, 1822; repr. Osnabrück, 1967): 472, identifies the church as that of Saint Nicholas prior to its reconstruction. For earlier reconstructions of the church, cf. R. Janin, "Les églises byzantines Saint-Nicholas à Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient* 35/168 (1932): 417–418. Paradoxically, Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 218, has only a passing interest in the Church of Saint Romanos and its successors.

125 Müller-Wiener, esp. p. 290.

126 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 316 ff.

127 Müller-Wiener, p. 487.

128 Cf. Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, end plate.

129 Schneider, *Byzanz*, p. 45.

130 Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 381 ff., esp. 389, and 461–465.

131 Müller-Wiener, p. 487.

132 Schneider, *Byzanz, passim*, appears to offer the most accurate nomenclatures for the two structures, that is Saint Nicholas as an Armenian Orthodox church, and Saint George as a Greek Orthodox church. However, on our most recent survey of the edifices (2003), a Turkish construction worker identified both structures as Saint Nicholas, which seems improbable, although not out of the realm of possibilities. Churches on monastic estates could have borne identical names for ecclesiastical structures or the site, including both churches, could commonly be known as Saint Nicholas.

133 Mijatovich, p. 143. The fact is that Emperor Constantine XI was in the vicinity, as he seems to have attached himself to the *condottiere* Giustiniani, and his headquarters, according to Pusculo, consisted of a tent erected in the critical sector of Saint Romanos-Pempton and that is exactly where the emperor was when Mehmed II launched his final assault of May 29: *intra tentoria* (4.1008 [p. 81, not in *CC* 1]). There is no reason to doubt the evidence supplied by this reliable eyewitness.

134 On this, cf. the edition of Philippides, Sphrantzes, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, esp. ch. 35, where such a textual entry would appear, but does not. Also

valuable for a resolution of this misstatement, cf. *Minus*, esp. pp. 96–99, which shows no evidence of Mijatochich’s citation. On this, cf. Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωσταντινουπόλεως*, pp. 43, 51, and esp. p. 145.

135 Doukas, ed. Grecu, 39.8; cf. H. Magoulias, trans., *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks, An Annotated Translation of “Historia Turco-Byzantina”* (Detroit, 1975), 39.8 (p. 222). These generalities, which are commonplaces in Byzantine sources for the period in question, are also reflected in Doukas’ *Historia Byzantina*, ed. Bekker, 37.3–12 (p. 263). Cf. *CC* 2: 183 (24).

136 Nestor-Iskander (Hanak and Philippides), *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 22 (pp. 40–41), gives the number as 600, while other sources reduce the number to 400 or raise it to 800.

137 For the text of his chronicle of events, cf *Giornale dell’ assedio di Costantinopoli 1453 di Nicolò Barbaro*, p. 21 [CC 1: 14–15]; for an English translation, cf. Jones, *Nicolò Barbaro, Diary of the Siege of Constantinople*, p. 30. [*Bold italics ours*.]

138 Pears, p. 293, n. 2.

139 Cf. Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, p. 24.

140 *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae* 23.1.29–32 (p. 39). Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, p. 25, quotes the text, translates it, and also interpolates it accordingly: Μεχεμέτης στρατοπεδεύεται πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἐγγύς που τοῦ τείχους ὅσα ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις τοῦ ἁγίου Ρωμανοῦ(“Mehemed s’établit devant la ville, à 4 stades du mur, vis-à-vis de la porte de Saint-Romain”). Mordtmann, correctly, should have rendered this “les portes,” in the plural. But Kritoboulos has posed an interesting question. He is the only source to write of two Gates of Saint Romanos. Is this, then a scribal error, or does he have access to sources unknown to us? Further, when he speaks of “the gates of Saint Romanos,” could he be inferring the Fourth Military Gate, which logically makes more sense because of the damage done there by the great cannon, rather than the Fifth Military Gate, the Pempton, which was enclosed by a wooden stockade? It is probable that he meant the Fourth Military Gate, which evidences below it extensive damage caused by the stone shot.

141 *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae* 26.1.27–30 (p. 41). Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, p. 25, has further confused the text, quoting as follows: Μεχεμέτης δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατόπεδον θέμενος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Μεσοτείχιον καὶ τὸ Μυριάνδριον οὐ πόῤῥω τοῦ τείχους (*Le sultan s’établit juste devant le centre de la ligne des fortifications près du* Μεσοτείχιον *et du* Μυριάνδριον). Mordtmann’s translation is a paraphrase of the Greek.

142 Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 52 (pp. 68–69).

143 Ersen, pp. 105 ff., who conducted archaeological excavations and concentrated on towers 61 and 62, which are situated just below the Gate of Saint Romanos, emphasizes the importance of this sector. He establishes the damage caused to the inner wall by stone shot, the existence of simple burial sites and crypts, as well as Christian grave markers. For a brief notice of recent excavations, cf. Tunay, pp. 220–223.

144 Cf. *Joannis Leunclavii Pandectes Historiae Turcicae…*, col. 875.

145 On the importance of the great cannon, cf. Leonardo of Chios, *PG* 159: col. 929, who writes: *Bombarda praterea illa ingens, eo quod Caligaream strenue reparatam adversus non proficeret, alium locum Bactatineae turris, juxta Sancti Romani portam inde dimota….* Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 18, translates the passage: “Since their great cannon had not succeeded in demolishing the walls by

Caligaria because of the energy with which repairs had been carried out, it was moved to another place by the Bactatinean Tower, near the Gate of Saint Romanos." For a discussion of the fuller text of Leonardo, cf. Moravcsik, "Bericht des Leonardus Chiensis," pp. 430–431; Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani," pp. 197 ff.; and F. Tinnefeld, "Zur Bedeutung schwerer Geschütze bei der Eroberung Konstantinopels im Jahr 1453," *Münchener Studien, Abteilung Mittelalterliche Geschichte* 7 (2001): 55 ff.

146 On the importance of the great cannon, cf. Laonikos Khalkokondyles, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum Libri Decem*, ed. Bekker, p. 395.

147 Ed. Darkó, 2/2: 152, lines 5–7. For a contrasting translation, cf. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 44.

148 E.g., Déthier, *Der Bosphor und Constantinople*, pp. 54–55, identifies the gates as follows: he places the Charisios at the site of the Pempton, but preserves the identification of the Adrianople as the Polyandrion. Perhaps the earliest mislabeling or confusion of gates following the fall of the city occurred first with D. Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire.* Part 1: *The Growth of the Othman Empire…from the Year 1300…*, trans. N. Tindal (London, 1734), Book 3, p. 98; and with Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano, *Descrizione Topografica dello state presente Di Constantinopoli…* (Bassano, 1794; and repr. Rome, 1992), p. 13. However, Essad, p. 71, does not make these erroneous distinctions nor does he mislocate them, identifying the Charisios with the Adrianople Gate, while preserving the Pempton as a military gate. For another misnaming and particularly an erroneous claim, cf. Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels*, pp. 44 and 46. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 83, dismisses these earlier inapplicable designations. Prior to Van Millingen, Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 71, had realized the idiosyncratic error of Mordtmann: Διά…ὀλίγων…λέξεων ὁ Κ. Μόρδτμαννἀνατρέπει πάσας τὰς περὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἀρχαίας παραδόσεις καὶ τῶν Βυζαντινῶν τὰ σαφῆ διηγήματα.

149 For the variations on its name or names, cf Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 70–71; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 281–282; and Tsangadas, pp. 20–21, and 184–185. For other misidentifications and particularly the erroneous claims of nineteenth-century scholars, cf. *supra*, n. 145.

150 The source for this attribution is *Anonymous*, in Banduri, part iii, p. 50; and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 329, with substantial Byzantine sources noted. Janin, however, identifies him as a leader of a faction of the Greens.

151 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 70.

152 Ch. Loparev, *De S. Theodoro* (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 9. Surprisingly, the *ODB* does not address this source.

153 Cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), p. 363.

154 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 37–38 (fig. 6, the plate 1.N.T. is reversed) and end plate 1 (which does not depict the eastern projection of the sea wall) present contrasting and dissimilar sketches of the postern and tower 1. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, foldout map, places the postern to the north of the pentagonal tower, and his location of this entry remains suspect. After Van Millingen, Tsangadas, pp. 16–17, notes: ".there is a postern immediately to the north of the first tower of the inner wall. It is an arched entrance.. It is next to the only pentagonal tower of the inner wall. This tower is connected with another small gate, which in all probabilty was the gate leading to the imperial pier at the sea." For a curious observation regarding this military gate as the "little Golden Gate" and the Golden Gate, cf. Déthier, *Der Bosphor und Constantinopel*, p. 51.

155 "Recent Work on the Land Walls of Istanbul: Tower 2 to Tower 5," *DOP* 54

(2000): maps following 228.

156 Cf. *supra*, p. 316.

157 *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 74–75. Cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 14 (for sources on the military gate and adjoining churches) and 63–64 (for descriptions of the gate).

158 For the most comprehensive treatment of this church and the sources that cite it and the military gate, cf. R. Janin, "Deutéron, Triton et Pempton. Etude de topographie byzantine," *Echos d'Orient. Revue trimestrielle d'Histoire de Géographie et de Liturgie orientales* 35 (1936): 205–214.

159 For brief treatments, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 77–78; Déthier, *Der Bosphor und Constantinopel*, pp. 52–53; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 64 and 66. As they stress, few Byzantine sources make reference to the military gate. A more adequate, but still brief, treatment is Janin, "Deutéron, Triton et Pempton," pp. 214–217; and *idem, Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 268 and 276.

160 For these inscriptions, cf. Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, p. 52 (nos. 24 and 25); Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 276; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 130.

161 For source citations, cf. Janin, "Deutéron, Triton et Pempton," pp. 214–215.

162 Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 68–69.

163 On the complex relations of George and John VIII, cf. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 368, 378, 380, 383–385, 394–395, and esp. 402 for the contribution of George for the maintenance of the city walls. For some comments on the inscription and repairs, cf. K.-P. Matschke, "Die Stadt Konstantinopel und die Dynastie der Palaiologen," in *idem, Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und Neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453* (Hamburg, 2008), pp. 65–66.

164 P. A. Déthier, *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques faites à Constantinople* (Constantinople, 1867), p. 5. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 135, comments upon Déthier's interpolation as "mit ganz phantastischer Ergänzung."

165 Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, p. 15. After Mordtmann, Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 80, states without noting the inscription: "The Fourth Military Gate stood between the ninth and tenth towers to the north of the Porta Rhousiou [Rhegium]. The northern corbel of the outer gateway is an inscribed stone brought from some other building erected by a certain Georgius." As noted above, Mordtmann believes the partial lintel was relocated from a church; however, the inscription is not typical of ecclesiastical lintels. Rather, it displays the style of remodeling lintels common to the period of John VIII and Constantine XI.

166 The Greek inscription should read: Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἦν πάνσεπτος ο(ὗτος ὁ ναὸς) Γεώργιος ἔτευξεν εὐ(τελὴς…).

167 Neslihan Asutay, "Die Entdecklung des Romanos-Tores an den Landmauern von Konstantinopel," *BZ* 96 (2003): 1–4, and appended photographs of the lintel. Cf. her *Die Landmaur von Konstantinopel-İstanbul*, pp. 83–94, for a further development of her argument that is predicated on the existence of an inscription upon a lintel at the Fourth Military Gate that reads: Πόρτα μέση εἰσφέρουσα ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον Ῥωμανόν. Two questions need to be addressed at this point: is the stone carving more recent, for its coloration and general weathering that do not contrast in the least to the aged and weathered stone at the Fourth Military Gate; and secondly, was it relocated to this site in the 1950s with the extension of the Millet Caddesi through the Theodosian Walls? To our knowledge, no archaeological excavations have been conducted at the site that

might provide some answers to these questions. But regarding the first question, she fails to clarify the Greek usage of *Πύλη* rather than *Πόρτα*, which is of Latin derivation and whose usage is more common after the Latin conquest in 1204. Lastly, we viewed a substantial number of maps of the area dating from the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries, and none shows a roadway leading to the Fourth Military Gate that would justify it being a civil gate.

168 Asutay, “Die Entdeckung des Romanos-Tores,” p. 2.

169 The most comprehensive architectural study to date is that of A. A. Pasadaios, *᾿Επὶ δύο Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ᾿Αγνώστου ᾿Ονομασίας*, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν ᾿Αθήναις ᾿Αρχαιολογικῆς ῾Εταιρείας ᾿Αριθ. 55 (Athens, 1965): 56–108. Cf. S. Eyice, *Son devir bizans mimârisi İstanbul’ da devri anitlari* [The End of the Byzantine Architectural Epoch. A Monument of the Istanbul Palaiologan Period] (Istanbul, 1980), pp. 34–38, with an extensive number of plates following. For a restatement of previous scholarship on the Manastir Mescidi, cf. Freely and Çakmak, pp. 228–230, and their accompanying plates 156–158. They claim that this structure is again “a working mosque” (p. 158), although during our survey of the mosque in 2003 we did not observe any religious activity.

170 Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, pp. 376–377. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, ch. 18 (pp. 262–264), draws extensively upon the work of Paspates. Müller-Wiener, pp. 84–85, provides a brief synopsis, giving a history and description of the structure. His bibliography, however, is quite complete, for he draws not only upon the standard Greek and western sources, but includes a substantial number of Turkish works that are not generally consulted.

171 Miklosich and Müller, 1: 221.

172 *Ioannis Cantacuzeni*, p. 255; and *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1855), pp. 407, 409.

173 Miklosich and Müller, 1: 221.

174 For the collective *vita* of the three sisters, cf. especially Symeon Metaphrastes, *PG* 115: cols. 653–666; further, Θρησκευτικὴ ᾿Αλήθεια 8 (Athens, 1966): 1124–1125, and 1130; and 9 (Athens, 1966): 632. Also, Halkin, 2: 115.

175 Cf. *supra*, pp. 319 ff.

176 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 263, identifies the mosque as *Kurkju Jamissi.*

177 *Ibid.*, pp. 262–263.

178 On *Örülü Kapi*, cf. Müller-Wiener, p. 187.

179 *Dialogus de Vita s. Joannis Chrysostomi, PG* 47: col. 34; “Vita s. Philareti,” ed. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzantion* 9 (1934): 159.18. Cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 70; and especially Janin, “Deutéron, Triton et Pempton,” pp. 217–219. For a brief explanation concerning the numbering of this gate, cf. “Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως III,” 138 (pp. 258–259).

180 *Dialogus de Vita s. Joannis Chrysostomi*, col. 34.

181 Such conditions have already been noted by Paspates in the nineteenth century; cf. his interesting comments in *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, pp. 33–34, who further points out recent acts of destruction: Τῷ 1868 …μέγα μέρος τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ τείχους, καὶ πάμπολλοι πύργοι, μέσον τῆς

Πύλης τοῦ Πέμπτου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ, κατηδαφίσθησαν διὰ σφηνῶν καὶ πυρίτιδος.... Ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ταύτης ἀνήγειραν οἱ Ὀθωμανοὶ σχολεῖον περιφανές, ὄπισθεν τοῦ αὐτο-κρατορικοῦ τεμένους Σελιμιέ.... Πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ πλησίον τῆς πύλης τοῦ Πέμπτου, ἐσώζετο μεγάλος πύργος, ὅστις ἀντὶ χιλίων γροσίων ἐπωλήθη συγχρόνως εἰς πολυτάλαντον Ὀθωμανόν, προτιθέμενον νὰ οἰκοδομήσῃ λίθινον μέγαρον. Ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων τοῦ πύργου τούτου ἀνωρύχθησαν πάμπολλα μάρμαρα ἐπιμήκη καὶ κυβικά, τῶν ὁποίων δώδεκα ἦσαν ἐνεπίγραφα...τὰ μὲν μάρμαρα, μετακομισθέντα ἀλλαχόσε, ἐλαξεύθησαν ἐκ νέου, αἱ δὲ ἐπιγραφαί, ἐπιμελῶς γραφεῖσαι, ἔγιναν παρανάλωμα τῆς φρικαλέας πυρκαϊᾶς τοῦ 1870.

Μετά τινα καιρὸν ἡ κατεδάφισις τῶν τειχῶν ἔπαυσε.

Schneider, "The City-Walls of Istanbul," p. 465.

182 Pears, p. 136, n. 1.

183 *Ibid.*, pp. 345–346; also Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, pp. 70–74, who earlier offered generally different thoughts from the conjectures of Pears and his argument of Turkish "reverse transference."

184 B. Granville Baker, *The Walls of Constantinople* (London, 1910; repr. New York, 1975), p. 219; Pears, p. 283. Among other scholars, cf. Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, pp. 23–24; and *PaL* 2: 114–116.

185 For her synaxarion, cf. *Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, p. 262; and *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 7: 1143–1144. The latter reproduces in black and white an icon of Saint Kyriake that is deposited in Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai.

186 Hammer, 1: 464.

187 Déthier, *Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques*, p. 4.

188 *Ibid.*

189 M. I. Gedeon, *Προικόννησος Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Παροικία Ναοὶ καὶ Μοναί* (Constantinople, 1895), p. 70.

190 Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, pp. 16 and 22.

191 John Kananos, *Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει γεγονότος πολέμου*, ' CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 462; also *PG* 146: col. 65 B.

192 Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, p. 351. He had earlier developed this idea in his *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, 3: 302.

193 For possible locations, cf. *supra:* Map 3 of the Mesoteikhion.

194 Cf. Hammer's maps.

195 Guilland, *Etudes de Topographie de Constantinople Byzantine*, p. 99.

196 Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, p. 263.

197 *Ibid.*, p. 351.

198 For his confusion of Ἁγ. Κυριακὴ and Κυριακοῦ (μονὴ τοῦ), cf. his *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, 3: 302.

199 Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, pp. 21 ff.

200 Pears, pp. 240, 269 n. 1, and 431.

201 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 82.

202 *Ibid.*, p. 82, n. 1; and cf. *supra*, p. 447.

203 Our most recent visual survey (May-June 2003) of the southern limits of Sulu Kule discovered no mosques in the area or the remains of any Christian or Islamic structures. The southern limits of Sulu Kule border on an extensive hospital

complex, which may have incorporated the sites of Saint Kyriake and the mosques.

204 E. Mamboury, “Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul et dans sa banlieue immédiate aux XIX$^{e}$ et XX$^{e}$ siècles,” *Byzantion* 11 (1936): 272–273. Cf. A. Müfti, *Istanbul Asariatika Müzeleri Neşriyati* [The Publications of the Ancient Monuments of the Istanbul Museum] (1934). More recently, significant preliminary archaeological studies in the Sulu Kule area have identified additional remains from the Byzantine era. Cf. F. Özgümüş, “İstanbul Fatih İlçesi Sufular, İskenderpaşa, Hasan Halife, Muhtesip İskender, Keçeci Karabaş, Sulukule Mahalleleribde Yaplan 2002 Yılı Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştirmala [2002 Archaeological Field Surveys at Sofular, İskenderpaşa, Hasan Halife, Muhtesip İskender, Keçeci Karabaİ, and Sulukule in Fatih, İstanbul],” in *21. Araçtırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, 26–31 Mayıs 2003. Ankara*. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanliği Yayınları, 2996-2/Kültür varıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yarınları, 98, 2 vols. (Ankara, 2004): 136 and 141, fig. 8.

205 Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 24 (pp. 42–43); Leonid, p. 12.

206 In Déthier and Hopf, 2/1: 1047–1122.

207 *Ibid.*, p. 1065. He further concludes, *ibid.*, 22: 432, that the Gate of Saint Romanos was not Top Kapı, but the Pempton.

208 For this reidentification and relocation of the Gate of Saint Romanos, we should not attribute this confusion solely to Nicolò Barbaro, a Venetian physician who spent much of the period of the siege aboard a ship in the Golden Horn. Déthier and his interpreters have contributed immensely to this misjudgment. See *supra* the sections on the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Gate of the Pempton for a further discussion.

209 Pears, pp. 429 ff He incorrectly gives the number of battlements as *five*, whereas Nestor-Iskander cites the number as *seven*. Cf. Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 24 (pp. 42–43).

210 Pears, p. 433. [*Italics ours*.]

211 Gibbon, 7: 186, n. 46. [*Italics ours*.]

212 *FC*, p. 91. [*Italics ours*.]

213 *Ibid.*, p. 218, n. 1. [*Italics ours*.] D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (New York, 1972; 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1993), p. 409, states: “The struggle was fiercest at the gate called the Gate of St. Romanos.” He judiciously avoids being drawn into a discussion of the controversies concerning the civil and military gates of Saint Romanos, unlike earlier English scholars.

214 For a brief discussion of the presence or the absence of defensive fortifications in the northwest, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 116 ff.

215 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Classen, pp. 568 and 592.

216 *Symeon Magistri ac Logothetae Annales*, in *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, and Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1838), p. 618. Also, V. I. Sreznevskij, Симеона Метафраста и Логоѳета списаніе міра отъ бытія и лѣтовникъ собранъ отъ различныхъ лѣтописецъ. Славянскій переводъ хроники Симеона Логоѳета [Symeon Metaphrastes and Logothetes Account of the World from Existence and an Annal Gathered from Various Chronicles. The Slavonic Translation of the Chronicle of Symeon Logothetes] (St. Petersburg, 1905); reprs., *idem, Slavjaskij perevod chroniki Simeona Logotheta* [London, 1971]; and *idem, Die Chronik de Symeon Metaphrastes und Logothetes*, Slavische Propyläen 99 [Munich, 1971]).

217 For the construction, reconstruction, and subsequent repairs, cf. Müller-Wiener, pp. 308–310; Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 121–123; Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 285–286; Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 19 and 92–99; and *idem*, Πολιορκία, pp. 35, 38–39, and 45–47.

218 The *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, pp. 702–703, records for 612 the death of Augusta Eudokia on Sunday, August 13. Further, this passage relates that she had

died “at the suburban palace of Blachernai,” and her body was transported by boat “to the Palace in the city.” Cf. Whitby and Whitby, p. 154.

219 *Notitia, ad. Reg.* XIV, in *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia Urbis Constantinopoli* (Berlin, 1876). On the historical and archaeological difficulties of studying the walls in this sector, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 1: 100 ff.; and Tsangadas, pp. 75–76.

220 The most recent study of Herakleios’ reign and the combined threat is that of W. E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003). Especially significant are pp. 134–141; however, Kaegi does not address the need for a defensive wall about Blakhernai. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Classen, pp. 487 ff.; *ibid.*, Mango and Scott edition, pp. 448 ff.; and *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, pp. 715–726. The hostilities at this sector are addressed by especially by F. Barisic, “Le Siège de Constantinople par les Avares et les Slaves en 626,” *Byz* 24 (1954): 371–395; also Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, esp. p. 166; and Tsangadas, pp. 23–27.

221 Cf., the *Chronicon Pachale*, ed. Dindorf, esp. pp. 724–725, and 726. This source emphasizes that a wall was built “around the Church of Our Lady, the Mother of God, outside the so-called Pteron,” wherein was deposited the girdle of the *Theotokos*. Also, Whitby and Whitby, pp. 178–181. Procopius, *De Ædificis*, in *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, ed. J. Haury, 3/2 (Leipzig, 1913): 1.c.3, relates: πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου, ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις.

222 On Krum’s wars and relations with Byzantium and the Slavs, especially noteworthy are J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 94–106; F. Dvornik, *Les Slavs, Byzance et Rome au IX$^{e}$ siècle* (Paris, 1926), *passim*; and *idem, The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, 1956), *passim*. Cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 102–104; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 166–174; and Paspates, *Πολιορκία*, p. 36.

223 Tsangadas, p. 27 f.; and for the repairs, Foss and Winfield, pp. 66–67.

224 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 168, holds the “the Wall of Leo stands 77 feet to the West of the Wall of Heraclius, running parallel to it for some 260 feet….” Tsangadas, p. 27, very closely after Van Millingen, states “this wall of Leo V stands about seventy-five feet to the west of the wall of Heraclius, running parallel to it for about 250 feet.. ” Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 100 ff., do not address these particular points.

225 One of the most confusing aspects in secondary literature is the placement of the Pteron, which infers a two-sided fortification, among numerous other definitions in classical and Byzantine sources. The Pteron has been identified with the Herakleion-Leonine citadel, but whether this identification is valid remains unresolved in modern scholarship. For the issues linked to the placement of the Pteron, cf. Tsangadas, pp. 29–32, and *passim*.

226 Notable for limited or no attention are Janin, *Constantinople byzantine;* and Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*.

227 For a brief history of the wall of Manuel Komnenos, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 122 f.

228 Cf. Foss and Winfield, pp. 42 ff. and 56 ff.; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 109–114. For an expanded description of the high arches and buttresses in the arcades, cf. Tsangadas, p. 164.

229 For a most recent and cogent study of this sector and its relationship to the XIV$^{th}$ Region, cf. C. Mango, “Le mystère de la XIV$^{e}$ région de Constantinople,” in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, Travaux et Mémoires 14 (Paris, 2002): 449–455.

230 For the difficult topography of the Blakhernai region, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 104–105; and A. M. Schneider, “Die Blachernen,” *Oriens* 4/1 (1951): 80–120.

231 Cf. their sketch of the walls about the Blakhernai district, p. 247. For a contrast, cf. “Sketch Plan of the Blachernae Quarter,” in Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, end plate.

232 On this, cf. Foss and Winfield, pp. 50 ff.

233 *Ibid.*

234 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, end piece, undersizes the length at 103.5 meters.

235 On these structures, cf. nn. *supra* 32 and *infra* 267.

236 Foss and Winfield, p. 247, depict the length at 100 meters.

237 *Ibid.*

238 There are no notable military gates in the northwestern fortifications. Apparently, the civil gates would serve a dual function, civil and military. Tsangadas, p. 164 (after Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 123–124), labels two gates as posterns; hence he appears to imply that they were military gates without providing any evidence. Tsangadas, apparently, is misled by the historical events of the fourteenth century, when military guards were stationed at the gates to prevent the entry of Byzantine aspirants to the throne.

239 Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 21–22; *idem*, Πολιορκία, pp. 46, and 94–95. Leunclavius mentions this gate, which he misnames as the Gate of Charisions, but states its correct Turkish name and provides an accurate translation of it; cf. *PG* 159: 878: *Altera* [sc. *porta] Charsiae, qui scilicet ei condendae praefuit. Turcis est Egri capi, sive porta obliqua*. Earlier, he discusses this gate’s role in the siege of 1453 with another direct reference to Leonardo’s text; his observations are based on his direct inspection of it. Cf. *PG* 159: 874–875: *Duodecima* [sc. *porta] Turcis est Egri capi, quae vox obliquam portam significat. Et reapse sic exstructam vidimus, ut in eam non directo, sed ex obliquo pateat aditus. Leonardi Chiensis epistola, quam diximus, Caligaream vocat, Graeci Caligariorum. Sic autum a Caligariis sive sutoribus est appellata, qui calceamenta faciunt, a Turcis nominata Pasumaggia. Inter hanc et proxime sequentem portam* [= Adrianople] *situm est ad ipsos muros, alto loco, palatium vetus Blachernianum* [= Tekfur Saray/Porphyrogenite Palace], *quod Constantini jam vulgo vocant, ubi solebant elephanti hactenus ali. Hoc jam praeterito anno Murates III Graecis loco patriarchi concessit…. Caeterum reperitur in Graecis historiis hujus portae Caligariorum nomen antiquus, Porta* Καρσία, *sive oblique: quod interpretati Turci videntur per Egri capi. Urbs tamen aedificiorum liber Charsiae portam voluit dictam ab auctore vel conditore Charsia, qui utentis colore Veneto factionis fuerit. Nam factiones olim quatuor erant in hippodromo decertantium equis, quos* κέλητας *Pindarus dixit, singulis bigis, trigis. quadrigis: ita distinctae coloribus, ut* βένετοι *vel caerulei,* λευκοὶ *vel albi,* πράσινοι *vel virides,* ῥούσιοι *seu rubri, dicerentur.*

240 Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, pp. 283 and 364.

241 *PG* 159: 927 (CC 1: 130). Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople*, p. 16, renders the passage to read: “…near that part of the single wall, called Caligaria, which was not protected by ditches or a breastwork.” For a questionable variation of the Latin text, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 125, n. 1. Languischi-Dolfin and Barbaro express agreement with the statement of Leonardo. Cf. *infra*, ch. 9: “Land Operations,” n. 13.

242 *PG* 159: 927 (CC 1: 130). Again, Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 125, provides a slight variation on this Latin text.

243 For the numerous Byzantine sources that make reference to this gate, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 105.

244 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 126–127; and Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 68 and 91, for the historical significance of the gate and the main events in the immediate centuries.

245 For the inscriptions, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 126–127; and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 283–284.

246 Theophanes, ed. Classen, 1: 592; and the translation of Mango and Scott, p. 536: "the gate of the single wall of Blachernai." Cf. Georgios Kedrenos [George Cedrenus], *Historiarum compendium*, 1, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838): 787.

247 The designation of this gate is difficult to establish, for no sources ascribe a name to this gate in the Leonine Wall, aside for one, a map titled "Egri Kapu Tekfur-Seray (Corne d'Or), Plan d'Assurances, levé et dessiné, en Septembre 1928 sur base de la Triangulation Officielle par J. Pervititch," which employs the name Saint Nicholas for the gate. A copy of this map is found at Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. The identification of the gate as that of Saint Nicholas may be based on local tradition, although no church or structure housing a holy well, only ruins, are to be found within the citadel in 1928. Even by 1453, identification of these sites was difficult. Cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 337–338.

248 Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 285; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 103 and 105. Problematic is the plan of the citadel in Müller-Wiener, p. 304. If we correctly read the plan, he would have a small door (arched, but not a postern for military purposes) in the center of the projection of the Leonine Wall. This doorway, however, is enclosed within the citadel by a structure that appears to be a residence or an official structure of recent origin, *ca*. 1970s, but the entry appears to be original to the Leonine Walls for which Müller-Wiener provides no explanation. The entry does not appear on earlier plans of the citadel. The contradictions in the evidence at hand will have to be resolved through further study.

249 For the inscriptions, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: plate 64a.

250 The term *xyloporta* has been commonly applied to other gates and is found in Byzantine sources assigned to gates in the Theodosian Wall and the sea walls.

251 Notably Sphrantzes, *Minus* 237; and Doukas 263. For the early history of the gate, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 173–174; and Tsangadas, pp. 28–29 (after Van Millingen). Also, Paspates, ξυλόκερκος pp. 48, 95, and 104.

252 The only attention the gate has received is in reference to Mehmed II's transfer of a fleet to the Golden Horn, opposite this gate.

253 Leunclavius supplies the following observations on this gate; cf. *PG* 159: 873–874: *Undecima* [sc. *porta] nominatur veteribus Xylokerkos, causa paulo post exponenda, nunc autem Hagiobazari porta, per quam scilicet ingrediuntur urbem Hagiobazariotae, trans sinum habitantes, e regione hujus portae. Nomen Hagiobazari significat vel sancti, vel sanctum emporium. Et emporii voce Symeon quoque Magister cum aliis Graeciis utitur pro nullis clauso portis, aut nullis cincto muris oppidulo. Sancti potius existimem dicendum emporium, ut intelligatur emporium sancti Mamantis, quod olim monsterium insigne, palatium augustale celeberrimum in historiis, pontem denique non minus nobilem, Sancti Mamantis appellatum habuit. Hic enim effundunt sese in extremum Ceratinum sinum celebres illi priscis fluvioli Cydarus et Barbyses, nunc Machleva et Chartaticon, … qui quidem ad Sanctam Mamantem pontem junguntur. Hagiobazariotarum vox denotat incolas emporii Sancti Mamantis. Caeterum ad hanc portam Hagiobazari secundus est urbis angulus versus terram continentem, ubi scilicet incipiunt portae murique terrestres, sic dicti, quod nec a sinu Ceratino, nec a Propontide alluantur, sed versus Thraciam porrecti sint. Veteres hic alteram posuerunt urbis acropolim, velut in ejus extremitate sitam secunda, respectu primae, quae Byzantis arcem continet.… Et habebat his angulus olim arcem, dictam Pentepyrgion, a quinque turribus, vel Magnauram, vel* τῆς ξυλοκέρκου, *et palatium Xylinae portae apud Chalcocondylem, cujus interpretes vitiose scripserunt Xyllae palatium, et pejus interpretati sunt ligneum. Haec autem nomina frequenter in historiis Graecorum, Zonarae, Cedrini, aliorum, occurrunt. Explicatio prolixior alterius loci fuerit. Apud Leonardum archiepiscopum Chiensem leguntur in epistola, de capta Constantinopoli, turres Aveniades: de quibus interrogatus a*

*me Zygomalas, quaenam scilicet essent, respondebat, dicendas esse non Aveniadas, sed turres Anemanis, cujus est in historiis Graecorum mentio: planeque volebat, has illas esse quinque turres, in altera urbis acropoli, quas diximus Pentepyrgii nomen habere. Id autem verum esse, vel ex hoc intelligitur, quod Chiensis turribus adjungit Xyloportam, quae a Xyloporta priori diversa, veteribus* Πολιορκία, *dicta fuit propterea quod artifices eam struentes, magna in fundamento aquae reperta copia, tignis plurimis ac palis in aqua defixis lapides injecerint, atque ita demum aedificii fundamentum firmum effecerint, ut est in libro* De aedificiis urbis. *Nec abs re quis dixerit videri palatium Xyloportae potius scribendum Xylokerki palatium: scriptoris librario vocem obscuriorem hanc, cum notiori Xyloportae commutante.*

254 For a historical commentary on this assault, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 118–119, 165, and 210.

255 *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, p. 724; and Whitby, p. 178.

256 Müller-Wiener, pp. 301–307, who provides a historical record of the wall with accompanying plates; also Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 100–102.

257 Procopius, *De Æd*. 1.c.6. Cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 169–170, n. 3, who addresses the complexities associated with this identification. Schneider, "Die Blachernen," p. 106, also identifies the Church of Saint Nicholas with Saints Priscus and Nicholas; also, he and Meyer-Plath, 2: 119, retain these designations. On the other hand and to the contrary, for the inscriptions that bear only the name of Saint Nicholas, cf. Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 141, no. 65, and p. 103; and Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, p. 34.

258 Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 337–338.

259 *Ibid.*, p. 338. Without attribution, Majeska is drawing upon the designation of Procopius. Rather, he prefers to cite as the source of his information, Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 369–371; and *idem*, "Les églises byzantines de Saint-Nicolas," pp. 404–405. For Janin's localization of the Church of Saint Nicholas, cf. *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, p. 370. Janin does admit that the majority of scholarly opinion favors the site of the church within the Herakleian-Leonine citadel at the northern end.

260 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 207 ff.; and Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 357–360.

261 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 209. Also, Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, p. 141.

262 Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, p. 209.

263 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 2 (Bonn, 1839): 647.

264 Paspates, Πολιορκία p. 194; and Müller-Wiener, pp. 206–208.

265 Theophanes Continuatus, pp. 147–148: καὶ Θέκλα δὲ ἡ τούτου πρώτη θυγάτηρ τὸ κατὰ τὰς Βλαχέρνας κοιβούκλειον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ τῆς πρωτομάρτυρος Θέκλης εὐκτήριον ἵδρυται, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἤγαγεν εὐμορφότατον· .... ....

266 Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 161 ff.

267 Procopius, *De Æd*. 1.c.3.

268 *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, pp. 725–726; and Whitby, p. 180. In 1403, on a visit to Constantinople the Spanish ambassador, R. G. de Clavijo, *Constantinople, ses Sanctuaires et ses Reliques*, trans. P. Bruun (Odessa, *sine anno*), p. 15, observes for the location of the church: "située dans la ville près d'un châteaufort, servant de demeure aux empereurs. ."

269 For the legendary account describing the circumstances leading to the location in Jerusalem and then the deposit of the "girdle" in the Church of Our Lady the Mother of God at Blakhernai, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 192–193.

Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, pp. 161–166, for a detailed history; also, Papadopoulos, *Les Palais*, pp. 91–123; and Schneider, “Die Blachernen,” pp. 102–105.

270 For Stephen of Novgorod’s description of the ritual accorded to Her, cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, pp. 44–45, and esp. 333–337.

271 Niketas Khoniates, *Nicetae Choniatae historia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1835), p. 722. For the historical events associated with the palace, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, esp. pp. 109–111 and 128–130; and Schneider, “Die Blachernen,” pp. 97–101. The most comprehensive treatments on the structure are Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 123–128; and Müller-Wiener, pp. 223–224. For other discussions. cf. Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 83–99; and *idem*, Πολιορκία, pp. 45–49, and for the events relative to 1453, pp. 130–131. A number of discrepancies are evident particularly during the thirteenth-century military occupation and the resulting disrepair to the structure, that is, during the decades of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople, 1204–1261. On this, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, pp. 227–228.

272 Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De Cer.*, pp. 498–508.

273 C. Mango, “Blachernai, Church and Palace of,” *ODB*, 1: 293. Cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 122.

274 Cf. *supra*, p. 340.

275 For the reconstruction and additions to Blakhernai Palace, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 128–130.

276 Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 284; Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 114–117. The most extensive treatment of the tower appears in Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, ch. 10; for brief notices, cf. Müller-Wiener, p. 303 f.; and Paspates, Κυνήγιον pp. 24–25.

277 It should be emphasized that only with the publication of *CC* 1 was the correct name stated, as in previous editions the erroneous reading of an inferior manuscript had been adopted (by Lonicer) and had been printed, offering the unknown *Aveniades* towers. Before the confirmation of the form *Anemades* appeared, scholars had surmised that *Anemades* was behind the printed version of *Aveniadas*. Cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 22; and Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople,” p. 296. As early as the sixteenth century, this erroneous reading puzzled Leunclavius, who wrote to Zygomalas, the well-known correspondent of Crusius, and inquired about this location; Zygomalas evidently realized the error in the printed version of Leonardo and pointed out the correct name. Cf. Leunclavius, *PG* 159: 874: *Apud Leonardum archiepiscopum Chiensem leguntur in epistola, de capta Constantinopoli, turres Aveniades: de quibus interrogatus a me Zygomalas, quaenam scilicet essent, repondebat, dicendas esse non Aveniadas, sed turres Anemanis, cujus est in historiis Graecorum mentio; planeque volebat, has illas esse quinque turres, in altera urbis acropoli, quas diximus Pentepyrgii nomen habere*.

278 A. Kazhdan, “Anemas,” *ODB*, 1: 96.

279 Anna Komnene, *Alexiade*, ed. and trans. B. Leib, 1 (Paris, 1937): ch. 12; *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (New York, 1979), pp. 386–388. For an analysis of this account, cf. Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena, A Study* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 19 and 90; and controversies, Foss and Winfield, p. 49.

280 *Supra*, n. 35.

281 For this area, cf the comments of Leunclavius, *PG* 159: 873: *Decima vulgo Graecis porta* Κυνηγοῦ *sive Kynigi, sed rectius porta* Κυνηγίου *vocatur; et* Κυνηγίου *in basilicis suis Graeci verterunt eum locum urbis, qui Romanis temporibus Arena dicebatur: ubi videlicet vel homines cum feris, vel inter se ferae committebantur. Kynigion ad Vlachernas refertur, locus scilicet depressus et concavus, ubi patriarcheion*

*erat meae peregrinationis tempore, quod hoc anno 1587 pecunia redemit a Graecis sultanus Murates III, ut istic messitam* [= mescidi], *sui nominis monumentum condat. Id hactenus saepe tentatum, impedivit Turcorum Muphtis, qui debere Muratem diceret prius ex ereptis scacho terrarum terris annuos messitae struendae reditus constituere. Graecis ruinosum Constantini palatium vicissim concessit aedificandum in usum tam patriarchi, quampatriarchalis ecclesiae…*

282 Barbaro 13–14 (not in *CC* 1). The long text of Barbaro is aptly summarized in the Latin *ephemeris, PG 158: 1067: Mart. 14. Imperatori hoc sollicitanti dux triremium Tanensium remiges suos ad locorum munitionem et ad palatium prope portam cynegeticam circumvallandum adhibendos tradit. Mart. 31. Eodem porto sancti Sabbati die, qui quidem cum 29 Maii, qui Martis dies erat, cingruit, remiges, jubente Diedo, navis patrono, coram imperatore et magnatibus fossas faciunt*. For the entire text of this *ephemeris*, with English translation, cf. *infra*, Appendix I.

283 Barbaro 36–37 (CC 1: 22): *A dì sete pur <de> mazo a hore quatro de note, vene soto le mure de la tera zerca Turchi trenta milia molto ben in ordene con alguni gati per voler vegnir a tradimento dentro de la tera.… Questo so combater da tera si durò fina al sete ore de note, che fo solo tre ore*.

284 *Ibid.*, 37 (CC 1: 22–23).

285 *Ibid.*, 39 (CC 1: 23).

# Chapter 6

# Prelude to the Siege of 1453

# I. Sphrantzes' Bitterness and Imperial Diplomatic Activities

Sultan Murad II died at Adrianople (Edirne) on February 3, 1451 (New Year's Day, 855 H.), but his death remained a state secret while Porte officials dispatched messengers with a sealed envelope to summon his son Mehmed II[1] from his palace at Manisa. Mehmed hastened to Europe and assumed power fifteen days later on the sixteenth of Muharrem, 855 H. (February 18, 1451). This transition of power in the Ottoman state was generally greeted with relief but was also interpreted differently in various quarters. Most European courts expressed pleasure, as their diplomats had formed the distinct impression that Murad's son presented no military threat; thus far he had expressed no interest in military matters and remained inexperienced in state politics. By contrast, Murad had routed Christian armies a number of times in the Balkans. The Christian disaster at Varna, whose objective had been to rid Eastern Europe of the Ottoman menace, and the subsequent rout of John Corvinus Hunyadi at Kosovo were still painful memories. Thus the succession of the young Mehmed created hopes and wishful expectations that the Turk could finally be brought under control and the recent Christian setbacks would be reversed. It was even whispered that Murad's empire would soon be dismantled.

George Sphrantzes, one of the active diplomats on the imperial staff of Constantinople and a close friend of Emperor Constantine XI, was, at the time of Mehmed's enthronement, absent from Constantinople and was involved in official negotiations at the court of the Greek emperor of Trebizond. Sphrantzes notes that his host was delighted with the news of Murad's death and predicted that the Greek world stood to profit by this change of the guard at the Porte. Sphrantzes was certainly in the minority when he disagreed with his host and interpreted the ascent of Mehmed as a bad omen. In his view Constantinople and the Porte had reached a *modus vivendi* during the last years of Murad's long reign because the sultan had by then abandoned his plans of conquering the Greek capital. By contrast, Sphrantzes reckoned Mehmed was ambitious, young, and energetic:[2]

> Καὶ ἀκούσας τοῦτο ἐγενόμην ἄφωνος καὶ οὕτως ὀδυνηθείς, ὥσπερ νὰ μὲ ἔλεγεν θάνατον τῶν ἐμῶν φιλτάτων· καὶ μέχρι τινὸς καταφιάσας λέγω· "Δέσποτά μου, τοῦτο οὐ χαρίεν μαντάτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀδυνὸν λίαν." Καὶ λέγει· "Πῶς καλέ;" Καὶ εἶπον· "Διότι ἐκεῖνος ἦν γέρων καὶ τῆς Πόλεως ἀπεπειράσθη αὐτῷ καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἤθελεν ἐπιχειρισθεῖν τοιοῦτόν τι, ἀλλ᾽ ἤθελε μόνον τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ εἰρήνην· ἀμὴ οὗτος, ὁποῦ ἐγένετο νῦν αὐθέντης, ἔνι νέος καὶ παιδιόθεν ἐχθρὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν, νὰ ὑβρίζῃ καὶ νὰ ἐπαπειλῆται, ὅτι θέλει ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν."

> Overcome by grief, as if I had been told of the death of those dearest to me, I stood speechless. Finally, with considerable loss of spirit, I said: “Lord, this news brings no joy. On the contrary, it is a cause for grief.” “How so, my friend?” he asked. And I responded: “The late sultan was an old man, had given up the conquest of our City, and had no desire of attempting anything like it again. He only wished for friendship and peace. This man, who just became sultan, is young and an enemy of the Christians since childhood. He threatens with proud spirit that he will put in operation certain plans against Christians.”

Sphrantzes offered a perceptively realistic analysis of the situation but we must remember that his written version of this incident was probably composed (and most certainly revised) in hindsight, long after the event. Similarly, Laonikos (that is, Nikolaos) Khalkokondyles, the so-called “last Athenian historian,” also expresses favorable views of Murad’s reign long after the event.[3] Succinctly Kritoboulos, the Greek biographer of Mehmed II, agreed at a time, that is, after the fall of Constantinople, when the sultan had become generally known by the honorific title *Fatih*, “the Conqueror.” In Kritoboulos’ view Murad had been[4] μεγαλόφρων, ἄριστος ἐν πᾶσι, στρατηγικώτατος, εὐγενὴς ἐξ εὐγενῶν, “magnanimous, best among all, most able general, a first rate nobleman.” The Spaniard Pero Tafur, who had visited the Porte, also left a vivid and favorable account of his audience with Murad. Further, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, a knight from Burgundy, also had expressed admiration for the late sultan,[5] whom he had met.

Popular opinion in the Greek world, however, generally echoed the emperor of Trebizond’s delight, as a cursory reading of the corpus of the so-called *Brief Chronicles* reveals. The writer of a single entry is elated by the event that even assigns the adjective “godless” to the late sultan:[6]

> τῷ ͵ϛϡνθ΄ ἔτει ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ ἄθεος ἀμηρᾶς τῶν Τούρκων ὁ Ἀμουράτης καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ τζαλαπῆς.

> In the year 6959 [*anno mundi*, that is, 1451] the godless emir [=

> sultan] of the Turks, Murad, died and his son [*sc.* Mehmed II], the *çelebi* [= prince], assumed the lordship.

The official reaction of the imperial government in Constantinople is not recorded but, soon after the accession of Mehmed, the Greek court dispatched an embassy to the Porte, with instructions to renew the existing peace treaty between Constantine XI and Murad II. It was promptly approved by Mehmed:[7] ὁ Μεχμέτης ὁ Ἀμουράτεω ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστη καὶ τοῖς τε Ἕλλησι σπονδὰς ἐποιεῖτο, "Mehmed, [the son] of Murad took over the kingdom…and made a treaty with the Greeks." On this occasion, the young sultan further attempted to soothe all anxiety by granting territories to the Greeks and perhaps his accommodating attitude reinforced the popular impression that his administration would not seek war, a conclusion that had already been reached by various European courts.[8] Nevertheless, the diplomatic corps in Constantinople were sufficiently alarmed by his accession and the Greek emperor intensified his efforts to court military aid from the west. By April 1451, two months after the accession of Mehmed II, Andronikos Bryennios Leontaris was en route to Italy, carrying Constantine XI's written appeals to Venice, to Ferrara, to Rome, and to Naples.[9] Other emissaries were also dispatched to numerous courts.[10]

Measures taken for the defense of Constantinople against the upcoming siege[11] had already begun before the accession of Mehmed but they had proved expensive and the imperial finances were in ruins, a fact that George Sphrantzes was well aware of, as he pointed out to the emperor of Trebizond:[12]

> Καὶ ἡ Πόλις ἠπορημένη καὶ χρέος εἰς τὰ εἰσοδήματα ἐκείνης πολὺ καὶ ἀπορία εἰς πάντα. Καὶ ὁ αὐθέντης μου ὁ βασιλεύς…θέλει καιρὸν εἰρηνικόν, νὰ ἐξοικονομήση τὰ ἐκείνης.
>
> Our City has been in financial stress and is in great need of funds… my lord, the emperor…wants a period of peace in order to straighten out the City's affairs.

Constantine XI had proposed to raise funds by imposing new taxes on wine and hides traded in Ottoman territories by the Venetian residents of Constantinople, his only active allies. His pathetic attempt offended the Venetians and they immediately lodged loud official complaints and protests through their representative Nicolo da Canale, who went so far as to threaten a Venetian evacuation from Constantinople, implying denial of financial assistance and military aid to the Greek capital at a critical time of desperate need.[13] After intensive diplomatic exchanges and negotiations,[14] the emperor explained to his allies that he imposed the new tax *pro utilitate urbis*, “because the city could use the funds,” and in order to correct past injustices.[15] The emperor’s innovative approach to enrich his empty treasury failed. The Venetians pressed their point even after he rescinded his order by continuing to bring loud complaints through diplomatic avenues to the beleaguered emperor and his court.[16]

Constantine XI must have been disappointed by the attitude of his allies. He intensified his efforts to strengthen the ancient Theodosian fortifications of his capital by continuing a program of renovations that had been initiated in the reign of his brother and predecessor, John VIII Palaiologos, but funds for the project were sorely lacking. Numerous inscriptions, some still *in situ*, commemorating these *quattrocento* renovations were collected and studied in the last century. At least one of them mentions Constantine XI.[17] Another inscription commemorates the name of a contractor, who had undertaken to supervise and complete the work in the days before the siege: one Manuel Iagares, who is also attested in other documents dating from that period. Some survivors accused Iagares of shamefully enriching himself to the detriment of the work assigned to his care.[18] Such accusations do not seem exaggerated and may be partially justified,[19] for even today, after the passage of five centuries, a careful observer may note, on sections that have not been touched by subsequent repairs and by the current renovations of Istanbul’s fortifications, that some of the bricks used in medieval times were below standard and repairs were shoddy at best.

On the diplomatic side of the picture our best guide remains Sphrantzes, even though he was, at the time of the accession of Mehmed II, in the court of Trebizond. Soon, however, he returned to Constantinople and continued his activities. His most valuable contributions are not in the military sphere. Sphrantzes was not soldierly; his strength was in the diplomatic sphere. When he discusses events that are directly concerned with the siege, he chooses to remain in the diplomatic camp and simply reviews in a long section[20] the appeals that Constantine XI made to western Christendom. Sphrantzes goes on to enumerate the imperial concessions made to individuals who could have aided the city. He complains bitterly about the lack of help that Constantinople could have received in her hour of need and one forms the impression that Sphrantzes considered the absence of European aid and support to his emperor the major cause for the fall of Constantinople.

He would have been familiar with the activities of the court to secure assistance, as he was a member of the imperial diplomatic corps and he would have needed no notes that could have perished in the sack to remind him of the court's efforts in this endeavor. The personal motives he assigns to individuals may be questioned, for he appears to be making his own inferences, which are sometimes exaggerated, as indeed they are colored by his bitterness over the loss of the city and the death of his hero, the emperor. He begins his diatribe against the despot of Serbia,[21] George Brankovic, who, as a vassal to the Porte, was obliged to contribute troops for the sultan's army. Sphrantzes simply observes in connection with the despot's "apathy" and shortsightedness,[22] οὐκ εἰδότος τοῦ ἀθλίου ὅτι, ἂν τυχὸν ἀφαιρεθῇ ἡ κεφαλὴ σώματος, τὰ μέλη εἰσὶ νεκρά, "the wretch did not consider that once the head has been removed the limbs perish also." He returned to the same theme and noted that no financial aid arrived from Serbia. He observes that the despot sent both funds and men to the sultan and concludes that the Turks gloated over the fact:[23] καὶ ἐθριάμβευσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ ἔδειξαν ὅτι· ἰδοὺ καὶ οἱ Σέρβοι καθ᾽ ἡμῶν εἰσι, "thus the Turks were able to boast in triumph that even Serbia was against us." Perhaps Sphrantzes was unduly harsh on the Serbs and their contribution to the Ottoman army. After all, the Serbian despot was under obligation to participate in the expeditions of the Ottoman army. It is possible that, in better days, he had even contributed funds to the imperial restoration of the Constantinopolitan walls prior to the siege.[24] Further, some of the Serbian troops seem to have been, by choice, unhelpful in the siege, as the eyewitness Konstantin Mihailović insisted in his account.[25]

Sphrantzes' next reference is puzzling. He complains about the Venetian fleet, which failed to arrive in time to aid the defenders,[26] and he claims that it was ultimately the doge's fault for not coming to the assistance of the beleaguered Greeks because of a personal slight that he bore in regard to the Greek emperor. Constantine's loyal friend attributed the failure of Venice to dispatch her fleet in a timely fashion to the fact that the Greeks had rejected a notable Venetian potential bride for Constantine. According to his information, Constantine, while he was still the despot of the Morea, had entertained the prospect of marrying the daughter of Francesco Foscari, the doge of Venice. After his accession to the throne of Constantinople, Constantine XI rejected this match. The daughter of the doge of Venice was suitable for the despot of the Morea but was regarded beneath the dignity of the emperor in Constantinople:[27]

> τοῦ ᾿Αλωΐζου Διέδου ἐκείνου μέσου γεγονότος, ἵνα ὁ μακαρίτης αὐθέντης μου κὺρ Κωνσταντῖνος, δεσπότης ὢν καὶ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν αὐθέντης εὑρισκόμενος, ἐπάρῃ εἰς γυναῖκαν αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ δουκὸς τὴν θυγατέραν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προικός, ὁ αὐθέντης μου οὖν οὐ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι οἱονεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς Βενετίας ἕν, συνεκατέβαινε τὸ τοιοῦτον συμπενθέριον, ἐμοῦ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων συναινοῦντος τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγκάζοντος... ῾Ως δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει καὶ εἰς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπῆλθε, τοῦτο ἦν πάλιν ἀνοίκειον. Τίς γὰρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀρχοντισσῶν κυρίαν καὶ δέσποιναν κατεδέξατο Βενετίκου θυγατέραν, ἐνδόξου μὲν ἴσως καὶ δουκός, ἀλλὰ προσκαίρως; ἢ τοὺς γαμβροὺς τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ ὡς συγγάμβρους ἢ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὡς γυναικαδέλφους τοῦ βασιλέως; Λοιπὸν τοῦτο γυρεύσαντος ἀπεπέμφθη καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐχθρός.

> Alvise Diedo acted as an intermediary, so that my late master, Lord Constantine, who was then the despot of the Morea, would take as his wife the daughter of the duke [doge] with a handsome dowry. My master agreed to this betrothal, not so much because of the dowry, but because his territories would be joined to those of Venice. I advised him to agree more forcefully than the others…. Once Constantine had become emperor and had come to the City, this marriage was out of the question. What nobleman or noblewoman would ever receive the daughter of a Venetian – even though he might be the glorious duke [doge] – as queen and lady for more than a short time? Who would accept his other sons-in-law as the emperor's sons-in-law, and his sons as the brothers-in-law of the emperor? After he insisted on the marriage, this man was rejected and became our enemy.

One simply does not know what to make of this passage. How accurate is Sphrantzes on this delicate matter? Had there been a "betrothal" between the daughter of Francesco Foscari and the despot of the Morea? Was one of the doge's daughters spurned by the Greeks or can this tale be reasonably attributed to Sphrantzes' bitterness, if not to his malice? There exists no other piece of evidence to support Constantine's loyal friend on this point. Accordingly, modern scholars have refused to take this passage seriously. Sphrantzes, it is generally believed, was simply carried away by grief over the failure of Venice to relieve the besieged capital of Constantine at the time. As he further wished to absolve his friend and emperor of all responsibility for the fall of Constantinople, he isolated his convenient scapegoat in the person of the doge, who, in his biased view, procrastinated and actually did little to prevent the disaster.[28] Accordingly, he assigned a dark personal motive to the ruler of Venice. Yet there must be a slight nucleus of truth to his tale/motif of "the doge's spurned daughter." After all, Sphrantzes does mention the role of Alvise Diedo, a well-known Venetian active in the affairs of the Levant, who was among the valiant defenders of Constantinople in 1453. Diedo escaped during the sack, reached Venice, and presented the official account of the events of the siege and fall of the Greek capital to the Venetian authorities and to a stunned audience of officials and citizens, as we have seen.[29] Sphrantzes knew of his valor and would not have included him in an obvious falsehood and in a forged tale.

After all factors are considered, perhaps a small part of this tale may be true. It is plausible that the Greek court in Mistra considered one of the doge's daughters and that Diedo was approached and was asked to give his opinion on this matter. He may have personally welcomed such a match, since he had spent a great deal of time in the Levant. The fact is that Francesco Foscari did have a marriageable daughter of age at that time.[30] Low-level negotiations between Venice and the Morea may have then been held. The matter never advanced to a more serious stage and no note of it was ever made in Venice. Foscari himself would have ultimately dismissed this match; the doge, it was well known, did not think highly of the Greeks. Sphrantzes may have heard of a vague inquiry, which involved Diedo at the initial stage. Sphrantzes' diplomatic specially remained firmly anchored in the east and he was never privy to the diplomatic activities between Mistra and the western courts. He has perhaps made too much of an idea that never advanced beyond the initial planning stage. During this span of time the diplomat was busy. He was in Constantinople, devoting his attention to the east and choosing his own emissaries and subordinates whom he dispatched to Trebizond and Gotthia in search of a bride for Constantine. At the same time Constantine did make tentative inquiries in the west, as he was in need of a marriage alliance with the Latins, which would have been of great value to him. In fact, as early as 1444, while he was the despot of the Morea, Constantine had entered into negotiations with the Orsini family that could provide a potential bride, Isabella, the sister of the lord of Tarento. But this match also failed to advance beyond the initial discussions.[31]

Sphrantzes directs his next barb against the pope, who, he believes, also failed to assist the Greeks. He does concede that the imperial administration recognized the primacy of the pope and even fully accepted and initiated the decisions that had been agreed upon during the Council of Florence in the previous decade, during the reign of John VIII Palaiologos, but then Sphrantzes remarks:[32] ἰδοὺ μῆνες ἓξ καὶ τοσοῦτον λόγον ἐποιήσαντο περὶ βοηθείας, ὅσον ὁ σουλτάνος τοῦ Κάρεος, "six months passed [since the celebration of the union of the two churches] and they were concerned about helping us as much as was the sultan of Cairo."

Next we encounter his comments on Christians who were rather close to the Greek court. Sphrantzes states that no one saw a single penny or a single individual from Trebizond, from Wallachia, or from Iberia-Georgia to assist in the defense of the imperial city:[33]

> Τίς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἢ τάχα τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος ἢ τῶν Βλαχῶν ἢ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀπέστειλαν ἕνα ὀβολὸν ἢ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον εἰς βοήθειαν ἢ φανερῶς ἢ κρυφίως;
>
> Which of the Christians, the Trebizondian emperor, the lords of Wallachia, or the Iberian [Georgian] king, contributed a single penny or a single soldier to our defense, openly or secretly?

His next paragraph is devoted to Hungary, and he stresses that the Hungarians did not wish to endanger their treaty with the sultan and their efforts were weak at best to provide some relief for the city:[34] Οἱ Οὔγγαροι ἔστειλαν ἴσως ἀποκρισιαρίους…σχεδὸν κατὰ τὴν ἑβδομάδαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔμελλον, ἵνα πολεμήσουν, "the Hungarians, however, did dispatch an embassy…almost a week before they [the Turks] launched their final assault." Evidently, there was resentment against the inactivity of Hungary and a story began to circulate soon after the sack that the Hungarian ambassadors assisted the sultan's artillery. Doukas reports that during the last stages of the siege (that is, Sphrantzes' week of May 22–29), an embassy arrived from John Hunyadi in the Turkish camp. Its real mission, he states, was to demand the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the Turkish forces. Instead, the ambassadors demonstrated to the Turks a more effective way of aiming their cannon in order to achieve more impressive results, through a primitive form of triangulation, which, nevertheless, succeeded in severely damaging the ancient fortifications:[35]

> τυχὼν δὲ ἀποκρισιάριος τοῦ Ἰάγκου [*sc.* John Hunyadi] λέγων, "εἰ βούλει καταπεσεῖν εὐκόλως τὰ τείχη, μετάθες τὴν σκευὴν ἐν ἄλλῳ μέρει τοῦ τείχους, ἀπέχοντι ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης βολῆς ὀργυιὰς ε΄ ἢ ς΄, καὶ τότε ἐξισῶν τὴν πρώτην ἄφες ἑτέραν βολήν. τῶν δύο οὖν ἄκρων κρουσθέντων ἐπιμελῶς, τότε βάλλε καὶ τρίτην ὡς εὑρεθῆναι τὰς τρεῖς βολὰς ἐς τριγώνου σχῆμα, καὶ τότε ὄψει τὸν τοιοῦτον τοῖχον εἰς γῆν καταπίπτοντα."

λέγων, "εἰ βούλει καταπεσεῖν εὐκόλως τὰ τείχη, μετάθες τὴν σκευὴν ἐν ἄλλῳ μέρει τοῦ τείχους, ἀπέχοντι ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης βολῆς ὀργυιὰς ε΄ ἢ ς΄, καὶ τότε ἐξισῶν τὴν πρώτην ἄφες ἑτέραν βολήν. τῶν δύο οὖν ἄκρων κρουσθέντων ἐπιμελῶς, τότε βάλλε καὶ τρίτην ὡς εὑρεθῆναι τὰς τρεῖς βολὰς ἐς τριγώνου σχῆμα, καὶ τότε ὄψει τὸν τοιοῦτον τοῖχον εἰς γῆν καταπίπτοντα."

An ambassador from [John] Hunyadi happened to be there and he laughed at their shooting. He said: "If you want the walls to collapse easily, move the cannon against another section of the wall, five or six cubits distant from your former strike. Then fire a second projectile. Once the two strikes have been carefully made, fire a third time, as if you are marking out a triangle. Then you will see that this great wall will come down to the ground in ruins."

Doukas' statements on this incident cannot be confirmed in any other sources and even seem suspicious. Why should enemies of the Turks communicate such important information to the sultan's staff? Doukas explains that the envoys intended to fulfill the terms of a prophecy, which declared that the circumstances of Hunyadi were fated to improve if Constantinople fell.[36] The fact remains that, during the last stages of the siege, when the sultan seemed to be losing hope of conquering the city, the Turks were alarmed by rumors that John Hunyadi was leading a substantial army to relieve the beleaguered city.[37] Doukas reports a tale that must have been in circulation after the sack. Its nucleus was probably the actual deployment of Mehmed's triple batteries during the siege.[38] It is possible that the technique, which Doukas attributes to Hunyadi's ambassadors, evolved during the operations and that some of the defenders simply believed that the gradual improvement of the enemy bombardment had to be attributed to "western technology" in ballistics. Few modern historians have accepted Doukas' tale as historical fact.[39]

Sphrantzes supplies specific details when he addresses individuals. He claims that John Corvinus Hunyadi demanded the cession of either Selybria or of Mesembria in exchange for his assistance and that the emperor granted him Selybria with a chrysobull, which was written by Sphrantzes himself:[40] ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ Μεσέμβρια καὶ τὸ χρυσόβουλλον δι᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐγράφη, "he was granted Mesembria and I wrote the chrysobull." This is an important passage for an understanding of Sphrantzes' position at the imperial court. It apparently demonstrates that he was already then grand *logothete* of the emperor. Sphrantzes, earlier in his narrative, indicates that Constantine XI wished to appoint him grand *logothete* but because of court intrigues and because of the personal opposition of the grand duke, the influential and powerful Loukas Notaras, the emperor could only give his friend the dignity of the office without public acknowledgment. In this passage, Sphrantzes reveals that he enjoyed the privileges of his office, one of which had to deal with imperial chrysobulls, as Pseudo-Kodinos confirms:[41]

> ὁ μέγας λογοθέτης διατάττει τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστέλλοντα προστάγματά τε καὶ χρυσόβουλλα πρός τε ῥῆγας, σουλτάνους καὶ τοπάρχας. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴδιον τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου ὑπερέτημα.

> The grand logothete composes the decrees and chrysobulls issued by the emperor to kings, sultans, and local governors. This is one of the duties of the grand logothete.

Sphrantzes then adds an interesting detail that a particular individual, the son-in-law of Theodosios from Cyprus, and the son of Michael, dispatched the chrysobull grant of Mesembria.[42] Of course, we do not know whether the chrysobull ever arrived at its destination. If it did, Hunyadi never makes mention of it and it is not recorded anywhere.

More appropriately documented seems to be an embassy of Constantine to Italy and the pope, one of the many that he dispatched during the last years of his reign. It is possible that another emissary had left for Rome at this time. He could not have added more pathos to the appeal than the one that had already been launched by Andronikos Leontaris Bryennios, who had visited Venice and other states in Italy in 1451.[43] Leontaris had also journeyed to the pope. Apparently, Pope Nicholas V was perturbed by Constantine's lukewarm efforts to promote the union of churches in the Greek capital. While we do not have the actual letter that Constantine sent with Leontaris, the pope's formal reply, dated September 27, 1451, to the Greek emperor has survived.[44] The Latin text of this document was translated into Greek by the well-known humanist, Theodore Gaza.[45] The pope stated in no uncertain terms that the union had to be enforced. He expressed his displeasure at the unpardonable delay and demanded the restoration of the Constantinopolitan unionist patriarch who had fled to Rome in order to escape the wrath of his flock. The conclusion of the letter provides the essential conditions for western aid:[46]

> πρᾶττε ὅπως ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πατριάρχης εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπανήξει ϑρόνον…τοὔνομα τοῦ τῆς ῾Ρώμης ἀρχιερέως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γεγράφϑω διπτύχοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μνημονευομένου εὐχέσϑω ἡ τῶν ῾Ελλήνων ἅπασα ἐκκλησία.

> See to it that the patriarch of Constantinople is reinstated…that the name of the pope of Rome is entered in the sacred diptychs and that the entire Greek Church prays for him when his name is being commemorated.

Constantine and his court must have been deeply disappointed with this response. The pope's letter was couched in threatening prose and it included a warning to Constantine himself with regard to his ultimate salvation. The contents of the pope's letter must have been widely known. Pusculo alludes to the papal admonition in his description of the death of Constantine. He seems to think that Constantine paid a price for not heeding the pope's warning:[47]

*Heu nimium de te vates Nicolaus hoc ipsum / Antistes cecinit summits: dum saepe vocaret / Te, sibi praedixit, tempus patriaeque tibique / Hoc fore; cum lacrymans: "Vereor ne numen Achivis, /Dixit, opem neget." Auxilium deus ipse negavit.*

Alas! The highest priest, Pope Nicholas, forewarned you of this. Often did he prophesy that this would be the end of you and of your homeland. With tears did he say: "I fear that the deity will turn away from the Achaeans [Greeks]." God Himself denied help.

## II. A Triumph of the Imperial Chancery

In spite of Sphrantzes' lamentations, some aid from the west did trickle into Constantinople. In the fall of 1452, assistance began to arrive, furnishing tangible proof to the terrified residents that Europe had not forsaken Constantinople. The first regiments to respond to Constantine's appeals sailed into the harbor of Constantinople under the command of Cardinal Isidore, the Greek legate of Pope Nicholas V.[48] His true mission was to enforce the terms of the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, which had been concluded earlier during the Council of Florence, and to bring the schismatic Greeks back into the fold:[49]

> *Cardinalis autem Ruthenus, natione graecus, qui per papam anno iam elapso Constantinopolim missus fuit ad inducendum Graecos ut ipsi primatum Ecclesiae Romanae etiam quoad iurisdictionem <super> omnes ecclesias orbis recognoscerent – quod et fecit.*
>
> The Russian cardinal [Isidore], a Greek by origin, was sent to Constantinople by the pope over a year ago in order to persuade the Greeks about the primacy of the Church of Rome and to make them recognize its jurisdiction over all churches in world. He accomplished his mission.

Barbara provides some specific information on the nature of the aid that Isidore brought with him:[50]

> *Hor da poi pasadi ver quanti zorni, l'azonse una nave che vignia da Zenova, de Zenovexi, de portada de cantara trenta sie millia con el gardenl de Rosia, che manda el papa per dover far la union, e dusse con si homeni 200 fra scopetieri e balestrieri per secorso de questa zitade de Costantinopoli.*
>
> A few days later, a merchant boat from Genoa, belonging to the Genoese, came and transported thirty-six thousand torches and the cardinal from Russia [= Isidore], whom the pope had sent to create the union. He brought with him 200 men, marksmen and crossbowmen, to help the aforementioned city of Constantinople.

Thus, in the spring of 1452, Pope Nicholas V had appointed Cardinal Isidore his official legate to Constantinople and directed him to the Levant, with instructions to apply pressure on the Greek court to conclude and celebrate the union formally, with the commemoration of the pope's name, in Hagia Sophia. Isidore first stopped at Naples and then proceeded to the Aegean, attempting to recruit mercenaries at all ports of call. He did not intend to reach the Greek capital empty-handed. Soon after his escape from the carnage of the sack in 1453, Isidore relates his adventures in a letter to his friend, Cardinal Bessarion. Isidore alludes to the difficult circumstances of this voyage:[51]

> *Cum circa mensem Maii superioris anni* [= 1452] *Romam reliquissem, nullum penitus inde praesidium vel auxilium referens, …omnia adverse atque infeliciter succedere ceperunt. Omitto autem nunc singula. Tantisper sex menses in itinere cucurrerunt, cum vix et tandem sextum et vigesimum mensis Octobris diem ad infelicissimam urbem Constantinopolim pervenimus, hoste ac ferro clausam et undique circumseptam.*
>
> Around the month of May of last year [= 1452] I left Rome, bringing no help or garrison, …and everything seemed to be against me. I met with no luck. I omit each instance. Finally I spent six months in transit and only managed to reach the most unfortunate city of Constantinople on the twenty-sixth of October. It was already under threat of arms and surrounded on every side.

Since he had not been assigned troops in Rome, Cardinal Isidore took upon himself the task to hire soldiers while en route to the Greek capital. It is not certain whether he used his own funds or money granted by the pope for this purpose, but he clearly had to supply the hard work. On the island of Chios Bishop Leonardo, who was destined to compose the most authoritative eyewitness account of the siege, joined him.[52] Doukas mentions the cardinal's efforts and the recruits that he brought to the beleaguered city:[53]

> καὶ ἐλθόντος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Χίῳ, μετὰ νηὸς μεγίστης τῶν Γενουιτῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμέρας ἱκανάς…ὁ καδδηνάλιος οὖν ἔχων μεθ ᾽ αὑτοῦ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἄχρι πεντήκοντα ἐρόγευσε καὶ ἑτέρους πλείστους ἐκ τῆς Χίου Λατίνους.
>
> The cardinal came to the island of Chios on board a very large Genoese vessel, where he remained a number of days…he had with him up to fifty Italian recruits and many other Latins from Chios.

Nicolò Barbara also makes note of the cardinal's arrival and of his contingent.[54] Isidore's recruits were, thus far, the only western military regiments to come to the aid of the imperial capital. In time, other military companies and some individual volunteers seem to have answered Constantine's appeals. A typical example is afforded in the case of the Bocchiardi brothers: Antonio, Paolo, and Troilo. They volunteered their services and led a company of men, whom they paid with their own private funds. These true volunteers were major contributors to the defense. Leonardo writes of them:[55]

> *Paulus, Troilus, Antonius de Bochiardis fratres in loco arduo Miliandri, quo urbs titubabat, aere proprio et armis summa cum vigilantia noctu dieque et spingardis horrendis, et balistis torneis viriliter pugnam sustinent qui tanta animositate, nunc pedes nunc eques defendunt, ut Horatii Coclitis vires repulsis hostibus aequare viderentur. Nam nec muri fracti concussione, nec machinarum turbine territi, aeternam sibi memoriam vindicant.*
>
> The brothers Paolo, Troilo, and Antonio Bocchiardi were guarding a difficult spot, where the city was in danger, with their own funds, their own arms, and with the highest care day and night and withstood fire and bolts valiantly with courage, on foot and on horse. They came to resemble Horatius Cocles when they fought against the enemy. They feared neither the collapsed walls nor the force of the cannon and won for themselves eternal memory.

At the critical stage during the final assault on May 29, Paolo was critically wounded but the brothers managed to retreat to the Genoese suburb of Pera/Galatas across the Golden Horn, as we are informed by Leonardo:[56] *securi ictus in vertice, fuso cruore una cum fratre ad Galatam confugit*, "he was struck by an ax on the head, and as the blood was pouring down he fled together with his brother to Galata [= Pera]." Troilo and Antonio survived and, in February 1461, were summoned as witnesses in a court case that involved another prominent defender of Constantinople in 1453, Maurizio Cataneo. That these individuals were key elements in the defense is also underscored by the fact that the sultan actively searched among his prisoners to identify them. Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, the *podestà* of the Genoese colony of Pera/Galatas, mentions this search in a letter that he composed a few days after the sack of Constantinople and the surrender of Pera to the Turks:[57] *Inquisivit* [*sc.* Mehmed II] *Mauritium Cattaneum et Paulum Boccardum, qui se occultaverunt*, "he [*sc.* Mehmed II] searched for Maurizio Cataneo and Paolo Bocchiardi, who had gone into hiding." Paolo's name is not mentioned in the documents of 1461, and perhaps we should assume that he had died of his wounds after his flight. Furthermore, these documents state that the Bocchiardi brothers were Venetians, a fact that is not noted in any contemporary account of the siege.

The union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches was formally celebrated in a religious ceremony in Hagia Sophia on December 12, 1452, and on that occasion the Greek emperor must have anticipated the arrival of additional regiments from the west. By the end of December, however, no major contribution to the defense had materialized. The month of January seems to have been spent in endless negotiations with the Venetians of Constantinople, whose ships the emperor sought to detain for the defense of the harbor and the protection of the Golden Horn. Finally, on January 26, Constantine seems to have gained the appearance of a victory over his Venetian allies, who, reluctantly and under protest, undertook the defense of Constantinople's harbor.[58]

On the same day, a company of professional soldiers arrived on board two large vessels. Led by Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani, they and the forces recruited by Cardinal Isidore were destined to become the nucleus of the defense:[59]

> *In questo zorno, pur di 26 zener, vene in Constantinopoli Zuan Zustignan Zenovexe…perché l'intendeva la nezesitade che havea Constantinopoli, e per benefitio de la christianitade, e per honor del mundo.*
>
> On that day, January 26 [1453] came to Constantinople Giovanni Giustiniani, the Genoese…because he had taken notice of Constantinople's need, for the benefit of Christendom and for worldly honor.

This *condottiere*, Giovanni Giustiniani, was immediately appointed commander-in-chief and was placed in charge of all land operations in the defense of the city. He became Constantine's πρωτοστράτωρ or, as Leonardo correctly translates the term into Latin, the imperial *dux militiae*. Leonardo's literary follower, Languschi-Dolfin,[60] repeats the bishop's statement: *fu facto capitanio a una posta la qual gagliardamente diffensaua la terra*, "he was made captain over a post, where he valiantly guarded the territory." Elsewhere[61] in his account, Languschi-Dolfin addresses Giustiniani as *capitanio general in la terra*, "captain general of the territory." Other writers employ more generic terms. The Latin account of Tetaldi twice designates Giustiniani *capitaneus constitutum*, "appointed captain,"[62] although this term is not echoed in Tetaldi's French version. Further, when the short account of the events by two Greek refugees (perhaps known as Thomas Eparkhos and Joseph Diplovatatzes), who found their way to Germany after the fall, had been translated into contemporary German, Giustiniani is simply identified[63] as *der Genuessen Haubtman*, "the chief of the Genoese." Barbaro also takes note of Giustiniani's promotion upon his arrival.[64] Finally, in an anonymous Venetian chronicle[65] his status is described as *capetanio a la guardia de lo riparo*, “captain in charge of the defense of the fortifications.”

Thus Giustiniani became the key commander in the defense of Constantinople. While he supervised the operations, the city presented a spirited resistance to the Turkish assaults. It was only after he was wounded during the course of the last battle and decided to withdraw that the city fell to the janissaries of Mehmed II. His actions on the morning of May 29 have been treated with skepticism, and his retreat, in sharp contrast to his former valor and determination, has occasioned a lively debate that has continued since the fifteenth century. Yet Giustiniani’s career has never been comprehensively examined. There are no studies or monographs devoted to the career of Constantine XI’s warlord. The fact is that very little is known about the Genoese *condotierre*, and his career before 1453 is not well documented, in spite of some confident statements encountered in secondary scholarship. Even his complete name is not often stated: Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani.[66] What seems to be certain is that he was a member of the Genoese Longo family of Chios, which had joined the Giustiniani *albergo*, not an actual family but an “association” of families, in spite of the various statements encountered in scholarship. As a member of this *albergo*, Longo had adopted the Giustiniani coat of arms. Numerous examples of it in stone survive in Chios, but every trace of the tincture has naturally disappeared with the passage of centuries, although we do know its appearance.[67]

As “Giustiniani” was a common name in the *quattrocento*, it has proved extremely difficult to identify any archival material that refers, without any doubt, to our Giovanni Guglielmo and to his career prior to 1453. For instance, the *Lib. Diversor.*, *reg. 31*, of the Genoese State Archives, cites a Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, son of the late Daniel [= *quondam Danielis*], with reference to the purchase of a house (May 7, 1442).[68] We have no way of concluding that he, the son of Daniel, is our Giustiniani. Further, there is a letter of May 2, 1450, addressed to a Giovanni Giustiniani, the *consul* [= *podestà*] of Caffa. Scholarship has since established Giustiniani the consul as the individual who became Constantine’s commander-in-chief in 1453.[69] As far as we can determine, the first time this process of equating the two individuals found its way into scholarship was in the *editio princeps* of Barbara’s celebrated *Giornale dell’assedio*, whose editor, Enrico Cornet, asserted in a note[70] that Giustiniani had served as *podestà*. Leonardo, who had observed the warlord in action and had spent time with him in Constantinople from late January to late May of 1453, neglects the earlier career of Giustiniani. Yet he points out that Giustiniani was a young man and was lacking in experience: *inexpertus iuvenis*. Modern scholars have overlooked Leonardo's statement. Of course, in the context of the passage, which deals with Giustiniani's wound and retreat on the morning of May 29, the bishop was perhaps attempting to justify the warlord's actions. Indeed Giustiniani may have been young. But what exactly did Leonardo mean by *inexpertus*? Did he mean that he had not participated in combat prior to the siege of 1453? Giustiniani's valiant defense and direction of the defensive operations throughout the long siege argue against such an interpretation. He must have had some combat experience but perhaps not quite as extensive as modern scholars would have us believe. Leonardo may mean that Giustiniani had not been wounded before and that he did not have any experience with combat wounds. The bishop's view[71] is embraced by Leonardo's Greek follower, Pseudo-Sphrantzes, who translates the Latin phrase as οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔμπειρος ὢν ἐν πολέμῳ, "not very experienced in warfare," and by Leonardo's Italian imitator, Languschi-Dolfin: *come inexperto zouene*, "like an inexperienced young man." This adjective *inexpertus* remains problematic: our sources present contradictory and confusing evidence. At least one other contemporary of Leonardo, who, unlike the bishop, had not met Giustiniani, expresses a different opinion. Antonio Ivani da Sarzana states:[72] *Longus, Iustinianus, Ianuensis vir bellicae disciplinae haud indoctus*, "Longo Giustiniani, a Genoese man who was not untrained in the art of war." Kritoboulos[73] characterizes him as ἐς πόλεμον ἔμπειρος καὶ μάλα γενναῖος, "experienced in war and very brave," and repeats the adjective ἔμπειρος, "experienced," a second time.[74] Doukas also expresses a high opinion of him:[75] Ἰωάννης ἐπιδέξιος ἀνὴρ καὶ εἰς παραταγὰς καὶ συνασπισμοὺς πολέμων δοκιμώτατος, "Giovanni, a skilled man, very experienced in the arrangement and conduct of battles." Youth and inexperience may have argued against the view that Giustiniani had ever been the *podestà* of Caffa, Genoa's important outpost on the shores of the Black Sea, although now it has been demonstrated that indeed he was a Genoese consul in Caffa. If indeed Giustiniani was young in 1453, at the age of thirty-five, it may be considered probable that he had been consul.

Among the documents that seem to refer to the Giustiniani of 1453 is a letter (dated April, 1452) that was dispatched to Florence from Genoa. It mentions a Giovanni Giustiniani, the captain of three ships, who was buying provisions for a voyage to the Levant.[76] To this evidence we may add the testimony of another letter written by

Soderini, Florence's envoy in Genoa, which mentions the secret departure of Giustiniani with seven hundred men.[77] A third letter of December 15, 1452, reports that a Giovanni Giustiniani and his ship captured a "Saracen" vessel transporting merchandise from Alexandria, and that the Genoese authorities were about to appoint a commission to inquire about this incident.[78] It is quite possible that our Giustiniani had been preying on Muslim shipping before his arrival in Constantinople. Kritoboulos also knew of the naval activities of Giustiniani at this time:[79] διέτριβε περί τε Χίον καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ τὴν ταύτην θάλασσαν λοχῶν τινας τῶν αὐτῷ διαφόρων, "he spent time around Chios and made ambushes in its waters against his enemies." Similar is the statement of Leonardo,[80] who sees Giustiniani as *mare decursitans*, "a sea raider." According to numerous citations in contemporary literature, Giustiniani had acquired the reputation of being a "pirate" and a "corsair," or at least, this was how the Porte officials viewed him. During the siege the sultan attempted, with heavy bombardment, to force a number of Genoese ships (Giustiniani's may have been included among them) away from the chain that had been stretched from Constantinople to the shores of Pera in order to prevent the Turkish fleet from sailing into the Golden Horn. When the inhabitants of Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople that was officially neutral in 1453, complained about the bombardment, the sultan justified his hostile action by suggesting that the owners of the ships behind the chain were pirates hired by the Greek emperor as *condottieri*:[81] *piratarum erant, quos Imperator conduxerat, contra eas agere velle, quae inimicorum suorum essent*, "he [Mehmed] said that the ships belonged to pirates, whom the emperor had hired and his action were directed against them, as they belonged to his enemies." This may be a veiled reference to Giustiniani. He and his band qualify as *condottieri* who were the major obstacle in the sultan's assaults against the walls. We also know from Barbara that Giustiniani commanded or owned a large ship of his own.[82] Leonardo's report is also echoed in Languschi-Dolfin's vernacular version, whose author renders[83] Leonardo's *piratarum*-pirates as *de corsari*, "corsairs." The reference to "pirates" is also retained in the late, anonymous chronicle *Barberini 111*:[84]

> Καὶ τότε ἔβαλε ὅτι νὰ χαλάσῃ τὰ καράβια τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὁποὺ ἤτανε εἰς τὸν λιμιῶνα, ὁποὺ ἤτανε εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Γαλατᾶ, τὸ μέρος τῆς Ἀνατολῆς· τὰ ὁποῖα καράβια εἴχανε μέσα ἀνδρειωμένους κουρσάρους.

> And then he attempted to destroy the ships of the Christians that were in the harbor, at the side of Galatas [Pera], that is to say,

> towards the east. On board those ships were brave corsairs.

It is not only Leonardo and his imitators who seem to think of Giustiniani's band of *condottieri* as "pirates" and "corsairs." There can be no doubt that in the eyes of numerous contemporaries, Giustiniani and his band were clearly mercenaries. Giacomo Tetaldi in his Latin version has no qualms about Giustiniani's status:[85]

> *Erat hoc in loco intra civitatem constitutus capitaneus quidam nomen erat Ioannes, vir nobilis, natione Ianuensis, qui eo tempore imperatori Constantinopolitano deservivit sub tributo.*
>
> In charge of that spot was placed a man by the name of Giovanni. He was a nobleman, a Genoese by origin, who at that time had been hired by the Constantinopolitan emperor for a fee.

While this statement is omitted in the same passage of Tetaldi's French version, elsewhere this work too speaks of Giustiniani as a mercenary:[86] *une de messire Jean Justinien Jennevois, aux gaiges de l'empereur*, "one lord Giovanni Giustiniani, a Genoese, hired in the service of the emperor." Another contemporary, who personally knew many of the participants on both sides in the siege, was the Greco-Venetian Nikolaos Sekoundinos. He was, as we have previously noted, one of the first westerners to visit Constantinople in an official capacity following its occupation in the summer of 1453, when the Venetians were attempting to come to an understanding with Mehmed II and to ransom Venetian defenders and citizens captured during the sack. Sekoundinos earlier had served as the Latin to Greek translator during the council of Florence, and he knew his way and had access through the various courts in Italy and the Levant. He has provided us with his comments on this matter:[87]

> *Januensis quidam Joannes Longus, vir profecto magni pretii, cum ducentis circiter nautis – nam onerariae navis praefectus, …stipendio imperatoris conductus.*
>
> A certain Genoese, Giovanni Longo, a worthy man, with about two hundred sailors (as he was in charge of a cargo ship)…was hired for a fee by the emperor.

In a work that was composed soon after the siege, before November, 1453, Niccolò Tignosi (also known as da Foligno) knew of "corsairs" in the service of the emperor of Constantinople and seems to refer indirectly to Giustiniani and his company:[88] *quoniam Bizantium praeter quosdam piratas Italosque mercatores nullos habere potuit defensores,* "Byzantium [Constantinople] was not able to muster defenders, with the exception of some pirates and Italian merchants."

We should further analyze the charge of "piracy" against Giustiniani and his band. As we have previously noted, Giustiniani had been in the 1440s Genoese consul at Caffa. Away from Caffa at the time of the construction of Rumeli Hisar, he found himself in Chios and unable to return to his consulship. It appears that he believed that his ship could not penetrate the Ottoman defenses now posed with the construction of the fortress on the strait. The matter is further complicated by the continuation of military conflict between Genoa and the central Italian state of Ancona. During wartime, the seizure of naval and commercial vessels was commonplace. Giustiniani preyed upon the mercantile vessels of Ancona and even Ottoman shipping. Thus the precious cargo became subject to seizure and under the rules of engagement in international maritime law this was acceptable conduct. Giustiniani, therefore, served his state of Genoa in a noble action, even if a commission was later convened to examine his actions, which the Anconans, like the Turks, deemed to be piratical. The Genoese authorities did address, as the documents attest, the charge of piracy, but the ultimate outcome of this remains in doubt with the death of Giustiniani soon after the fall of Constantinople.[89]

Further, it is unclear what attracted Giustiniani to Constantinople. Barbara, as we have seen,[90] mentions "the benefit of Christendom" and "worldly honor" as possible motives, even though, as a Venetian, Barbara elsewhere exhibited considerable bias against the Genoese warlord.[91] Writing a few years after the siege, Kritoboulos states that Giustiniani came to Constantinople on his own initiative,[92] but then he adds that some people were under the impression that Constantine XI, who had promised him the island of Lemnos in return for his services, had invited him:[93]

> ἦκεν αὐτόκλητος σὺν ταῖς ὁλκάσι βοηθήσων...εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ μετάκλητον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὑπεσχημένου [*sc.* Κωνσταντίνου] μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον μισθὸν τῆς βοηθείας τὴν Λῆμνον αὐτῷ.

> He [*sc.* Giustiniani] came on his own to help with his cargo boats… there are some who state that he had been invited by him [*sc.* Constantine XI] who promised him, as a reward, Lemnos after the war.

Doukas agrees on the reward and further adds that the cession of Lemnos was confirmed by an imperial chrysobull:[94]

> εὐεργέτησε [*sc.* Κωνσταντῖνος] δὲ τούτῳ [*sc.* Giustiniani] καὶ διὰ χρυσοβούλλου γράμματος τὴν νῆσον Λῆμνον, εἰ ἀποκρουσθήσεται ὁ Μεχεμὲτ καὶ ὑποστραφήσεται ἄπρακτος ἐξ ὧν θαρρεῖ κερδάναι τῆς πόλεως.

> He [*sc.* Constantine XI] granted him [*sc.* Giustiniani], with a written chrysobull, the island of Lemnos, if Mehmed were repelled and returned empty-handed, without realizing his hope of seizing the city.

Such statements, however, should not be accepted blindly. There are no surviving documents and Sphrantzes, the unofficial Grand Chancellor and childhood friend of Constantine XI, relates a different story. Sphrantzes states that Constantine XI had granted Lemnos to the "Catalan king" in return for naval aid:[95]

Τίς ἠπίστατο τὴν τοῦ ρηγὸς ζήτησιν τῶν Καταλάνων, ὅτι νὰ δοθῆ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἡ Λῆμνος. Καὶ ἐπράττετο,

"who knew that the Catalan king had asked to be given the island of Lemnos, which was ceded accordingly." Is it possible that Constantine XI promised the same island[96] to two different individuals on two different occasions? One may only conclude, in frustration, that the nature of Giustiniani's reward, if other than the honorable sentiments mentioned by Barbara, must remain in doubt, in the absence of further evidence. Still, as Kritoboulos and Doukas attest, the story in circulation after the fall was that Lemnos was destined to be Giustiniani's island. Sekoundinos is probably closer to the truth when he reports that Giustiniani was a *condottiere*, but fails to define his promised reward:[97] *stipendio imperatoris conductus*, "he was hired for a fee by the emperor." Regardless of the promised reward, Giustiniani, if indeed he was the gentleman who was under investigation by the authorities of Genoa for piratical activities, may have elected to remove himself, for the time being, and may have chosen Constantinople as the proper environment in which to redeem himself.

The arrival of such an important contingent could not have been sudden, nor totally unexpected. It is unfortunate that Sphrantzes writes nothing of the matter. The enlistment of Giustiniani and of his experienced band must be considered a Byzantine triumph, perhaps the last notable activity of the imperial chancery. And one must wonder whether Cardinal Isidore played a significant role in the negotiations during his voyage that brought him from Italy to Constantinople, by way of Chios, one of the bases of Giovanni Giustiniani. The appointment of Giustiniani as commander-in-chief proved a wise choice. Constantine must have encountered considerable opposition, however, from members of his own administration in the court as well as from his Venetian allies and advisors, who were biased against the Genoese. Giustiniani's professional band discharged its duty with distinction and valor almost to the very end, to the morning of May 29, a fact that is freely admitted by some eyewitnesses, such as the Anconan consul, Benvenuto,[98] who was, as he proudly tells us, a *baro inperatoris*, “a baron of the emperor”:

> *Item quod, donec Justinianus Longus, custodiens simul cum inperatore… locum fractum per bomberdas…egregie fuit civitas…defensata.*
>
> Item: as long as Giustiniani Longo, with the emperor, was active in the defense…even though his sector was demolished by the bombards…the city was defended exceptionally well.

Tetaldi’s impressions were even more positive in his Latin version:[99]

> *Hic* [*sc.* Giustiniani] *se in omnibus exhibuit audacem et virilem velut alter Machabeus, in cuius potestatis praeeminentia totus cuneus bellatorum omnem spem suam et fiduciam.*
>
> He [*sc.* Giustiniani] proved himself daring in everything. He was strong, like another Macabee, in whose exceptional abilities all soldiers had placed their hopes and trust.

Leonardo expresses faith in the warlord and then blames Fortune for the disaster:[100]

> *Angustia igitur hac inflictus Imperator, dispositis in propugnaculis militibus, quoad potuit, antemurale solum urbis vallumque sat videbatur tutati posse. <Bellum itaque, paucitate suorum diffidens, tolerat> et spem omnem in Johanne praefecto Justiniano reposuit. Bene siquidem, si fata secundassent.*
>
> The emperor was at a loss. He distributed the soldiers on the battlements, as much as he could, and the first wall seemed to be well protected. <He sustained the war, even though he was despondent by the paucity of his soldiers> and placed all hope in his commander, Giovanni. He would have succeeded, had Fortune favored him.

Secondary documents also agree on Giustiniani’s valor. Indeed it is in Greek accounts that Giustiniani receives a great deal of praise for his efforts during the siege. Doukas, for instance, evaluates the situation as follows:[101] ἔκτοτε οὖν ἐμάχοντο ἡρωικῶς οἱ Λατῖνοι σὺν τῷ Ἰωάννη, “since that time [that is, since the appointment of Giustiniani in charge of the defense] the Latins with Giovanni fought heroically.” Kritoboulos agrees:[102] ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ πολέμων ἔμπειρος…καὶ τὰ ἐς τειχομαχίαν μάλιστα ἱκανῶς ἤσκητο, “the man [*sc.* Giustiniani] was experienced in battles…and he was especially trained in defending walls."

The *condottiere* found himself in the difficult position of trying to defend a large city with inadequate resources and with a divided population whose various minorities displayed no affection for one another. These diverse groups included Greeks, Venetians, Genoese, Catholics, Orthodox, Jews, pro-western factions, pro-Turkish factions, unionists, and anti-unionists. It is indeed a tribute to Giustiniani that the city was able to hold out for such a long period, from the beginning of April to the end of May. Even if the warlord had not been wounded, if the assault of May 29 had been repelled, and if Mehmed II had withdrawn on that occasion, granting a respite to the beleaguered city, the eventual fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks was still assured. The city, depleted of population and essential necessities, had been completely surrounded by hostile forces and would have succumbed one way or another. Annexation to the Ottoman empire would have come sooner or later.

Giustiniani then presents us with a typical career of a soldier of fortune of the late Middle Ages and of the early Renaissance. As it is hinted in our sources, his career may have included a stage during which he was a corsair. Until the late nineteenth century, piracy was a common way of life in the Levant, and the same ship could serve as a merchantman or as a man-of-war, depending on circumstances. The Knights of Saint John, for instance, generally engaged in what nowadays would be interpreted as piracy. Moreover, the profession of soldier has always attracted individuals in trouble with the law and the authorities. A typical example is to be found in the siege of Rhodes in 1481. After Mehmed IF s troops had been repelled from Rhodes by the Hospitallers, the grand master of the order, Pierre d'Aubusson, wrote a letter (dated July 14, 1482) on behalf of an individual. Addressed to Isabella of Castile, this letter includes the grand master's personal request that a pardon be granted to Fernando de Vergonde of Galicia, who had been convicted of a crime before the siege and had been sent to assist in the defense of Rhodes, with a promise of an eventual pardon. Since he had discharged his obligation with distinction in the opinion of d'Aubusson, he had earned his pardon.[103] Clearly, such cases were common. Giustiniani was a product of his age. His short and controversial career illustrates the perils that various *condottieri* of the *quattrocento* faced. The fact that he was associated with the death of the millennial empire of the Second Rome has granted him immortality while he has also attracted considerable controversy and debate over his withdrawal on May 29, 1453.

## III. A Failure of the Imperial Chancery

The financial exigencies of Constantinople's treasury contributed to the success of Mehmed IFs operations in ways that could not have been foreseen by the defenders before the commencement of hostilities. While additional and desperate measures were undertaken to import arms[104] through diplomacy, and emissaries desperately sought to recruit mercenaries from the west, Constantine XI proved unable to offer an adequate salary to Urban, his own expert on artillery and gunpowder in his service, and even denied him a meager raise that he had requested. This military engineer and artillery expert had been well versed in the process of casting bronze cannon. Such professionals were in demand in the Levant, even though their methods and techniques may have been outdated and were perhaps even obsolete by western standards. The capabilities of western experts can be gauged by the fact that during the siege Constantinople was saved on a number of occasions by the efforts of a military engineer from either Germany or Scotland, who was able to detect and neutralize the mines dug by the sultan's Serbian sappers.[105] His name is given as John Grant, a form that seems to be hiding behind Leonardo's latinized rendition of his name, and who, as Leonardo states, was an officer attached to the professional band of mercenaries led by Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani. The bishop expresses deep admiration for Grant's efforts on behalf of the defense of the Kaligaria Gate (Eğri Kapı) and its sector, and his sentiments are taken up by his followers:[106]

> *at cum a fundamentis – o rem mirabilem! – primum iam vallum antequemurale mirando cum silentio subcavassent, Johannis Grande Alemani, ingeniosi militis rerum bellicarum doctissimi, quem Johannes Justinianus, militiae dux, centurionem conduxerat, industria et sagacitate opus detectum est exploratorumque…cum Johanne Alemano ingenioso Calegaream concussam reparant proteguntque.*
>
> But when they had first silently undermined (what a miracle !) the first line of walls, John Grant, the German, a most learned military engineer, who had come, as a lieutenant with the band of Giovanni Giustiniani, the commander-in-chief, detected their design, with his perseverance and wisdom…with the help of the resourceful John the German they repaired and protected the damaged Kaligaria Gate.

The fate of John Grant in the last days of the siege remains a mystery. We do not know whether he escaped the carnage of May 29, either with his companions, the retreating band of *condottieri* that brought Giustiniani, their mortally wounded leader, to Chios, or aboard another ship, or whether he perished in the last battle(s) and sack. If he were still attached to the contingent defending the Kaligaria Gate on May 29, 1453, he would have had no opportunity to join his departing comrades who withdrew from their assigned sector about a quarter of a mile to his south, about the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton.

From the extensive contemporary and near contemporary *corpus* of literature that deals with the siege of Constantinople in 1453, only two sources cite the engineer apparently in charge of the Greek emperor's few and outmoded pieces of artillery in the imperial arsenal: Doukas and Khalkokondyles, who had first-hand knowledge of the Turks and had active contacts within the Porte. Doukas himself relates that he was present at Adrianople shortly after Mehmed II had executed, with exceptional cruelty,[107] a Venetian captain and his crew captured when their galley failed to outrun his bombards at Rumeli Hisar. Doukas even viewed their unburied remains a few months before the siege.[108] Accordingly, Doukas is the only author to provide details on this incident that occurred in the spring/summer of 1452, while Mehmed II was constructing his fortress on the straits of the Bosphorus,[109] the famous Rumeli Hisar (pi. 60),[110] to curtail Venetian trade from the Black Sea. Mehmed was approached by a capable military engineer from Hungary who had been in the service of the Greek emperor:[111] ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως εἷς τεχνίτης ὁ τὰς πετροβολιμαίους χώνας κατασκευάζων, τὸ γένος Οὖγγρος, τεχνίτης δοκιμώτατος, "out of the city came a technician who constructed stone-throwing engines. He was a Hungarian by birth, and a very experienced technician." Doukas states that the man was dissatisfied with his compensation in the imperial service and that he had unsuccessfully petitioned the emperor for a pay increase. Doukas further observes that, if the emperor had agreed to pay one fourth of the salary that was eventually granted by the sultan, the engineer would have been happy to remain in the imperial service. Doukas implies that this man and his expertise were largely responsible for the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople:[112]

> οὗτος πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐλθὼν καὶ σημάνας τοῖς μεσάζουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ ἀνέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς γράψας αὐτῷ σιτηρέσιον οὐκ ἄξιον πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτοῦ, οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνο τὸ μηδαμινὸν καὶ εὐαρίθμητον ἐδίδοσαν τῷ τεχνίτῃ. ὅθεν καὶ ἀπογνοὺς καταλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν τρέχει πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. καὶ αὐτὸς ἀσπασίως ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ τροφὰς καὶ ἐνδύματα φιλοτιμήσας αὐτὸν δίδωσι, καὶ ῥόγαν τόσην ὅσην εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ τέταρτον ἔδιδεν, οὐκ ἂν ἀπεδίδρασκε τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

> Long ago this man had come to Constantinople and had indicated his art to the official courtiers of the emperor, who made a report to the emperor. He granted him a salary that was not worthy of this man’s science. This technician [received] close to nothing, a worthless salary. So in desperation he left the city one day and he ran to the barbarian [*sc.* Mehmed II], who received him gladly and gave him food and clothes, in addition to a salary. Had the emperor granted him one fourth of this sum he would not have escaped from Constantinople.

It is possible that the imperial strategists had undervalued the potential of gunpowder and the advantages offered by bombards, and consequently failed to give serious thought to the engineers’ request for a raise. On the other hand, modern historians have overrated the artillery of Mehmed II, which, in the final analysis, was not directly responsible for the Ottoman success of the assault of May 29. On the other hand, the imperial treasury of Constantinople was in no position to grant the request for the engineer’s salary. Thus he surreptitiously removed himself (ἀπεδίδρασκε/”escaped” is the strong term employed by Doukas) to the Porte and offered his expertise in the production of artillery pieces and his knowledge of the conditions at the imperial arsenal. This man, if Doukas is accurate, must have been in possession of valuable intelligence information concerning the artillery that he had supervised while in the imperial service and with regard to the condition of the walls in view of the recent renovation program. He was knowledgeable because he had been employed in Constantinople for some time, as Doukas’ narrative relates. In addition, as an engineer, he must have calculated the potential damage that stone projectiles propelled by gunpowder could inflict upon the ancient walls. It is no wonder that the sultan welcomed him with open arms.

Beyond these few simple statements of Doukas we have no additional information on this man. What was his earlier career and who had taught him his skills? While we would like to know the answers to these numerous questions, Doukas has nothing more to offer on this man’s background and does not even state his name. The only other references are to be found in Khalkokondyles’ narrative. Khalkokondyles had some connections to the Porte and was well informed in regard to Ottoman military matters.[113] He agrees in basic terms with the information supplied by Doukas, for he states that the engineer left Constantinople because of an inadequate salary and sought employment at the Porte. However, unlike Doukas, Khalkokondyles does not associate the defection of the engineer with the construction of Rumeli Hisar at the Bosphorus, and introduces him only in his opening passages of the siege in 1453. Khalkokondyles is the only contemporary author to supply us with the engineer's name:[114]

> τηλεβολιστὴς δ᾽ ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως τοὔνομα ᾽Ορβανός, Δὰξ τὸ γένος, καὶ πρότερον παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι διατρίβων. καὶ τούς τε Ἕλληνας ἀπολιπὼν δεόμενος βίου, ἀφίκετο παρὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως.
>
> There was an artilleryman of the king [= sultan] called Orbanos. He was a Dacian by birth and earlier he had spent time with the Greeks. Because he needed a better salary for himself, he left the Greeks and came to the Porte of the king [= sultan].

While we thus discover that this able military engineer or generic "artilleryman," according to Khalkokondyles, was called "Orban" (or better "Urban," as "Orbanos" must be Khalkokondyles' Hellenic rendition of this western name[115]), this historian disagrees with Doukas about his birthplace. He believes that Urban was not a Hungarian but a "Dacian," a term that needs further clarification. Under the influence of humanism, Khalkokondyles, himself a lover of antiquity, employed in his narrative principles and terminology that would have been commonplace in ancient literature.[116] He resisted the use of terms that would have been familiar to his uneducated contemporaries. If he could find an ancient term for a modern group, he used it consistently. Thus he termed the Serbs "Triballians-Τριβαλλοί," the Russians "Sarmatians-Σαρμάται," the Hungarians "Paionians-Παίονες," and the Mongols "Scythians-Σκύθαι." He even avoided employing the term "Christian" with a preference for the archaic "Nazeraean-Ναζηραῖος." He used "Dacia," the name of the ancient Roman province to indicate the *quattrocento* Wallachia and Transylvania. Thus, as far as he is concerned, Urban was from this area. And given the fact that Doukas believed him to be a Hungarian, we may be tempted to conclude that indeed he was a Hungarian who found his way to the Balkans via Transylvania. Moreover, Urban's methods and preferences in artillery, as can be deduced from the available evidence, strongly argue in favor of Hungarian, Transylvanian, or Wallachian origins. He was still casting bronze bombards, a practice that had been abandoned in western Europe by the 1440s, when western engineers had turned their attention to the manufacture of smaller and more maneuverable iron artillery pieces.[117]

Urban's career in the Porte is not discussed in any surviving sources.[118] The only fact that emerges is that he produced a monstrous bombard that was used in the siege of Constantinople. We are unaware of any additional guns that he may have manufactured for Mehmed. While some modern authorities[119] claim that the cannon(s) that Mehmed II deployed on his newly erected Rumeli Hisar at the straits of the Bosphorus had been cast by Urban, no *quattrocento* authority explicitly confirms this view, which then is tantamount to speculation. In fact, Kritoboulos suggests that the sultan, while they were preparing for the siege in the winter of 1452/1453, already possessed artillery pieces before Urban had begun the construction of his famous bombard:[120] εἴ γε πρὸς ταῖς οὔσαις μηχαναῖς (ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἤδη καὶ ἕτεραι πρόσθεν πεποιημέναι), "in addition to the existing engines [= cannon] (for already they possessed others that had been constructed earlier)." If indeed Doukas is correct when he states that Urban defected to the Porte in the spring or summer of 1452, while the fortress was under construction, there may not have been sufficient time to produce the artillery pieces that were deployed on its towers and on the shore. The following fall, Urban would have been busy designing the bombard that was presumed to reduce the Constantinopolitan fortifications to rubble. Doukas states that, after the sultan approved Urban's design, it took the engineer three months to produce his masterpiece. Then Doukas continues to recount the fate of Antonio Rizzo, whose ship was sunk by a bombard (pl. 62) from Rumeli Hisar on November 26, 1452, because the Venetian captain refused to stop his ship to be boarded by an Ottoman garrison. After his account of this event, Doukas turns to the manufacture of the great bombard. We may conjecture by the position of this episode in the narrative, embedded between the arrival of Urban at the Porte and his manufacture of the great cannon, that Urban also produced the cannon that sank Rizzo's boat. Nevertheless, the evidence is indirect and circumstantial:[121]

> ἤρξαντο συναθροίζειν χαλκὸν τοίνυν, καὶ ὁ τεχνίτης τὸν τύπον τῆς σκευῆς ἔπλαττεν. ἐν τρισὶ οὖν μησὶ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ ἐχωνεύθη τέρας τι φοβερὸν καὶ ἐξαίσιον. ἐν δὲ τῷ Πασκεσὲν πολιχνίῳ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας κατερχομένης νηὸς ἐκ τοῦ στομίου μεγάλης τῶν Βενετίκων, ῾Ρύτζος ὁ ναύαρχος τοὔνομα…πέτραν ἀκοντίσαντες οἱ τοῦ κάστρου ὑπερμεγέθη τὴν ναῦν διέρρηξε.

> They began amassing bronze and the technician [*sc.* Urban] created the form of the cannon; and in three months a terrible and unprecedented monster was constructed and cast. In those days a big ship of the Venetians was sailing down the narrows [= the

> Bosphorus] by the town of Başkesen [“Head Cutter,” that is, Rumeli Hisar], commanded by Antonio Rizzo…they fired a very large stone from the castle and it struck the ship.

Whether the bombards (pl. 63[122]) of Rumeli Hisar that spelled doom for Rizzo had been constructed under the guidance of Urban or not, the incident indicates that cannon could make a serious contribution to warfare, proving that moving targets were not beyond the reach of capable artillerymen. Barbaro also writes of this event.[123] Neither Barbaro nor any other sources specify that this *bombarda grossa*, “great bombard,” was new or that any specific engineer had manufactured it. The incident nevertheless must have alarmed the Venetians, and soon thereafter spies were dispatched to the Bosphorus, to inspect the castle that threatened communications with the Venetian posts north of the straits. In fact, a contemporary drawing of Rumeli Hisar, evidently executed by a Venetian spy after inspection, survives.[124] In Barbara’s estimation, the Rizzo incident marks the beginning of hostilities between the Constantinopolitan Venetians and the *Porte*, for up to this point a state of war formally existed only between the Greeks and the Turks.[125]

Although this early success of the Rumeli Hisar bombard(s) undoubtedly elated the sultan and his staff, it must be observed that we are probably encountering a fortuitous shot, for this strike was not again duplicated. Time after time skilled Venetian captains took advantage of the prevailing winds and the currents to elude, without casualties, the stationary artillery of Mehmed’s Rumeli Hisar. On November 10, sixteen days before the Rizzo incident, Girolamo Morosini led two galleys from Caffa and easily by-passed the castle at the mouth of the Bosphorus.[126] On December 17, Aluvixe Diedo guided his galley from Tana into Constantinople, successfully eluding Mehmed’s bombards.[127] On December 4, 1453, Giacomo Coco, who was captain of a Venetian galley from Trebizond, also passed unharmed before the artillery of Mehmed at Rumeli Hisar.[128]

By the end of August 1452, the construction of Rumeli Hisar had been completed and its batteries were deployed. Mehmed departed the area and carried out a two-day inspection of the land walls of Constantinople. We may suppose that on this occasion the sultan was accompanied by Urban, who could have contributed his own knowledge on the strength of the ancient walls, with which he had become familiar during his employment at the imperial arsenal:[129] Ερωτηθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος…ἀπεκρίνατο· ᾽Εγὼ γὰρ τὰ τείχη τῆς Πόλεως ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι, “when he [*sc.* Urban] was asked by the lord [*sc.* Mehmed II]…he replied: ‘I have an accurate knowledge the City walls. ‘“ Urban must have offered his views before the sultan’s departure from the vicinity of the walls:[130] Καὶ τελέσας τὸ κάστρον, τῇ λα$^{η}$ τοῦ αὐγούστου ἐγερθεὶς ἀπ᾽ ἐκεῖ, ἐλθὼν ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς σούδας τῆς Πόλεως, “he completed the castle and departed on August 31; he marched and reached the moat of the City.” The winter of 1452/1453 in Adrianople was spent in feverish preparations for the siege and Urban must have been quite busy casting the bombard that he had promised would reduce the walls of Constantinople to rubble. If Doukas’ account carries any weight, and his narrative at this point does display elements that belong to oral tradition and to folk tales, Urban also boasted that his cannon would turn the walls of Babylon to dust:[131] Οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Βαβυλώνεια τείχη ὡς χοῦν λεπτυνεῖ ἡ παρὰ τῆς χωνείας τῆς ἐμῆς ἀφεθεῖσα, “not only those [*sc.* the walls of Constantinople] but also the walls of Babylon will be reduced to dust, once my cannon is fired.” Similar is the information supplied by Kritoboulos, who, however, does not mention Urban by name and speaks only of engineers, or “engine-makers,” the μηχανοποιοὶ of the sultan, who felt confident to promise that they would destroy the walls.[132]

Urban’s activities during the siege are not known[133] beyond the fact that he did produce bombard(s), which however may not have performed as well as he had promised or anticipated. While the great cannon inflicted considerable damage, the bombard failed to reduce the walls to dust and the defenders were able to replace ruined sections with improvised stockades so that during the final assault there were no open breaches and the Ottoman troops still faced stockades, barricades, and trenches blocking their access to the interior. In fact, there seems to have been no breach, contrary to the confident statements encountered in modern accounts of the siege. Exactly what Urban’s duties were during the siege can only be surmised, as he is not mentioned again in our sources. Some modern historians believe that Urban was killed when his bombard exploded, but this view amounts to mere speculation. It is only in modern accounts of the siege that we encounter the opinion (often stated as fact) that Urban was killed when his bombard exploded;[134] again nothing of this sort is stated in our sources, which never mention Urban, once he has left the Greek court and has joined Mehmed’s Porte.

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# Notes

1 On the early life and rise to power of Mehmed II, cf. H. İnalcik, “Mehmed II,” *İA*, 7 (1957): 506–510; *idem, Fatih Devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar, passim.*

2 *Georgii Sphrantzae Chronicon*, ed. Maisano (that is, the authentic *Chronicon Minus*), 30.5. For an English translation, cf. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 59. Slightly different is the version elaborated by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos in the *Maius* 3.1, but his alterations are linguistic and not substantive: Κἀγὼ ἀκούσας οὕτως ἐγενόμην ἄφωνος καὶ τοσούτη ὀδύνη μοι περιείχετο, ὡς εἰ περὶ θανάτου τῶν φιλτάτων ἠκοίκειν. Καὶ μικρὸν κατηφιάσας λέγω· "Δέσποτά μου, αὕτη οὐ χαρίεσσα ἐπαγγελία ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ὀδυνηρά." Ὁ δὲ λέγει· "Καὶ πῶς χρηστὲ ἄνερ;" Κἀγώ· "διότι ὁ τεθνηκὼς ἀμηρᾶς ἦν γέρων καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως ἀπεπειράσθη αὐτῷ καὶ οἰκέτι ἐβούλετο ἐγχειρισθῆναί τι κατ᾽ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἤθελε μᾶλλον εἰρηνεύειν ἢ μάχεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ νῦν γεγονὼς νέος ὤν, παιδιόθεν ἐχθρὸς ἦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πρὸς τὸ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν αὐτούς, λέγων ὅτι, ὅταν καιρὸν εὕρῃ ἐπιτήδειον καὶ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐξουσίαν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λήψηται, τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ πάντων Χριστιανῶν εἶχε ἐξολοθρεῦσαι καὶ ἀφανίσαι. ... "

3 375B: Ἀμουράτης ὁ Μεχμέτεω παῖς τελευτᾷ ἐν συμποσίῳ, ὑπὸ οἴνου γενόμενος ἀπόπληκτος. ἐβασίλευε δὲ ἔτη δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, κατέλιπε δὲ βασιλέα Μεχμέτην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ...ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικής τε γενόμενος καὶ τὴν τύχην οὐκ ἀδόκιμος. ἀμυνόμενος δὲ ἐπολέμει, οὐχ ὑπάρχων ἀδικίας, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸν ὑπάρξαντα αὐτίκα ἐπιὼν ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὁπότε μή τις αὐτὸν προὐκαλεῖτο ἐπὶ πόλεμον, οὐ πάνυ τι προὐμυθεῖτο στρατεύεσθαι, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ὄκνου ἥκων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμυνόμενος μὲν ἐδικαίου καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ ἐς τὰ χαλεπώτατα προϊέναι καὶ μηδένα ὑπολογίζεσθαι μήτε πόνον μήτε αὖ κίνδυνον. The standard edition of this work remains that of Dark\’o, although a new edition with German translation is in preparation. There has been no modern translation of Khalkokondyles’ notable work in its entirety. The siege section has been translated into Italian in *CC* 2: 196–227; and into English by Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 42–56. For selections from the early books of this historian, cf. Nicoloudis, which includes a summary of the few known facts about Laonikos’ life (pp. 42–57); cf. the thorough review of this publication by D. R. Reinsch in *BZ* 91 (1998): 566–571.

4 Kritoboulos 1.4.1 (15). Translations include: Riggs, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritovoulos*; Grecu, *Critobul*; and selections of the siege section into Italian in *CC* 2: 230–251.

5 Tafur, *Andanças.* Cf. the translation by Letts, *Pero Tafur.* In English translation, Mijatovich, ch. 3, has extensively quoted Bertrandon de la Brocquière’s account. For a modern assessment of Murad’s reign cf. *MCT*, pp. 60–63; for the events surrounding the accession of Mehmed, cf. A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 25 ff.

6 Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, Chronica Byzantina Breviora*, 1: 33.51 (252). Chronicle 22.47 (188) notes a date for the sultan’s death: ἰνδικτιῶνος θ΄, ἰαννουαρίῳ λα΄, ἡμέρα σαββάτῳ. The correct date is February 3, 1451, the first day of the Islamic year 855. Entry 34.17 (270) erroneously assigns “February 10.” The correct date is reported in 53.20 (383), which also includes a variation with the wrong date of ἰαννουαρίῳ γ΄. Furthermore, cf. 54.15 (390), 55.13 (399), and 97.10 (640). Discussion in Alderson,

pp. 25 ff., and in *MCT*, p. 61.

7 Khalkokondyles 376B.

8 For the impression in Europe, cf. the discussion in *MCT*, pp. 67–70, and in *SOC*, pp. 150 ff. The rise to power of the young sultan also encouraged Alfonso of Naples to reconsider his supposed rights and claims to the throne of Constantinople. Even the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo, who had first-hand contacts with the Levant (as he had been married to a woman related to Manuel Chrysoloras), attempted to persuade Charles VII of France to embark on a crusade. Filelfo was convinced that Mehmed II was totally inexperienced in military affairs. The humanist was so wrong in his assessment that within two years he had to send a fawning letter to the sultan, seeking the release of his mother-in-law, who had been enslaved in the sack of Constantinople in 1453; cf. *MHH* 21: 705–708.

9 Leontaris' mission is discussed in *PaL* 2: 108, *FC*, pp. 377–380, and Guilland, "Les Appels," pp. 226–244, esp. pp. 231 ff. Also cf. Marinesco, "Le pape Nicholas V," pp. 332–333. *PaL* 2: 108 lists all Venetian archival material pertaining to this matter. These diplomatic activities of Constantine XI were widely known and Antonio Ivani da Sarzana's early *Expugnatio Constantinopolitana* (composed in the winter of 1453/1454) makes mention of them *(TIePN*, p. 150): *Dragas, Graecorum imperator, interea ratus hostem novo tempore reversurum, ad summum Pontificem Imperatoremque Romanum atque regem Alphonsum et Venetos nonnullos alios principes oratores mittit, qui nuntient nisi ei auxilientur, sese Teucrorum conatibus nequaquam obsistere posse.* Cf. C. Marinesco, "Notes sur quelques ambassadeurs byzantins en Occident à la veille de la chute de Constantinople sous les Turcs," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 10 (1950): 426–427; also, K.-P. Matschke, "Von der Diplomatie des Überflusses zur Diplomatie des Mangels. Byzantinische Diplomaten auf der Suche nach westlicher Hilfe gegen die Türken am Vorabend des Falls von Konstantinopel," in R. C. Schwinges and K. Wriedt, eds., *Gesandtschaft- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 60 (Ostfildern, 2003): 87–133.

10 The official translation into Latin of the Greek text of Constantine's letter to Borso d'Este, the marquis of Ferrara, is preserved in the R. Archivio Stato of Modena. The document (published by Lampros, ΠκΠ, 4: 26–27) is a letter of introduction, a typical example of the genre. At the end of the text there is a menology written by Constantine's hand in purple ink (facsimile in *ibid.*, p. 27): μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιδ΄ †. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this document. The handwriting of Constantine matches his other surviving signatures. Moreover, this letter bears the imperial seal. The fundamental study on Palaiologan seals of this late period remains that of S. P. Lampros, "Σφραγῖδες τῶν Τελευταίων Παλαιολόγων καὶ τῶν περὶ Αὐτούς," *NH* 1 (1904): 416–432, esp. pp. 416–421, in regard to this document.

11 For the desperate efforts of Constantine XI to awaken Rome and Venice, cf. Guilland, "Les Appels;" for his diplomatic efforts directed towards Genoa, Hungary, Aragon, and Germany, cf. R. Guilland, "Αἱ πρὸς τὴν Δύσιν Ἐκκλήσεις Κωνσταντίνου ΙΑ΄ τοῦ Δράγαση πρὸς Σωτηρίαν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," *EEBΣ* 22 (1952): 60–74.

12 *Minus* 30.6; identical is the text of the *Maius* 3.1, on this point.

13 An analysis of the finances of the Greek capital, pertaining to period of the siege, can be found in Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 9, sec. II. In general, cf. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, pp. 390–392. For archival material, cf. *NE* 8: 67–68; and *RdD* 3: 2830 and 2831.

14 Extracts from the document in question are supplied in *NE* 3: 257–258.

15 *Ibid.* : *Datum quod dabant pro sclavis capit<aneo> et portiaticum sclavorum, portiaticum aliarum rerum, exitum vini Venetorum, ut sit liber, scribaniam vegetum Jud<a>eorum Venetorum, medium <h>yperperum, quod exigebat co<m>merciarius noster ex qualibet vegete Jud<a>eorum, et solutionem quam suscipiebat capitaneus Pigaitorum* [= *NE* 3: 258, n. 1: "Le majordome ou le chef de la garde du palais de Πηγή"], *ex judiciis Venetorum, et quod de cetero Jud<a>ei Veneti non dent factionem aliquam in tempore necessitatis, ut ceteri Jud<a>ei; pro pellis et saumis et cariaticum* [= carriago, cf. *NE* 3: 258, n. 2], *cum esset difficile nobis respondere, peti<v>it nos dilectus gener imperii mei, magnus dux dominus Luchas Dierminestis Notara* [= ὁ μέγας δοὺξ διερμηνευτὴς Λουκᾶς Νοταρᾶς], *ut transeat hoc in suo proprio salario et quod non petatur, donec veniat orator noster. NE* 3: 257–258, publishes the entire text. Translation by S. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium 1204–1453* (University, 1985), no. 134 (pp. 312–313). In addition, cf. the remarks of Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, p. 391. Notaras' office/title of *Dermineftis* (that is, διερμηνευτὴς- δραγομάνος – – dragoman and certainly not the *Dierminestis* of Iorga, as he also seems to realize in *NE* 3: 259, n. 3), was also mentioned in an inscription on his house. The learned Mordtmann (the elder) discovered during his innumerable walks throughout Ottoman Istanbul this inscription, which revealed the location of the grand duke's residence. A German translation of this document, with limited commentary (p. 176), reads: "…an der Stadtmauer auf die Seite des Marmara-Meers in der unmittelbaren Nähe des Bukoleon, den heutigen Thuren, Tschatlady Kapu und Achys Kapussi unmittelbar unterhalb eines türkischen Holzhauses, welches oben auf der Maurer steht." Cf. Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels*, pp. 142–143, n. 27. It is curious that Mordtmann's exciting discovery is not mentioned in a recent investigation by Matschke, "Der Fall von Konstantinopel 1453," pp. 204–222, esp. 211–213.

16 *NE* 3: 77, 78, *RdD* 3: 2856, 2863, and 3527.

17 In the nineteenth century A. G. Paspates, probably the first Greek alumnus of Amherst College (cf. Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani," pp. 48–49, n. 111), personally toured the fortifications and recorded the inscriptions still *in situ*, which he published in his admirable, albeit eccentric, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται: pp. 44 ff. He notes an inscription (no. 34 of his catalogue, pp. 54–55): Κωνσταντίνου Παλαιολόγου αὐτοκράτορος. It does not bear a date and Paspates was of the opinion that it could not be assigned to Constantine XI because the latter had not been crowned emperor in a formal ceremony. Nevertheless, his own contemporaries recognized Constantine XI as the emperor. In general, cf. the fundamental study of I. K. Bogiatzides, "Τὸ Ζήτημα Στέψεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου," Λαογραφία 2 (1923): 449–456; cf. now M. Kordoses, "The Question of Constantine Palaiologos' Coronation," in Beaton and Roueché, pp. 137–141. This matter is reviewed in a forthcoming study (*supra*, n. 13) and it is concluded that there exists no reason to deprive Constantine XI of this inscription, despite Paspates' opinion.

18 Inscription No. 17 (p. 45) in Paspates' enumeration: Μανουὴλ τοῦ Ἱάγαρι.. This family name appears in a number of variations in our sources: Γιάγαρις, Ἱάγαρις, Ἵαγρος, etc. On

Manuel, cf. *PLP* 4, no. 7810 (78). For other possible activities of Manuel, cf. I. A. Papadrianos, "Manojlo Palaeolog, Vizantijski poslanik u Serbij 1451," *ZRVI* 7 (1954) [= F. Barišić, ed., *Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky* 2 (Belgrade, 1964)]: 311–315. Also cf. A. T. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, no. 184 (p. 94). After the fall Archbishop Leonardo accused Manuel of corruption and indifference with regard to the repairs on the walls. The bishop further noted that Manuel's ill-gotten gains passed on to the Turk; cf. *PG* 159: 936–937 (the passage is missing from the extracts presented in *CC* 1]): *At quid dicam? arguamne principem …;an potius eos qui ex officio muros refidere debuissent? O quorum ananimae forte damnantur, Manuelis Giagari dudum inopis, et Neophyti hieromonaci Rhodii, si audeo dicere, praedonum, non conservatorum reipublicae, quibus veluti reipublicae tutoribus, aut ex aviis intestatisque bona relicta, muris ascribi debebant, privatis potius commodis impedebant. Primus viginti prope millium florenorum servus proditionis monachus, quos posthac reconditos urna septuaginta millium gazam reliquunt Teucris. Idcirco urbs praedonum incuria in tanta tempestate periit.* Similar accusations are repeated by the follower of Leonardo, Languschi-Dolfin; on the dependence of this chronicle on Leonardo's account, cf. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani," pp. 189–225; and *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," IIA.4.i. Cf. Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 318 (p. 22): *Ma per questo non e, da improperar lo Imperator, perche quello sempre haue bona fede in la romana chiesa, ma era uinto da pusillanimita, ma alcuni Greci, Manuel Jagari, et Neophyto Jeronaco Rodiani, ladri corsari non curauano conseruar el publico, hauendo gran richeze de suo auo quelle tegniua a suo priuati commodi. El primo hauea 20. millia fiorini, el secondo Monaco hauea 70 millia ascosti in Zara lassati a Gazan Turcho. Et per poca cura de questi tali in tanti affani lassono perir la citade.* Francesco Sansovino, the sixteenth-century follower of Leonardo, repeats the same sentiments in his *Gl' Annali Turcheschi*, p. 106: *l' anime de quali hora son forse dannate cioè di Manuel Gregaro, già pouero, & di Neofito Hieromonaco da Rhodi ladroni.* N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance. Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1971 [repr. of 1935 edition]), ch. 1, believes that Manuel survived and cites a letter written by Francesco Filelfo, as reported by Martinus Crusius [Martin Kraus], *Turcograecia libri Octo*, p. 57. Crusius, however, does not mention Iagares but another person, whose name Iorga misread: … *Manuelem Agallum, @ Manuelem Hiagupen.* In all probability, Manuel Iagares did not survive the sack. On Iagares, cf. now the remarks of Ganchou, "Sur quelques erreurs," pp. 61–82, esp. 65–66, with the accompanying notes. Also cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," nos. 100 and 100a. On the work of Iagaris and Neophytos on the walls, cf. *supra*, ch. 5: "The Land Fortifications," text accompanying n. 30.

19 With regard to the fortifications of Constantinople in 1453, numerous topographical problems remain and solutions cannot be easily found, especially in relation to the critical sector defended by Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani and the emperor, that is, the area between the Adrianople/Charisios Gate (Turkish Edirne Kapı) and the Gate of Saint Romanos (Top Kapı). In general, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople:* Byzantios, Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις; Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται; Granville Baker; and Tsangadas, who discusses the fortifications only as far as the ninth century and whose text is unfortunately marred by countless typographical errors. The most informed study remains that of Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*; in connection with 1453, cf. also Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique.* Balard, "Constantinople vue par les témoins du siège de 1453," pp. 169–177, also provides an overview. On medieval Greek fortifications, in general, cf. Foss and Winfield, esp. Part 2, ch. 1, pp. 56–59. In regard to the critical sector in the siege of 1453, cf. Pears, who has devoted

numerous remarks, pp. 237–241, and Appendix I (pp. 428–435). Cf. our detailed discussion, *supra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications.”

20 *Minus* 36.1–14; this section is reproduced without any changes in the *Maius* of Melissourgos-Melissenos, 4.2.1–8.

21 Kalić, pp. 193–208, analyzes the complicated situation that had found Serbia in the middle, between Constantinople and the Porte.

22 *Minus* 36.1. *The Maius* 4.2.1 reproduces the same passage without changes.

23 *Minus* 36.7. *The Maius* 4.2.1 reproduces the same passage without changes.

24 Kalić states, p. 198, that the Serbian despot was responsible for the renovations of a tower by the Gate of Adrianople/Edirne and further observes that an inscription *in situ* confirms it. Upon close inspection of the walls in the summers of 2000 and 2001 we were unable to discover this inscription. This area has undergone a great deal of renovation lately and large sections of the old walls are missing. Perhaps the inscription has been removed; at any rate, it is no longer in evidence and Kalić cites no literature or scholarship on it. Furthermore, Paspates, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, does not list this inscription in his catalogue. However, south of the modern Top Kapı [the Gate of Saint Romanos] and immediately south of the modern avenue Millet Caddesi, there is a gate that has been bricked up, the Fourth Military Gate. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, states, p. 80, that “[on] the northern corbel of the outer gate is an inscribed stone brought from some other building erected by a certain Georgius,” and cites Mordtmann as his authority. The bricked-up gate is still there, bearing the inscription on the lintel, which has faded and is obscured by trees. We were, nonetheless, able to read part of this inscription. For various readings of the inscription, cf. our discussion in ch. 5, “The Land Fortifications,” IV.C.4. The only other Georgios mentioned on wall inscriptions is George Branković of Serbia. Thus Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 193, records the following inscription on the sea walls, on a tower between Koum Kapoussı and Yeni Kapoussı:

✠ ΑΝΕΚΕΝΙC/ΘΗΝ ΟΥΤΟC / Ο ΠΥΡΓΟC ΚΑΙ /
ΚΟΡΤΙΝΑ Υ/ΠΟ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ/ΟΥ ΔΕCΠΟΤΟΥ /
CΕΡΒΙΑC ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ϛϡΕϛ

This tower and curtain wall were restored
by George, Despot of Servia, in the year 6956 [1448].

The inscription on the Fourth Military Gate is similar and the name “Georgius” is broken in the same spot as in the inscription on the sea walls. It is likely that George Branković was commemorated on the Fourth Military Gate.

25 Kalić, pp. 199–201, states that the 1500 horsemen contributed by Serbia were under the impression that they were embarking on a campaign in Asia Minor and when they realized that Constantinople was the sultan’s objective they even considered desertion. The notable contribution of Serbia to the siege came through professional miners and sappers that the sultan employed effectively to undermine the walls, mainly in the sector of the Kaligaria Gate (Eğri Kapı). On the narrative of Konstantin Mihailović, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.A.11.

26 On this and the complicated sources on the actions and inactions taken by Pope Nicholas V and Venice, cf. Hanak, “Pope Nicholas V,” pp. 352–353.

27 *Minus* 36.3. The *Maius*, as usual, in this section provides only stylistic changes to the authentic text, which appear in underlined form; some are pure changes occasionally for more modern or more archaic expressions and choice of words. The only substantive change appears when Melissenos-Melissourgos states that

Constantine was urged by Sphrantzes “and many others” to accept the match with the doge’s daughter:

τοῦ ᾿Αλωϊσίου Διέδου ἐκείνου ποτὲ μεσιτεύσαντος, ἵνα ὁ μακαρίτης αὐθέντης μου ὁ κὺρ Κωνσταντῖνος, δεσπότης ὢν τῷ τότε καιρῷ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, λάβῃ εἰς γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ δουκὸς θυγατέρα καὶ μετὰ προικὸς πολλῆς, ὁ οὖν αὐθέντης μου οὐ δι᾿ ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ ἵνα γένηται οἱονεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ᾿Ενετίας ἕν, συνεκατέβαινε τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀγχηστείᾳ, ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ἄλλων πλειόνων συναινούντων τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγκαζόντων.... ῾Ως δὲ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο ἀνοίκειον γὰρ ἦν· πῶς ἐδύναντο οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόντισσαι κυρίαν καὶ δέσποιναν αὐτῶν καταδεχθῆναι ᾿Ενετοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ τοὺς γαμβροὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ υἱοὺς συγγάμβρους καὶ γυναικαδέλφους εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐνδόξου μὲν ἴσως καὶ δουκὸς ὄντος, ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιρος ἦν..ὁ δοὶξ ἐζήτει τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἀλλ᾿ ἀπεπέμφθη· ἕνεκεν τούτου λοιπὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ἐχθρός.

28 Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, p. 32, simply dismisses this match as “a tale…later put about…. There is surely no truth in it.” Nicol bases this opinion on an *argumentum ex silentio*, a treacherous path to follow, no doubt. In his approach Nicol follows his own view already expressed in another study, *Byzantium and Venice*, pp. 386–387. In an earlier publication, Nicol was more cautious; thus *in LCB*, p. 393, he held the opinion that “in Venice the daughter of the Doge Francesco Foscari was considered.” S. Runciman, “The Marriages of the Sons of the Emperor Manuel II,” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi: Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*, 1 (Bologna, 1981): 273–282, does not discuss this “proposal.” It is mentioned, in passing, in his *FC*, p. 51: “A Venetian ambassador suggested that a daughter of the Doge…might be available.” The view expressed in *FC* is probably closer to the truth: a mere inquiry from the Greeks, which was never taken seriously by the Venetians. The only modern scholar to have considered this possible match seriously and to have discussed it extensively is Lampros, “῾Ο Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος ὡς Σύζυγος,” pp. 431–433, who relies on the information of Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes. He further accepts the view expressed by Sphrantzes, that the daughter of the doge was not a proper match for Constantine, because, in his view, the doge belonged to a lower social level than the emperor of Constantinople.

29 On Diedo (= whom we have posited, by the adjective *Ignotus*, as a probable author of a lost account of the siege), cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II.A.4.i, and nn. 67–81.

30 Lampros, “῾Ο Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος ὡς Σύζυγος,” accepts the historicity of the match between Constantine as despot of the Morea and Venice. He, *ibid.*, p. 432, n. 1, mentions the names of Foscari’s daughters: Camilla, Bianca, Paola, and Maria. We do not know which of them would have been the candidate in question. Eventually, all of them, with the exception of Maria, found husbands but we do not know exactly when they were married. Thus Lampros considers Maria as the most likely choice, even though we may not rule out Camilla, Bianca, or Paola.

31 Cf. the testimonies collected in the Archivio di Stato, *Sen. Mar, R. 4*, f. $198^{v}$, $199^{r}$ (July 2, 1453; July 4, 1453); and in the Archivio Senate, *Sen. Secr 19*, f. $203^{v}$ (July 5, 1453). Cf. *NE* 3: 288; *RdD* 3: 2931; and *TIePN*, pp. 8–9. For the imperial court’s efforts to locate a bride for Constantine, cf. Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 8.

32 *Minus* 36.6. Pseudo-Sphrantzes does not change this statement but paraphrases it with his usual device of the genitive absolute, and further glosses the Cairo reference, *Maius* 4.2.3:

ἒξ μηνῶν καὶ τοσούτου λόγου γενομένου περὶ βοηθείας, ὅσον ἐποιήσατο ὁ σουλτάνος τοῦ Κάρεως, ἤτοι τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

33 *Minus* 36.8. Pseudo-Sphrantzes edits the passage and omits Wallachia and Trebizond for unknown reasons; he further changes the archaic κρυφίως to its modern equivalent. Cf. *Maius* 4.2.4: Τίς τῶν Χριστιανῶν αὐθεντῶν ἢ Ἰβέρων ἀπέστειλεν ἕνα ὀβολὸν ἢ ἀνθρώπους εἰς βοήθειαν τῆς πόλεως, ἢ φανερῶς ἢ κρυφῶς;

34 *Minus* 36.9. Pseudo-Sphrantzes modernizes the language of his source by changing the archaic term for "ambassador" to the form current in the sixteenth century. *Maius* 4.2.6: Οἱ Οὔγκαροι δὲ ἔστειλαν πρέσβεις…ἐν ᾗ ἑβδομάδι ἔμελλον τὴν ἐμβολὴν δῶσαι.

35 Doukas 38.12.

36 Doukas 38.13: ὁ δὲ γέρων ἀπεκρίνατο "ἴσθι, τέκνον, εἰ μὴ παντελὴς φθορὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἐπιγελάσει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἡ τύχη· δεῖ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων φθαρῆναι, καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν δυστυχήματα τέλος ἕξουσιν." ἔχων οὖν ἐν ὠσὶ τὴν ἀπαίσιον ταύτην προφητείαν ὁ τοῦ Ἰάγκου ἄγγελος ἐπεθύμει συντομώτερον τὴν πόλιν ἁλῶναι.

37 *PaL* 2: 124.

38 On the role of artillery in the siege, cf. *infra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations," sec. I.

39 Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, and *FC* do not mention this incident; Schlumberger does, but Lampros, who has enriched his translation of Schlumberger's text (Lampros, *Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος καὶ ἡ Πολιορκία τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*) with numerous notes, observations, and documentation, adds nothing to the original narrative at this point. Moreover, Schlumberger-Lampros, pp. 281–282, place this Hungarian embassy near the end of the siege, on May 26, three days before the final assault. By then the Turkish artillery had accomplished its mission and, no doubt, the triple batteries and their primitive triangulation had been put to good use for quite some time. Pears mentions the incident, without attaching much credence to it, and states that Doukas is careful to report it as hearsay. At the time of the siege Hunyadi's position was complicated, for he faced a great deal of opposition within his own realm and the hostility of the Hungarian court; cf. J. Held, *Hunyadi: Legend and Reality*, East European Monographs 178 (Boulder, 1985), pp. 147–148. For the documented diplomatic activities between Hungary and Constantinople, cf. F. Pall, "Byzance à la veille de sa chute et Janco de Hunedoara (Hunyadi)," *BS* 30(1969): 119–126.

40 *Minus* 26.11. Pseudo-Sphrantzes makes minor linguistic changes; cf. *Maius* 4.2.7: ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ Μεσημβρία κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου αἴτησιν καὶ τὸ χρυσόβουλλον δι᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐγράφη.

41 174, 1–9.

42 *Minus* 26.11: ὁ γαμβρὸς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, ὁ τοῦ Μιχαήλου υἱός. Pseudo-Sphrantzes simply adds the definite article before "Theodosios" and changes "Michael" to its more common form (*Maius* 4.2.7): ὁ γαμβρὸς τοῦ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, ὁ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ υἱός. This personality may also be known from elsewhere; cf. the text of Mazaris [38.20], who makes a pun between Κοπρίου and Κοπρίου: *Mazaris' Journey to Hades or Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court*, ed. and trans. Classics Seminar 609 Arethusa Monographs V (Buffalo, 1975): n. 38.20 (p. 110): Τοῦ Κοπρίου μικροῦ Θεοδοσίου. Since this Theodosios Kyprios is one generation older than the participants of the siege and is well known enough to

identify his son-in-law by mentioning his name, “he is very probably the same as… Theodosios ‘Koprios,’ one of the leading men in court in 1414.”

43 Lampros, ΠκΠ, 4: 26. Paspates, Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις, p. 72, refers to this embassy but misnames the ambassador as Ἀντώνιος Βρυέννιος Λεονάρδος. It is interesting to note in passing that Leontaris Bryennios returned to Constantinople and participated in the defense. He was given his own command, according to Pusculo 4. 169–171 [improved text in *CC* 1: 208]: *Charsaeam servans Lontarius gente Briena / gaudet de socio clara de gente, Fabruci, / Cornaria.* Ellissen’s edition presents the same passage with the names misunderstood (64): *Charsaeam servans Longarius gente Briona / Gaudet de socio clara de gente, Georgi, / Cornaria.* Pusculo is echoed by Languschi-Dolfin, p. 17: *A la porta carsea Leondario Brion cum Fabricio Cornero Candioto.* On Leontaris Bryennios, cf. *PLP* 6: no 14668 (p. 161). The Bryennios family in earlier times also paid for the restoration of the land walls. Thus Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 54–55, records the inscription (no. 30 according to his enumeration), “in front of the southern tower by the Gate of Selybria”: ἀνεκαινίϲθη ἡ θεόϲωϲτοϲ πύλη αὕτη / τῆϲ Ζωοδόχου Πηγῆϲ διὰ / ϲυνδρομῆϲ καὶ ἐξόδου Μα/νουὴλ Βρυεννίου τοῦ Λέ/οντοϲ ἐπὶ βαϲιλείαϲ τῶν / εὐϲεβῶν Βαϲιλέων / Ἰωάννου καὶ Μαρίαϲ / τῶν Παλαιολόγων / ἐν μηνὶ Μαΐῳ ,ϛϡμα´, “This God-protected gate of the Zoodokhos Pege [= Life-giving Fountain] was restored by the contribution and the expense of Manuel Bryennios, the son of Leo, in the reign of John [VIII] and Maria Palaiologoi, in the month of May, 6941 [= 1433].” The same inscription is recorded in Greek by Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 106–107. who regards εὐϲεβῶν as “pious” but instead he reads the term as εὐϲεβεϲτάτων in the superlative degree.

44 The text of the letter is published by G. Hofmann, *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum Spectantes*, Part 3: *Concilium Florentinum ad Documenta et Scriptores*, Series A.1 (Rome, 1946): no. 304, 130–138; and in *MHH* 22: 567–576. The Greek text is available in Lampros, ΠκΠ 4: 49–63. On this letter, cf. *RKOR*, 5: 3534 (p. 135); Gill, *The Council of Florence*, p. 376; and Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, pp. 49–50.

45 The translator of the epistle’s Latin text into Greek is mentioned by the Dominican Georgius, who composed the *Vita Nicolai Quinti Pontificis Maximi* (Rome, 1742), pp. 99–100 (as noted by Lampros, ΠκΠ 4: 51): *Opem etiam et auxilia adversus Turcas a Pontifice petitum Romam legatum miserat Andronicum Bryennium Constantinus, graecorum imperator, Constantino vero satis longam et gravem epistolam die XI Octobris Pontifex rescripsit, quam graece verti fecit per Theodorum Gazam.* For a translation of the letter from Latin into English and the dissimilarities with the Greek rendition, cf. Hanak, “Pope Nicholas V,” pp. 354–359, and *passim.*

46 Lampros, ΠκΠ 4: 61–62.

47 Pusculo 4.1019–1024 (81).

48 Cf. Hanak, “Pope Nicholas V,” pp. 349 ff.

49 Henry of Soemmern [*CC* 2: 92].

50 Barbara 13 [*CC* 1: 10].

51 *CC* 1: 66–68.

52 *Ibid.*, 1: 126–128: *Cum igitur reverendissimus pater, dominus cardinalis Sabinensis, pro unione Graecorum legatus, in eius famulatum me* [*sc. Leonardum*] *ex Chio vocasset, egi summa cum animi mei diligentia ut fidem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae fortiter constanterque, uti debitum exigit, defensarem….*

53 Doukas 36.

54 *Supra*, n. 50.

55 A partial text appears in *CC* 1: 148. The complete text is to be found in *PG* 159:

934. We encounter duplications in Leonardo's followers; thus Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 19: *Paulo Troilo Antonio di Buzardi fratelli in loco arduo miliadro, doue pareua la cita piu debole, cum suo denari et arme cum summa uigilantia di et notte, cum spingarde, e balestre datorno uirilmente manteigna la sua posta, et cum animosita, hora a piedi hora a cauallo quella deffende, come Oratio Cocle sul ponte, cum forze rebattando Turci, equaua la pugna, ne per muri rotti, et minaccianti ruina, ne per trazer bombarde restaua de aquistarse gloria immortale.* The *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle*, $54^{V}$ (p. 20): Καὶ τὸν Παῦλο, Τρώιλο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον Πακκιάρδι ἐφυλάγανε τὸ μέρος τοῦ Μυλίανδρου, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖο Μυλίανδρον ἤτονε τὸ πλέο κίνδυνο τῆς χώρας. Καὶ ἐπολεμούσανε μέρα καὶ νύκτα, πότε μὲ φωτίες, πότε μὲ τὶς μπαλαῖστρες, μὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ θάρσος πολύ... Καὶ ἐκάμνασι ὡς Ἀχιλλέοι It is also echoed by Pseudo-Sphrantzes, Παύλῳ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Τρωΐλῳ τοῖς αὐταδέλφοις ἐμπιστεύθη ἵνα φυλάττωσι τὸ Μυρίανδρον, ὅπου ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέρεσιν ἡ πόλις ἦν ἐπικίνδυνος, καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππόται τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Τούρκων ἐμάχοντο γενναίως... καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἆθλα καὶ γέρα μνήμης αἰωνίου ὑπῆρχον ἄξια. On this passage, cf. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonard," p. 293.

56 Leonardo in *CC* 1: 148 [*PG* 159: 934]. Their adventures during the sack are treated by Leonardo in *PG* 159: 941 [not included in the selections of *CC* 1]; Lomellino (*CC* 1: 46, 48). The activities of the Bocchiardi brothers after the sack are cited in Predelli, ed., *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, 5: Book XV, no. 73, pp. 142–143; and *PaL* 2: 127, n. 62. Their activities during the siege are discussed by Leonardo in *CC* 1: 148 [*PG* 159: 934] with an echo in Languschi-Dolfin, p. 19 (fol. 317). Leonardo, *CC* 1: 152 [*PG*, 159: 936 (= Languschi-Dolfin 21 (fol. 317)]. Leonardo in *PG* 159: 941 (not among the selections included in *CC* 1) [= Languschi-Dolfin 30 (fol. 320)]; and a contemporary anonymous Venetian poem entitled *Questo è 'l lamento de Costantinopoli*, lines 241–244 (*CC* 2: 304, under "Bo<ch>iardi").

57 *CC* 1: 46–48.

58 Barbara 11 [*CC* 1: 12].

59 Barbara 13 [*CC* 1: 12].

60 Cf. Leonardo in *CC* 1: 132 [*PG* 159: 928]: *Verum quoniam malo fato Joannes Longus Genuensis de Justinianorum prosapia, duabus cum navibus suis magnis et armatis circiter quadrigentis, mare decursitans forte veniens, stipendio ascriptus imperatoris, ducatum militiae obtenuit, strenue defensare urbem visus, reparationem demolitorum murorum vigilantius agebat.* We encounter the usual echoes among his followers: Languschi-Dolfin (fol. 315): *Ma per mala nostra uentura Joanne Longo, genoese di Zustignani, cum do naue grande sue andaua cum 400 homini in corso, a caso zonto a Constantinopoli, fu condutto a soldo dall' Imperator, et fu facto capitanio a una posta la qual gagliardamente diffensaua la terra, et cum solecitudine reparaua li muri ruinadi poco stimando I animo etforza de Turchi.* Pseudo-Sphrantzes 3.4.9: Ὑπῆρχε δέ τις ἐκ τῆς Λιγουρίας ἐν ταῖς δύο ναυσίν, ὃς ἦν ναυάρχης καὶ κύριος τῶν νηῶν, ἀνὴρ πάνυ δεξιός, ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ ἐπιτήδειος, τοὔνομα Ἰωάννης Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ γεννάδας. Also, cf. Francesco Sansovino, *Gl' Annali Turcheschi*, p. 96: *Ma per mala Ventura vn Giouanni Lungo Genoese prosapia de' Giustiniani con due naui sue armate con forze quattrocento huomini, scorrendo per lo mare, venne a caso a Costantinopoli.*

61 Languschi-Dolfin 21 (fol. 317): *Infra questo tempo Joanne Zustignan capitanio general in la terra, che ueduta tutto el pericolo de la cita....*

62 *Caput V* (col. 789): *& ab eo capitaneus constitutus fuerat Graecorum, qui vocabatur Johannes Justini;* and *caput XVII* (col. 795): *Erat in eo loco intra civitatem constitutus capitaneus quidam cui nomen erat Johannes....*

63 The complete report is published in *NE* 2: 514–518.

[64] Barbaro 13 [*CC* 1: 12]: *e de lì ver quanti zorni l'imperador donò a questo Zuan Zustignan una galia…e felo capetanio de le sue zente de ter a, per star a le mura da ter a per aspetar l'exerzito de Machomet bej turco.*

[65] Chronicle in Milan's *Ambrosiana* (*R. 113, Sup.*, fol. $185^{v}$-186), whose pertinent text has been edited in *NE* 3: 301, n. 1.

[66] K. Hopf, *Les Giustiniani, dynastes de Chios: étude historique*, traduite de l'Allemane par Etienne A. Vlasto (Paris, 1888), p. 64: "En générale les Maonesi vécurent en excellents termes avec les Ottomans jusqu'à la catastrophe de 1453, où le héros Giovanni Guglielmo Longo (plu connu sous le nom de Jean Giustiniani) vint troubler cette bonne harmonie, en prenant part à la défense de Constantinople."

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 174: "Les armoires des Giustiniani de Chios étaient de gueles à la fortresse d'argent, surmontée de trois tours de même, maçonées de sable, au chef d'or chargé de l'aigle de l'empire couronnée, à une tête regardant à dextre, qui leur avait été concédée par Sigismond. Cet écusson est encore parfaitement visible aujourd'hui sur des marbles, sur de palais et de tours de Chios presqu'en ruines, comme aussi sur l'ancien palais de la Maona, à Gênes, dans la contrada de Giustiniani." This was a more modem form of the ancient version, *ibid.*, p. 174, n. 1: "Les armoires primitives des Giustiniani étaient une fortresse d'argent surmontée de trois tours du même, maçoncées de sable, sur champ de gueles."

[68] *NE* 3: 88: 7 mai 1442: *Acte relatif à l'achat d'une maison fait par Jean Giustiniano Longo, quondam Danielis.* Iorga speculates in p. 88, n. 6: "Il semble que cet soit le même que 'Joanne Zustignan Longo, Genoexe, capitanio condutto,' qui défendait Constantinople en 1453…." G. Olgiati, "Giustiniani," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 2001), establishes his birth in 1418, the son of *Bartolomeo di Antonio.*

[69] On this, cf. Olgiati, "Giustiniani," pp. 340–343; on the other hand, Laura Balletto, "Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, Pirata Genovese del XV secolo," in *Atti della Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere* (Genoa, 1983), p. 288, simply asserts that he had been in the service of the Republic of Genoa without attribution to his role as consul at Caffa. She cites without specificity only three documents in the Genoese State Archives, whereas the actual number of documents is an additional nine, albeit these date to the immediate days and weeks following the fall of Constantinople and are claims for lost property and a listing of the financially injured parties. Cf. Asilia Roccatagliata, "Da Bisanzio a Chio nel 1453," in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana e Mediterranea per Nino Lamboglia.* Collana Storico di Fonti e Studi 23 (Genoa, 1978): 392–403.

[70] Cornet 13, n. 2: *Giovanni Giustiniani Longo era stato due anni prima podestà in Caffa.* Unfortunately, Cornet does not provide any documentation for this claim, which must then be considered an opinion. Exaggerated claims, not based on any evidence, are encountered in subsequent literature; thus Pears, p. 220, states, without documentation, "he was well skilled in the art of war and had gained great reputation as a soldier." *FC*, p. 84, offers a similar assessment, again without citation of sources (but probably based on Kritoboulos, cf. *infra*, n. 72): "he was reputed to be particularly skilled at the defence of walled cities." Dereksen [= Stacton], pp. 220–221: "…Giovanni Justiniani (or Giustiniani) a Genoese condottiere of great and deserved reputation…knew the fighting methods of both Byzantine and Turk as well as any man." Against the opinions of modern scholarship stands Leonardo, who characterized Giustiniani, as we shall see, an *inexpertus iuvenis.*

[71] Leonardo, *CC* 1: 160 [*PG* 159: 940]; Pseudo-Sphrantzes 3.9.7; Languschi-Dolfin fol. 320.

[72] *TIePN*, pp. 161–163.

[73] Kritoboulos I.25.1.

[74] *Ibid*, I.25.3.

[75] Doukas 38.

76 *NE* 2: 464 (*State Archives of Florence, Dieci di Balia, Carteggio responsive, reg. 22*, fol. 125); the pertinent section of the letter states: *et fà pensiero andare in Levante et Romania et poi andarsi a porre nel golfo di Vinegia con queste tre o con quelle avesse guadagniate, o dove vorrete, faccendo più danno a vostri nimici.* Iorga adds: "L'auteur de la lettre lui a offert 2.500 florins. Giustiniani veut être créé citoyen, avec ses héritiers, à Florence et à Milan, 'perche fà conto d'avere noie assai di quà,' et d'autres avantages." Iorga then asks, p. 464, n. 4: "Est-ce le Jean Giustiniano Longo qui combattit en 1453 contre les Turcs, à Constantinople?"

77 *NE* 2: 477–478: *…Jean Giustiniano ne partit pas avant le 25 juillet d'Albenga. Il prit, dans les eaux de la Sicile, un vaisseau de Biscaïe et un autre de Catalogne. Bien qu 'il en eût encore deux, en secret, il était parti avec un seul vaisseau, portant 700 hommes d'équipage. Les Génois mêmes le craignaient, 'perché è conosciuto il più pericoloso et di maggiore animo huomo che si truovi in acqua salsa.'*

78 *NE* 3: 277: … *le gouvernement de Gênes nomme une commision pour juger les réclamations présentées par quelques Génois contre Jean Giustiniano Longo, qui avait arrêté un grippo sarrasin et poursuivi un vaisseau genevois qui portait d'Alexandrie à Chio des marchandises appartenant à des Sarrasins.*

79 Kritoboulos I.25.1.

80 Leonardo, *CC* 1: 132.

81 Leonardo, *PG* 159: 931 and 932 [not in the selections of *CC* 1].

82 Barbaro 13 [*CC* 1: 12]: *…e de corser de una nave de zerca botte mile e duxento.*

83 Languschi-Dolfin 14 (fol. 315): *Acceso el Turcho da disdegno da i monti orientali de Pera penso a profundar con machine e morteri, o trar quelle da la cathena. Messo andocha le bombarde a segno dal occidente, se sforza cum bombardieri profundar le naue, manda a dir a Perensi che per esser naue de corsari suo inimici condutte dal imperator, uol quelle destruzer.* The same information is repeated in the popular sixteenth-century work of Francesco Sansovino, *Gl' Annali*, p. 99: *Ordinate adunque le bombarde dalla ripa Occidentale procacciana con ogni artificio di fracassar le predette naui, dicendo a quei di Pera, che essendo esse di Corsari come gli era da loro stato detto, & condotte dall'Imperadore, le noleua persequitare come cose de suoi nemici.* In addition, one translator of Leonardo's Latin text into Greek, Pseudo-Sphrantzes 3.6.2, presents the same passage in a paraphrase: Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· αὗται αἱ νῆες οὐκ εἰσιν ἐμπορικαί, ἀλλὰ πειραταὶ καὶ οὐ χάριν εὐποιίας ἦλθον ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἐχθρῷ βοηθήσωσιν.

84 Zoras, *Ἡ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἡ Βασιλεία Μωάμεθ Β´*, p. 18 [= Zoras, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων*, p. 82].

85 *Caput XVIII* (col. 795); also *Caput V* (col. 789): *& una quae extitit cujusdam generosi armigeri qui stipendiarius erat imperatoris Constantinopolitani: & ab eo capitaneus constitutus fuerat Graecorum, qui vocabatur Johannes Justini.*

86 French version, X (cols. 1820–1821).

87 *CC* 2: 134. Sekoundinos' work is entitled: *Ad serenissimum principem et invictissimum regem Alfonsum Nicolai Sagundini oratio* and was very popular in the *quattrocento*, as it has been preserved in eighteen manuscripts. Unfortunately, no complete edition with *apparatus criticus* exists. Thus the complete text, first published by Makušev, 1: 295–306; and the text printed in *NE* 3: 316–323, are based on individual and inferior manuscripts without collation of the existing codices. The selections in *CC* 1: 128–141, present a good text but are marred by serious omissions.

88 *TIePN*, p. 104.

89 Cf. Balletto, "Giovanni Giustiniani Longo," pp. 287 ff.; and Roccatagliata, pp. 383

ff.

90 *Supra*, n. 59.

91 The most typical example of Barbara's bias against the Genoese and against Giustiniani in particular is furnished in the passage treating the departure of the warlord from the walls on May 29. Not only does Barbara fail to mention that Giustiniani was wounded (which is added in the margin of his manuscript by a different hand, that of his relative Marco Barbaro: *per esser ferito de frezza*), but he also states that the warlord went on to lie shamelessly about the situation, as he was marching through the city to the harbor. Cf. Barbaro 55 [*CC* 1: 33]: *Zuan Zustignan…se delibera de abandonar la sua posta e corse a la sua nave…e scampando questo che iera capetanio, vignando el dito per la tera criando: "Turchi son intradi dentro da la tera"; e menteva per la gola.*

92 Kritoboulos I.25.1: ὃς προμαθὼν τόν τε πόλεμον Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν ὅσον οὐ τῆς Πόλεως ἐσομένην πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ βασιλέως [*sc.* Sultan Mehmed II's] παρασκευὴν κατ' αὐτῆς ἧκεν αὐτόκλητος σὺν ταῖς ὁλκάσι βοηθήσων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ.

93 Kritoboulos I.25.1.

94 Doukas 38.

95 *Minus* 36.12. As usual, Pseudo-Sphrantzes recasts and paraphrases this statement; cf. *Maius* 4.2: τίς ἐπίστατο τὴν τοῦ Καταλάνων ῥηγὸς ζήτησιν… ὃς δωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν Λῆμνον ἐζήτει…καὶ ἐπράττετο.

96 On late Byzantine Lemnos, an agricultural island favored by the Greeks as a place for internal exile, its eventual surrender to the Turks, and its history in the Ottoman period, see now H. W. Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos* (Istanbul, 2002).

97 *Supra*, n. 86.

98 *TIePN*: 1–5.

99 *Caput XVII* (795). Tetaldi's French version (XIV–XV [1822–1823]) reads as follows: *En ce lieu déffendoit monseigneur Jehan Justinien, & se portait vaillamment: & aussi toute la cité avoit esperance en sa vaillance. A ce lieu pour faire son derrain effort, se approuche le Turc à deux bannieres desployées, avecques dix mille hommes esleus pour la garde de sa personne, & infinis aultres avec le chastel de bois, pont, eschielles, & aultres instruments, & monterent sur le mur.*

100 *CC* 1: 146–148 [*PG* 159: 934; the sentence in < > is not included in *CC* 1, but appears in *PG* 159: 934]. Leonardo is imitated by his followers: Languschi-Dolfin (19–20 [fol. 317]): *Da tali angustie aflicto lo imperator disponeua i militi sopra le torre e muri, et al poter suo lantemurale cum la fossa parea ben defesso. Diffindandosi de la paucita di sui tolleraua la guerra, ogni sua speranza collocando in Joanne Zustignan Longo Genoexe, capitanio condutto, et bene se la fortuna non li aduersaua*; and by the *Barberini Chronicle* (20):

Τότε ἔβαλε καὶ ἐμέρασε τοὺς πολεμιστᾶδες εἰς
τὰ τειχία, εἰς τοὺς πύργους, ὡς καθὼς ἔκαμνε χρείαν· καὶ ἔβαλε τὸν Ἰωάννη τὸν
Γιουστινιανὸ πρῶτον καπετάνιο, καὶ καλὰ ἐφύλαγε, ἂ δὲν τὸν ἠθέλανε σκοτώσει,

while a slight echo (but no literal paraphrase) occurs in Sansovino, *Gl' Annali*, p. 103: *Et diffidandosi delia guera per la pochezza dei suoi, la tolleraua patientemente, hauendo messo ogni sia speraza in Giovanni Giustiniano suo Capitano, &farebbe stato bene quando la forte lo hauesse uoluto fauorire.*

101 Doukas 38.

102 Kritoboulos I.25.3. Similar is the assessment that is provided in a contemporary

anonymous Venetian poem, a dirge on the fall, lines 229–232 (*CC* 2: 304): *Tuti fidavano nella brigata / De quel<o> Longo de grande ardimento, / Ma al so<e> talento / De dar soccorso non fu observato.*

103 *PaL* 2: 362: "…the Knights…had indeed had a motley crew of adventures fighting with them on the Rhodian battlements."

104 A document from Venice (*Sec. Sen. T. 19*, fol. 122r) dated *more Veneto, 1451. Die 14 February*, indicates that some armaments requested by the *orator Serenissimi Imperatoris Constantinopolis* were dispatched to the Venetian *bailo* in the Greek capital, Girolamo Minotto: *Circa partem salnitrii, et coraciarum, quas petiit prefatus orator, respondeatur sibi, quod contenti sumus complacere eidem Serenissimo Imperatori, de quantitate quam postulavit…quod salnitrium ipsum, et coratie emantur, et mittantur ad manus baiuli nostri Constantinopolis* [*Girolamo Minotto*], *simul cum Uteris cambij, costi dicti salnitrij et coratiarum cum ordine, quod solutis per imperatorem dictis litteris cambij, baiulus noster* [*Girolamo Minotto*] *sibi dari faciat predictum salnitrium et coratias.* This document is published in Cornet's appendices to his edition of Barbara's diary, p. 67. Antonio Ivani was also aware of some of the armament that reached Constantinople before the siege, *TIePN*, pp. 150–152: *Deinde tela, missilia atque omne genus armorum quae ad propellendum hostem defendandamque urbem opportuna sunt ex omnibus locis devehit atque mirabili lignorum strue a Constantinopoli Peram usque portum claudit turresque ligneas complures super struem ad repellendum hostem naves a transitu obhercere poterant.*

105 Leonardo (*PG* 159: 928 [*CC* 1: 132–134]): *minerarum fossores, quos ex Novo Brodo conduxerat magistros accersiri iussit.* He is followed, as usual, by Languschi-Dolfin (fol. 315 [10]): *…et per questo lauor li fossori dette miniere, che lauoraua a Nouobordo fece uenir*, and by his sixteenth-century follower, Sansovino (*Gl' Annali*, p. 96), who curiously omits "Novo Brdo," the homeland of the sappers: *Perche chiamato a se i maistri delle mine & a penetrar per tutti i muri delia città.* The *Barberini Chronicle* also omits any reference to the Turkish mines. Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Maius* 3 (p. 244), retains the reference to the mines but omits any mention of Novo Brdo: …προσέταξεν ἵνα ἔλθωσί τινες ἄνδρες οἱ δυνάμενοι ὀρθῶς ἰδεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ὀπὰς ὑποκεκρυμμένας κάτωθεν τῆς γῆς.

106 Leonardo (*PG* 159: 928, 934 [*CC* 1: 134 (an incomplete extract)]. The bishop is faithfully emulated by his followers, with the exception of the *Barberini Chronicle*, which never mentions the mines. Cf. Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 315 (10): *Habiando adoncha passado sotto le fosse, el antimurale, et le mirabil fundamente de la terra cum gran silentio cauato, alhora per opera industria, et sagacita de Joanne Grando Alemano dotto in cose bellice, el qual Joanne Longo Zustignan capitanio condusse centurion, fu descoperto, et per sua relation fu confermato hauer explorato, et per questo l animo de ognun commosse*; and Sansovino, *Gl' Annali* (pp. 96 and 103): …*marauigliosa cosa da dire Giouanni Grande Tedesco, soldato esperitissimo & d'ingegno, & fato capo di squadra dal Giustiniano, scoperse la cosa, trouata esser uera…insieme con Giovanni Alemano, diffendauano, & riparauano la Caligarea.* Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Maius* 3 (p. 244), neglects to duplicate the note that John Grant was a member of the band of Giustiniani: Ἰωάννης δέ τις Γερμανὸς ἄκρον ἠσκημένος τὰς τοῦ πολέμου μηχανὰς καὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ πυρός, ἐνωτισθεὶς τὴν μηχανήν, ἑτέραν ὀπὴν ἐναντίαν ὀρύξας.

107 Barbaro 2 (*CC* 1: 9): *e avanti che el ditto Antonio Rizzo fosse morto, el bailo de Costantinopoli* [*sc. Girolamo Minotto*] *mandò per imbassador al Turco ser Fabruzi Corner per poderlo deliberar, e non potè far gnente, che zà, el signor chan l'avea fatto morir* [*over deliberado de far morir*] *suxo el palo.*

108 Doukas 35: ἐκέλευσεν [*sc.* Mehmed II]

οὖν τοὺς πάντας ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον [*sc.* Antonio Rizzo] πάλῳ διὰ τοῦ ἀφεδρῶνος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρῖψαι, καὶ ἀτάφους ἀφεῖναι, οὓς καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐκεῖ διαγενομένου μου.

109 *Ibid.* 35: ἔτι ὄντος αὐτοῦ [*sc.* Mehmed II] ἐν τῷ πολιχνίῳ [*sc.* Rumeli Hisar] καὶ οἰκοδομοῦντος.

110 Rumeli Hisar, its erection, and its significance in the “cold war” that preceded the actual siege, deserve their own separate study. In the meantime, cf. *infra*, ch. 7: “A Castle and a Bombard,” sec. I; A. Gabriel, *Châteaux turcs de Bosphore.* Mémoires Institut Français d’Archéologie Stamboul 6 (Paris, 1943): 29–75; E. H. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi marisinde Fatih Devri IV* [The Journal of the Ottoman Conqueror]. Istanbul Enstitüsü 69 (Istanbul, 1974): 626–662; *MCT*, p. 77; and *FC*, p. 66. The architect was Muslihuddin, a Christian monk who had converted to Islam (*MCT*, p. 77); his building methods are strongly reminiscent of Greek fortifications as observed by Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, who inspected the remains of the castle in the late nineteenth century, before extensive renovations had taken place, pp. 80–81: Ἡ οἰκοδομία εἶναι μίμησις τῶν μεταγενεστέρων Βυζαντινῶν τειχῶν. Διαφέρουσιν ὅμως οἱ τρεῖς μεγάλοι πύργοι τῶν Βυζαντινῶν πύργων. Οὗτοι εἶναι διπλοῖ, οἱ ἐσωτερικοὶ ὑψηλότεροι καὶ λεπτότεροι. Ὁμοίως πύργους ἤγειρεν ὁ Μωάμεθ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἑπταπυργίῳ [Yedi Kule]… Ὁ συγγραφεὺς τοῦ Χαδηκάτ [= Hafiz Hüseyin Al-Ayvanrasayî’s *The Garden of the Mosques*] λέγει ὅτι ὁ πύργος εἶχε τρεῖς θύρας, μία εἶναι κλειστή, ἑτέρα ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς καὶ ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. Πλησίον ἦτο καὶ δωμάτιον ἔνθα ἐκάθητο ὁ συλλέγων τὸν φόρον τῶν διαπλεόντων πλοίων… Ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας εἶναι στερεὰ προκυμαία, μήκους μέτρων περίπου τεσσαράκοντα πέντε, σωζομένη εἰσέτι ὡς ἤγειρεν αὐτὴν ὁ Μωάμεθ. Ἀπὸ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐξήρχοντο ἐπὶ τῆς προκυμαίας διὰ πύλης ἀψιδωτῆς.

111 Doukas 35.

112 *Ibid.* The failure of the court to compensate him adequately must have become proverbial during the siege. While Leonardo never mentions his name, he seems to identify him simply by his lack of salary that forced him to defect. Cf. Leonardo, *PG* 159: 932 [not in *CC* 1]: *Itaque, artifex, cui provisio negatafuit, ex nostris ad Teucros reductus.* It is significant that Leonardo identifies him as “the defector, whose request for a salary had been denied,” without even citing his name, as he was evidently sufficiently known by his defection that was precipitated by the imperial blunder. We will return to this subject, *infra*, ch. 7: “A Castle and a Bombard.” This reference of Leonardo to Urban has not been noted by previous scholarship on this matter. At least, it can be stated with confidence that the secondary literature on this individual is based on factual evidence, as Leonardo, an eyewitness, proves beyond doubt the historicity of Urban. As usual, Leonardo is followed by his imitators (but curiously enough this reference is suppressed in the Greek narratives of Pseudo-Sphrantzes and of the *Anonymous Barberini*). Cf., e.g., Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 315 (14): *El bombardier nostro al qual non era data la prouision ando dal Turco.*

113 On Khalkokondyles’ Ottoman connections, cf. A. Nimet, *Die türkische Prosopography bei Laonikos Chalkokandyles* (Hamburg, 1933); and M. Cazacu, “Les parentés byzantines et ottomans de l’historien Laonikos Chalkokondyles (c. 1423–c. 1470),” *Turcica* 17 (1984): 95–114, speculates that there was an actual distant family relationship between Khalkokondyles and the Greek renegade Mahmud Pasha, a prominent Porte official of Mehmed II. On Mahmud Pasha and Khalkokondyles, cf. now Stavrides, *passim.* Also, M. C. Şehâbeddin Tekindağ,

"Mahmud Paşa," *İA* 7: 183–188.

114 Khalkokondyles 8.204 (385).

115 Similarly, Khalkokondyles renders "John [Corvinus] Hunyadi" as Ἰωάννης Χωνιάτης.

116 On this family of the Khalkokondylai, which produced influential humanists active in Italy, cf. among others, W. Miller, "The Last Athenian Historian," pp. 35–49. Better known than Laonikos in Italy was Laonikos' kinsman, the humanist Demetrius Chalco[co]ndyles, through his numerous editions of ancient Greek texts (including the *editio princeps* of Homer in Florence) and because of his energetic teaching activities in Florence, Padua, and Milan; cf. Geanakoplos, *Interaction*, ch. 13. In addition, cf. Kampouroglous.

117 Among later historians, Edward Gibbon is surely the exception when he states that Urban could have been "a Dane or Hungarian," cf. 7: 177, and n. 26. In all likelihood, Gibbon was familiar with the Latin translation of Khalkokondyles in the Corpus Historiae Byzantinae Parisinum, reprinted in *PG* 159: 13–556, which renders the Greek phrase Δὰξ τὸ γένος as *genere Dacus erat*, Gibbon probably misread (or was there a typographical error in his copy?) the last word as *Danus*. Pertusi also speculates that Urban may have been from Germany (*CC* 1: 393, n. 7): *un fonditore ungherese o sassone, di nome Urban.* That Mehmed welcomed western military experts to his court is well known. The presence in the Ottoman army of numerous European renegades enraged one of the defenders, Bishop Leonardo (*PG* 159: 927 [*CC* 1: 130]): *Sed quis, oro, circumvallavit urbem? Qui, nisi perfidi christiani instruxere Theucros? Testis sum quod Graeci, quod Latini, quod Germani, Pannones, Poètes, ex omnium christianorum regionibus Theucris commixti opera eorum fidemque didicerunt: qui, immanius fidei christianae obliti, urbem expugnabant.* Languschi-Dolfín, fol. 313 (6–7), in a section of his work that is independent of the narrative of Leonardo makes reference to the sultan's efforts to hire western artillery experts: *Salmitrio et solfore cum quantita de rami fece condur et fonditori de bombarde Alemani condusse cum gran stipendio, doue e quando uol se fa fonder bombarde.*

118 One must not assume that he was rated highly at the Porte. He seems to disappear after the siege, *infra*, ch. 7: "A Castle and a Bombard." There is no need to assume that he became a principal figure on Mehmed's staff or his chief of artillery. There exists a mosque (pl. 61) in Istanbul at some distance behind the Pege Gate [Balıklı Kapı] in the Veledi Karabaş quarter in Şehremini, whose origins date to the decade immediately after the conclusion of the siege. A modern Turkish inscription identifies its founder as Suleiman Topsubaşicu of Mehmed II. While the title indicates both "chief of the artillery corps" and "chief supplier," in all likelihood this is not a reference to Urban, who may have defected or became a convert/renegade, even though the name "Suleiman" was favored among converts to Islam. This may be a reference to Karıstıran Suleiman Beg, who was appointed by Mehmed II as the *subaşi* or governor of the sultan's new capital. Suleiman's mosque is located in an area that was clearly part of an estate with agricultural lands and gardens that are still evident. Perhaps the mosque was part of the estate granted to Suleiman by the sultan. Its northern boundary seems to preserve a surviving fountain near the Rhegium Gate. A modern visitor who follows the landmarks in the area, as we discovered in June 2003, can easily surmise the size of the estate. The mosque was known to the author of the *Garden of the Mosques*, who provides the following information, p. 65: "The builder of the Bala Mosque was Bala Süleyman Ağa. He was the head of the corps of gunners (*topcubaşı*) in the time of Fatih [Sultan Mehmed II] and the ağa of one of the Four Divisions (*bölikat-ıerbaa*). He is buried there. [The mosque] has a quarter." The translator of this work, Crane, p. 65, n. 498, states that this mosque was built in 1463. No trace of the original building survives, since it was completely renovated in the nineteenth century. For the "four divisions" of the

Ottoman army that refer to the mounted corps of the janissaries, ch. *ibid.*, p. 65, n. 499.

119 E.g., *FC*, p. 78: “Within three months he [*sc.* Urban] built the huge cannon which the Sultan placed on the walls of his castle at Rumeli Hisar and which sank the Venetian ship [*sc.* of Rizzo].” *MCT*, p. 78, presents similar speculation: “Urban built an enormous cannon for the shore side of the new fortress.” Neither authority cites any support from original sources for these suppositions, as indeed none exists.

120 Kritoboulos I.29.

121 Doukas 35. Sphrantzes was a friend of the unfortunate captain of the Venetian ship, as he had been one of his passengers on a previous voyage. He alludes to Rizzo’s terrible fate (*Minus* 32.1): Καὶ ἐγὼ [*sc.* Sphrantzes] τῇ ιδ$^{η}$ τοῦ σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τοῦ ξβ$^{ου}$ [*sc.* 1451] ἔτους εἰς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπέσωσα μετὰ τοῦ καραβίου τοῦ καλοῦ Ἀντωνίου Ῥίτσου τοῦ καὶ ὕστερον μαρτυρήσαντος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως αὐτοῦ. Pseudo-Sphrantzes (*Maius* 3.1) repeats the passage verbatim; his only change is that Sphrantzes’ prepositional phrase εἰς τὴν Πόλιν is expanded into Κωνσταντινούπολιν.

122 Regarding the shot as shown, we remain skeptical of the assertion that the *basilica*, the great cannon employed on the land walls, had been used at this site months before the formal siege of Constantinople had begun. The cannon balls utilized at Rumeli Hisar are substantially smaller than the 1,200-pound shots used at the walls.

123 Barbaro 2 (*CC* 1: 9): *El primo colpo che trè la bombarda grossa de questo castelo* [*sc. Rumeli Hisar*] *afondò la nave de Antonio Rizo che vigna de Mar Mazor…questo fo de 26 novembre 1452.*

124 *Cod. Trivulz. 641* is discussed and evaluated by F. Babinger, “Ein venedischer Lageplan der Fest Rûmeli Hisâry (2. Hälfte des XV. Jhdts.),” *La Biblofilia* 58 (1955): 188–190. Babinger reproduces a black-and-white photograph of this sketch (Abb. I), which is further reproduced in *MCT*, pl. IX.

125 Barbaro 2 (*CC* 1: 10): *…e questo sì fo uno prinzipio de romper vera con noi de Veniexia, che zà avanti jera rotta vera con Griexi.* Barbaro’s opinion on this matter is further echoed by Filippo da Rimini, the Venetian chancellor of Corfu, who also wrote an account of the siege by December, 1453 (*TIePN*, p. 128): *per id tempus Antonius Rizo, praefectus navis unius Venetae, cum Novum Castellum* [“Newcastle,” that is, Rumeli Hisar] *praeterlaberetur, machinis bellicis perfossa navi et obruta, capitur.*

126 Barbara 4 (*CC* 1: 11): *…el capetanio…che jera ser Jeruolemo Morexini, fo der ser Bernardo, e azonse con salvamento a Costantinopoli…fo dì 10 novembrio.* As *PaL* 2: 111, n. 9, points out, Pears, p. 217, is in error when he states “[o]n November 10, two large Venetian galleys under the command of Morosini were fired at as they were passing and captured.”

127 Barbara 11 (*CC* 1: 12), does not supply any specifics about Diedo’s arrival and mentions only that he was present in a meeting: *el conseio di dodexe in la giexia de Santa Maria de Constantinopoli…. Questo conseio si fo fato adi 17 dezembrio.*

128 Barbaro 4 (not in *CC* 1): *Adì do de decembrio la galia de Trabexonda imbocò dentro de mar mazor…la galia tuta iera in battaia come quela dovesse combatter, e questo se fo adì; a decembrio, che quela azonse a Costantinopoli; patron de la galia ser Jacopo Coco el grando.*

129 Doukas 35.

130 *Minus* 35.1. Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Maius* 3.6, amplifies on this statement of Sphrantzes and explicitly suggests that the sultan was carrying out an inspection of the walls: ὡς φαίνεται, ἵνα ταῖς δύο αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἴδῃ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως καὶ τάφρους καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον αὐτὸς

ἐλογίζετο Doukas 35 also suggests that Urban offered intelligence information but he places the discussion at the time when Urban proposed to construct the bombard.

131 Doukas 35.

132 Kritoboulos I.29: μετακαλεῖται τοὺς μηχανοποιοὺς καὶ κοινολογεῖται τούτοις περί τε τῶν μηχανῶν καὶ τοῦ τείχους, ὅπως ἂν ῥᾷστα καθαιρεθείη. οἱ δὲ ὑπισχνοῦνται αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίαν εἶναι τὴν τούτου [*sc.* τοῦ τείχους] καθαίρεσιν.

133 Except for his activities at the harbor, which will be discussed in due course, *infra*, ch. 8: “Naval Maneuvers.”

134 Cf., e.g., Stacton/Dereksen, p. 204: “Early in the siege the basilica blew up, killing its founder, Orban.” *PaL* 2: 114, n. 23, cautiously reports the “death” of Urban: “Urban’s cannon is said to have exploded, killing its founder.”

# Chapter 7

# A Castle and a Bombard

# I. Rumeli Hisar: The Fortress of Doom

Early in his reign, while Europe was still under the impression that Mehmed II was an incompetent young man of no consequence and no threat to the continent, the sultan turned his attention to an immediate problem in the east and led an expedition into Anatolia to suppress the rebellious Ibrahim Beg of Karaman.[1] While Mehmed was involved in this serious upheaval in Asia Minor, the Constantinopolitan court decided to revive the old game of “inventing” contenders to the Ottoman throne and of fomenting civil wars among the Turks, as it had successfully done under Manuel II Palaiologos at the beginning of the *quattrocento* and, with mixed results, in the early reign of John VIII, who did not make a good player in this game of diplomacy.[2] Under Constantine XI this tactic, one that was much favored by Greek diplomats, proved totally counter-productive. Perhaps the ministers of the emperor were aware of the futility of their efforts; perhaps underlying their feeble attempts was a desire to secure much-needed funds for Constantinople’s empty treasury, for Constantine XI had proved unable to persuade his subjects and his allies, the Italians, to contribute their fair share. Consequently, Constantine XI decided to blackmail the sultan.

In the care of the Greek emperor was Orhan, a distant relative of Mehmed II.[3] After Mehmed had ascended the Ottoman throne, he approved the annual payment of 300,000 aspers, the revenues from Orhan’s property in the vicinity of the Strymon River, for his relative’s expenses in Constantinople.[4] While Mehmed was trying to put down Ibrahim Beg’s rebellion, the Greek court took the opportunity to apply pressure:[5]

> ἡ γὰρ μωρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συναγωγὴ ἐσκέψατό τινα ματαίαν βουλήν, στείλασα πρὸς αὐτὸν [Mehmed II] πρέσβεις, λέγουσιν... "ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τῶν κατ᾽ ἔτος ἀσπρῶν τριακοσίων χιλιάδων ποσότητα οὐ καταδέχεται. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ὀρχάν, ...ὑπάρχει τέλειος ἄνδρας τῇ ἡλικίᾳ...ἐκ τῶν δύο οὖν ἓν αἰτοῦμεν, ἢ τὴν πρόσοδον διπλασιάσατε, ἢ τὸν Ὀρχὰν ἀπολύομεν."

> The moronic assembly of the Romans [= Greeks] produced a futile plan and dispatched envoys to him [Mehmed II]. They said: … “the emperor of the Romans [Greeks] does not accept the annual sum of three hundred thousand aspers. After all, Orhan…has reached maturity…we can take either of two courses: we ask that you double the income; otherwise, we will release Orhan.”

Neither Khalkokondyles nor Kritoboulos mentions this disastrous embassy. Similarly, Sphrantzes and the short chronicles maintain a silence. It is clear that this embassy infuriated both Mehmed and those members of his Porte who were friendly to the Greeks.[6] It was bad timing, in general, for Ibrahim Beg was about to conclude a peace treaty with Mehmed. His rebellion was not a serious undertaking, for he had probably been testing the young sultan's will and courage. Mehmed quickly ended his campaign in Asia Minor early in the spring of 1451.[7] Doukas states that the embassy of the Greeks forced Mehmed to conclude a hasty peace with Karaman, while the sultan curtly replied that he would deal with this matter of the Greek embassy and their demand after his return to Adrianople.[8] Doukas may be ascribing too much importance to the Greek embassy. Karaman had already decided to submit to the sultan, before the arrival of the imperial envoys; the Greek embassy, in all likelihood, had nothing to do with Mehmed's decision to depart from Anatolia.[9] Without further delay, the sultan took decisive action:[10]

> ὁ δὲ Μεχεμέτ...ἐν τῇ ᾿Αδριανοῦ εἰσελθών, παρευθὺ στείλας ἕνα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Στρυμόνα χωρίοις ἐκώλυσε τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν εὐεργετηθεῖσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβλέποντας καὶ οἰκοδεσποτεύοντας ταύτην ἐδίωξε, τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον μόνον γευσάμενος.

> Mehmed…entered Adrianople and immediately dispatched one of his slaves to the villages by the Strymon, and discontinued the grant assigned to the emperor. He chased away the imperial overseers; thus the emperor tasted only one year's revenues.

It seems that the imperial court's attempt to enhance its revenues at the expense of the sultan had backfired. Not only was the Greek court deprived of an existing grant but also it had succeeded in enraging the sultan and its own allies and supporters within the Porte.

Mehmed II spent the following winter making frantic preparations. The young sultan decided to tighten the noose around Constantinople and to inflict damage on Italian trade in the Levant. In addition, he wished to ensure that no aid whatsoever would come from the north by sea to the Greek capital, once he had invested the city. His objective was to construct a castle on the European side of the Bosporus, across from an existing fortress on the Asiatic side known as Anadolu Hisar ("the castle of Anatolia") that had been built by Bayezid I in 1395. An additional incentive was provided with the attempt of Christian ships to block his return passage to Europe following his recent withdrawal from his campaign against Karaman. As a consequence he had been unable to cross the straits of Kallipolis[11] and was constrained to march his troops northward to the passage guarded by Anadolu Hisar. It was probably on this occasion that Mehmed decided to fortify the European side of the straits and thus provide himself with a secure and safe avenue from continent to continent, which no Christian fleet could ever challenge.[12] As an afterthought, Khalkokondyles adds the assessment that this castle would also prove advantageous in the upcoming siege of Constantinople:[13] μέγα δὲ προφέρειν αὐτῷ ἔμελλε καὶ ἐς τὴν Βυζαντίου πολιορκίαν, , “it would be of great assistance to him [Mehmed] especially in the siege of Byzantium [Constantinople].”

Kritoboulos enumerates some of the strategic considerations that might have dictated the erection of the castle, invoking historical precedent and historical necessity[14] and reckoning the future advantages to be reaped:[15]

> οὐ ταῦτα δὲ μόνον ἐνῆγεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον οἱ σκοπὸν καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει τὸ φρούριον τειχισθὲν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅσον μελετωμένην πολιορκίαν τῆς Πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐνόμιζεν ἰσχυρότατον ἀποκλείων αὐτῇ οὐ μόνον τὰς ἠπείρους Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας ἀμφοτέρας, ἄνω μὲν τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον διὰ τοῦ Βοσπόρου, κάτω δὲ τόν τε Αἰγαῖον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

> Additional factors included the calculation that the erected fortress would be useful in his future plan to besiege the City. Since it was going to be very strong, it would isolate [Constantinople] by land from Asia and Europe and by sea: the northern access to the Euxine through the Bosporus and the southern access, the Aegean and the entire Greek Sea through the Hellespont.

Mehmed thus spent the winter assembling workmen and gathering supplies for the construction of his castle on the European side that was to begin in early spring.[16] Doukas supplies similar information, but without speculation concerning the sultan’s motives. He cites numbers, which may or may not be reliable:[17]

> μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρου ἥψατο λίαν ἐπιζημίου καὶ θανασίμου κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. χειμῶνος γὰρ ἠρξαμένου προστάγματα καὶ διαλαλίας ἔν τε δύσει ἔν τε ἀνατολῇ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ τοῦ ἑτοιμάσαι οἰκοδόμους τεχνίτας χιλίους καὶ ἐργάτας κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἀσβεστοκαύστας καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν καὶ παρακομιδήν, τοῦ εἶναι ἑτοίμους ἐν ἔαρι εἰς κατασκευὴν κάστρου.

> Next he began a project that was extremely dangerous, indeed fatal, for the Romans [Greeks]. With the approach of winter he dispatched decrees and proclamations to all provinces in the east and west, asking for one thousand construction workers, laborers (in equal quantity), lime stokers, and, in one word, the entire labor force and provisions. They were to be ready by the beginning of

spring to build a castle.

These preparations created a great deal of anxiety and trepidation in Constantinople. Coming in the wake of the expulsion of the Greek tax collectors from the Strymon area, and in connection with the Orhan incident, the news of the imminent construction of the fortress must have seemed equivalent to a declaration of war. Indeed, Doukas observes that panic and terror ruled the day.[18] There was little Constantine XI could do to dissuade the sultan. The emperor renewed his appeals for help in the west and dispatched a full report of the sultan's movements to his western allies.[19] The reaction of the Venetian Senate has been documented and it reveals that Constantine's alarm was not taken seriously. Venice was not aroused and elected to concentrate on her own problems in Italy.[20] She displayed little interest in the current developments in the Levant. The *Signoria* did, nonetheless, authorize some provisions for Constantinople, as it becomes apparent in the text of a surviving document:[21]

> *Contulit se ad nostram presentiam, unus orator Serenissimi domini Imperatoris Constantinopolis, quod explicavit nostro dominio, apparatus qui fiunt per imperatorem turchorum, tarn exercitus maximi terrestris, quam etiam classis maritime, ut se conferrat ad expugnationem civitatis Constantinopolis, que non est dubium, nisi provideatur de favore et presidio, magno periculo submissa est.... Et quum idem orator, sicut nobis retulit, iturus est Florentiam, et successive Romam ad Summum Pontifiem, et ad alias potentias Italie.... Et quum etiam petit favores nostros, respondemus, quod sicut bene intelligi posset, res nostre, multe restricte sunt in his partibus Lombardie, ita ut difficilimum nobis nobis sit, complacere domino suo.... Circa partem salnitrii, et coraciarum, quas petiit prefatus orator, respondeatur sibi, quod conteni sumus complacere eidem Serenissimo Imperatori, de quantitate quam postulavit.... Quod salnitrium ipsum, et coratie emantur, et mittantur ad manus baiuli nostri Constantinopolis ....*

> The representative of the most serene lord emperor of Constantinople appeared before us and reported to our leadership on the preparations that are being made by the lord of the Turks to take the city of Constantinople. No doubt, unless something is done with regard to provisions and the garrison, the city is under great danger.... The same envoy is to present a similar report to Florence, to the Pope in Rome, and to other states in Italy.... When he asked for our help, we answered that he should understand that our situation in Lombardy presents us with great difficulties and that for the most part our hands are tied. Consequently, we cannot

> accommodate his lord.… Yet in regard to the gunpowder and the breastplates, which were requested by the aforementioned representative, we will be pleased to accommodate the most serene emperor, and we will dispatch the amount that he needs.… So let us buy the gunpowder and the breastplates and let us send them to the hands of our *bailo* [Girolamo Minotto] in Constantinople.…

Constantine XI also directed an embassy to the Porte in a futile attempt to dissuade the sultan from erecting his fortress. Kritoboulos has furnished substantial information on this embassy[22] and implies that the envoys were sent before the beginning of the spring, that is, while the sultan was still in Adrianople. Doukas also speaks of a Greek embassy, which was directed to Adrianople.[23] Both authors must refer to the same occasion and they put similar arguments with varying degrees of sophistication into the mouths of the emperor's ambassadors. The remarkable agreement encountered in both texts suggests that the gist of Constantine's message to the sultan must have been widely known. According to Kritoboulos, the Greek emperor first reminded the Porte of all treaties that had been negotiated between their fathers and grandfathers. He then asked the sultan to cease his preparations and to discontinue the mobilization of his army. And further, the emperor requested that the sultan refrain from committing acts of injustice. Doukas provides a longer version of the same arguments. Both authors record the conceited response of Mehmed. Again their texts display notable agreement as regards the essentials of the sultan's reply. As usual, Doukas supplies the more elaborate version:[24]

> ὁ δὲ Μεχεμὲτ ἀπεκρίνατο· ἐγὼ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐ λαμβάνω τι. ἐκτὸς τῆς τάφρου οὐκ ἔχει οὔτε κέκτηταί τι. καὶ γὰρ ἤθελον κτίσαι ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ Στόματι φρούριον, οὐκ εἶχε δίκαιον τοῦ κωλύειν με. πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰσὶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν κείμενα τοῦ Στομίου φρούρια, καὶ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν Τοῦρκοι κατοικοῦσι, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ δύσει ἄοικα ἐμά εἰσι. καὶ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἀδείας τοῦ οἰκῆσαι. ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ἐν ποίᾳ στενοχωρίᾳ ὑπέστη καὶ δεινῇ περιστάσει ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, ὅταν τοῖς Οὔγκροις ὁ βασιλεὺς συνετέθη, καὶ διὰ ξηρᾶς ἐλθόντες ἐκεῖνοι, διὰ θαλάσσης τὰς τῶν Φράγκων τριήρεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἠγάγετο, καὶ τὸν Καλλιουπόλεως πορθμὸν ἀποκλείσαντες οὐκ ἐδίδουν πορείαν τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί … τότε ὁ ἐμὸς περάσας μετὰ πολλοὺς κινδύνους ὤμοσε τοῦ ποιῆσαι καταντικρὺ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ κειμένου πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἕτερον φρούριον πρὸς δύσιν. ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔφθασε τοῦ ποιῆσαι· ἐγὼ τοῦτο μέλλω ποιῆσαι θεοῦ ἀρωγοῦντος. τί με κωλύετε; ἢ οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὃ βούλομαι; ἀπέλθατε, εἴπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὁ νῦν ἡγεμὼν οὐκ ἔστι τῶν πρώην ὅμοιος· ἃ οὐκ ἠδύναντο ἐκεῖνοι ποιῆσαι, οὗτος ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ εὐκόλως ἔχει τοῦ πρᾶξαι, καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἐκεῖνοι, οὗτος θέλει καὶ βούλεται. καὶ ὁ ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἕνεκα τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης ἀφαιρεθήσεται τὴν δοράν.

Mehmed responded: "I am not depriving the City of anything. He

> [Constantine] controls and possesses nothing beyond his moat. If I wish to build a fortress at the Sacred Mouth, he has no right to hinder me. The entire region is under my control. The cities east of the Mouth, inhabited by Turks, belong to me; the uninhabited western regions are also mine; the Romans [Greeks] are not allowed to live there. Do you not remember the distress and the danger faced by my father when the king of the Hungarians launched his expedition? They advanced by land, while the triremes of the Franks [western Europeans] sailed to the Hellespont and blockaded the straits, denying passage to my father? … Back then he survived numerous dangerous situations and swore that he would build a fortress on the western shore, across from the one situated in the east [Anadolu Hisar]. He did not live to accomplish it. I will do it, with God's help. Why are you trying to stop me? Am I not allowed to do as I please in my own territory? Go tell your king: the present lord does not resemble his predecessors. He will easily accomplish what they failed to achieve. He eagerly wishes to succeed in what they proved unwilling to do. I will skin alive any man who dares to talk to me of this matter in the future."

The reply recorded in Kritoboulos is less lively. According to him, Mehmed blamed the Greeks for the violation of the existing treaty and concludes his speech with arrogant words.[25]

The sultan's ominous reply was brought back to Constantinople and the Greeks felt defenseless; Kritoboulos points out the imperial impotence.[26] Doukas is more graphic in his details and paints a picture of despair, providing a foretaste of the sack:[27]

> τότε οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ φόβῳ συνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ὁμιλοῦντες ἔλεγον, "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων εἰσιέναι τῇ πόλει καὶ φθεῖραι καὶ αἰχμαλωτίσαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ καταπατῆσαι τὰ ἅγια καὶ ἀφανίσαι τοὺς τιμίους ναούς, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κείμενα λείψανα θεοφρόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις καὶ τριόδοις ἐναπορρῖψαι. οἴμοι, τί πράξωμεν; ποῦ φύγωμεν;" ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα οἱ δυστυχεῖς κλαίοντες τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν ἐταλάνιζον.

> Then all the citizens felt despair and fear and addressed each other as follows: "this is the man who will enter the City, who will destroy and seize the inhabitants, who will trample over the sacred [vessels], who will wipe out the precious churches, and who will scatter the surviving remains of God-minded men and martyrs throughout the squares and the cross-roads. Alas! What are we to do? Whither are we to flee?" With such and other, similar words the unfortunate people bewailed their lives.

This climate of despair is also described in the poem of Ubertino Pusculo, who was a resident in Constantinople at that time.[28]

Mehmed was not to be deterred by the arguments that the Greeks presented. An expedition from Europe could have put an end to his plans but Italy seemed disinterested in the Levant and her indifference encouraged the sultan's imperialistic schemes. At the beginning of spring,[29] he marched to the straits and began the construction of a castle. His actions spread terror to its intended victims:[30]

> καὶ δὴ καταλαβὼν μίαν ῥαχίαν κάτωθεν τοῦ Σωσθενίου καλουμένην ἔκπαλαι Φονέαν, ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐν τριγώνῳ σχήματι τὸν θεμέλιον ὡρίσατο πηγνύναι, ὃ καὶ γενόμενον τὴν κλῆσιν τοῦ κάστρου Πασχεσὲν ἐκέλευσε καλεῖσθαι, ἐξελληνιζόμενον δὲ ἑρμηνεύεται κεφαλοκόπτης, ἔχον ἄντικρυ καὶ τὸ φρούριον ὃ ἐδείματο ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ.

> And he [Mehmed] occupied a cliff below Sosthenion, which had been long ago named "Phoneas." There he ordered the foundations to be arranged in the shape of a triangle. After this was done he named the castle Başkesen, which can be rendered into Greek as "Head-cutter." Across from it was the fortress [Anadolu Hisar] built by his grandfather.

Khalkokondyles presents similar information and adds that the site was called "Throatcutter," Λαιμοκοπίην[31] while the learned Kritoboulos digresses into the mythology of the place and mentions the Clashing Rocks along with Jason and the Argonauts.[32] In addition, the place acquired the sobriquet Νεόκαστρον,, "New Castle," as noted by Theodoras Agallianos:[33]
ἔκτισεν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς τὸ Νεόκαστρον τὸ λεγόμενον Φονέας, "the sultan built Newcastle also called Phoneas [Murderer]." The layout of the fortress, the strength of the walls, and the speed with which it was completed impressed all contemporaries.[34] In fact, there is evidence to suggest that at long last Venice took notice and her Levantine spies were directed to make sketches of Mehmed's castle. Indeed, the castle's first victims were Venetian sailors, whose executions were carried out with exceptional savagery at the express order of the sultan, who wanted to demonstrate his resolution that his edict with regard to the straits should be taken seriously.[35] During the erection of Rumeli Hisar Constantine failed to take military action, even though the Turkish occupation force was eagerly seeking a provocation to initiate hostile actions against Constantinople.

Constantine proved unable to control his own devout subjects in Constantinople, who became so outraged when the Turks appropriated the ruins of the local Christian shrines and incorporated them into the fortifications of their castle that they took matters into their feeble and incapable hands:[36]

> καί τινας κίονας μετακομίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρειπίων τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ταξιάρχου Μιχαήλ, τινὲς τῆς πόλεως ζήλῳ κινούμενοι ἐξῆλθον τοῦ κωλῦσαι τοὺς Τούρκους, καὶ δὴ συλληφθέντες πάντες διὰ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον.

> And they [the Turks] transported some columns from the ruins of the Church of Michael Taxiarkhes. Some people from the City were moved by religious zeal and came out to stop the Turks. They were all apprehended and were put to the sword.

Actions of this type could not have made the court's task any easier, but neither the emperor nor his officials had any control over the anti-unionist mob and the Orthodox zealots. The Greek court could do little but to dispatch yet another embassy to the sultan and attempt to placate him with gifts, in the hope that he would spare the local peasants from further molestation.[37] While Mehmed agreed to provide nominal protection for the Greek peasants, there were incidents and the local population suffered. On one known occasion the Turks massacred forty individuals.[38] Theodoras Agallianos takes note of this event and his text betrays the despair that must have been felt by the population at that time:[39]

> ἀπαρτισθέντος τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου ἀσεβοῦς ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ κτισθέντος Κάστρου ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ πόλεως πεσὼν καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας προσμείνας καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐκτεμῶν καὶ τὰ προάστεια διαφθείρας...καὶ πολὺν φόνον ἀνθρώπων εἰργασάμενος καὶ ὅτι πλεῖστον αἷμα ἐκχέας καὶ τότε καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγου, ἀνεχομένου φεῦ! τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου.

> The aforementioned impious man [Mehmed] completed his castle, to seal our city's fate. At Anaplous, he came down to the city. He remained three days cutting down the vineyards and destroying the suburbs...he put to the sword many people and spilled great quantities of their blood at that time and even a little earlier. Alas! God allowed it because of my sins.

Pusculo mentions an attack on Constantinople's environs, which was launched after the completion of Rumeli Hisar's walls, but before the construction of its towers, which were reinforced and roofed later in the summer. He may be referring to the same incident. The sultan unleashed his raiders in the neighborhood of the Greek capital:[40]

> *Machmettus muros castelli ut struxerat, arva / Urbis qui vastent equites jubet ire, ducique / Mandat agris praedam ducat, miserosque trucidet / Agricolas, quoscunque vagos offenderet. Atri / Principium belli hoc statuit Martis cruenti / Primitias.*

> When Mehmed had erected the walls of his castle, he ordered his horsemen to devastate the fields of the City, to forage, to amass

> booty, and to massacre the wretched peasants, who happened to wander there. In this manner he began the war and harvested the first fruits of bloody Mars.

On this occasion the emperor felt obliged to take some action. He was unable to prevent the sultan's raiders from molesting the countryside, and so he decided to arrest all Turks residing or present within his capital. Some were officials of the Porte and personal attendants of the sultan:[41]

> τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τὸ γεγονὸς ἔκλεισε τὰς θύρας τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὅσους ἔτυχε εὑρὼν ἐντὸς Τούρκους πάντας δεσμήσας ἐν φρουρᾷ ἔθετο. καὶ μεθ᾿ ἡμέρας τρεῖς πάλιν ἀπέλυσε· τί γὰρ εἶχε τοῦ δρᾶν;

> The emperor heard of the event [the massacre] and closed the gates of the City. He arrested all Turks found within. Three days later he released them. What else could he do?

The members of the Porte apparently requested an audience with the emperor and stated that if they were not back in the Turkish camp by sunset they would be put to death by Mehmed. Constantine was moved by pity and released them.[42] Quite different is the Turkish perspective of this incident; in fact, a Turkish source suggests that the Greeks had been unduly alarmed and had over-reacted by closing their gates. Tursun Beg claims that it was only a scuffle between shepherds and Ottoman soldiers. The same Turkish source speaks of the sultan's "commanders" detained by the *tekvur*, the Greek emperor, in the city. He admits that they were treated well and states that they were soon released with the emperor's apologies. Tursun Beg then adds that Mehmed took this opportunity to send an ultimatum to the emperor, demanding the surrender of Constantinople.[43]

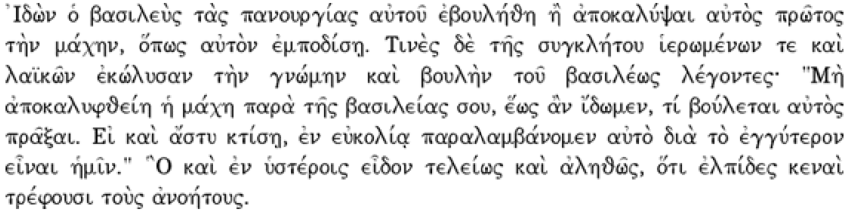
What exactly these Porte officials were doing in the city is not quite clear in our sources. They may have been touring the sites while on leave or they may have been gathering intelligence information on the state of Byzantine defenses and their garrison. Also, they may have been purchasing provisions for their laborers and workers at Rumeli Hisar, a factor that has not been given serious consideration by scholarship thus far. One eyewitness bitterly complains that Greek and Italian merchants were shamelessly dealing for profit with the Turks at this time. He was further disturbed that food was sent to the Turkish camp by the Greek court:[44]

> *At Danai ex urbe, et Genuenses omnia vectant / Ex Galata Phrygibus, victum caecique ministrant / Hostibus, atque palam, castris ne copia desit. / Tantus numerorum mentes intraverat ardor. / Certatim ratibus plenis frumenta vehebant, / Et varias terrae fruges: quin putida dona /*

> *Hordea multa capit laetus Machmettus utroque / A populo, et vastes pretiosas.*

> The Danaans [Greeks] from the City, and the Genoese from Galata [Pera] sold everything to the Phrygians [Turks]. So blind were they, that they openly supplied food to the enemy, ensuring abundance in their camp. So great a greed for money invaded their souls. They vied with one another in their efforts to bring supplies and the various products of the land in loaded ships. In joy did Mehmed receive such quantities of ornate gifts and expensive garments from both groups.

There is one source that states that Constantine was prepared to launch an attack the moment that the sultan began the construction of the castle, but he was prevented from doing so by his own timid and asinine courtiers. This statement, however, was written in the sixteenth century, long after the events, and is not encountered in any original primary sources. Its accuracy, therefore, may be justly doubted:[45]



> Ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς πανουργίας αὐτοῦ ἐβουλήθη ἢ ἀποκαλύψαι αὐτὸς πρῶτος τὴν μάχην, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐμποδίσῃ. Τινὲς δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου ἱερωμένων τε καὶ λαϊκῶν ἐκώλυσαν τὴν γνώμην καὶ βουλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως λέγοντες· "Μὴ ἀποκαλυφθείη ἡ μάχη παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας σου, ἕως ἂν ἴδωμεν, τί βούλεται αὐτὸς πρᾶξαι. Εἰ καὶ ἄστυ κτίσῃ, ἐν εὐκολίᾳ παραλαμβάνομεν αὐτὸ διὰ τὸ ἐγγύτερον εἶναι ἡμῖν." Ὃ καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις εἶδον τελείως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὅτι ἐλπίδες κεναὶ τρέφουσι τοὺς ἀνοήτους.

> The emperor observed his clever maneuvers and was eager to be the first to use force in order to stop him. Some members of the senate, clerics and lay members, prevented him from putting his plan into operation when they said: “Let your Majesty be not the first to go to war; let us first wait and see what he intends to do. If he erects a castle we will easily seize it because of its very proximity to us.” At long last, they saw it truly completed; foolish minds feed on empty hopes.

The Greek emperor’s court made one more attempt to approach the Porte, realizing that this would probably be their last opportunity to address the sultan on friendly terms. The text of the emperor’s message, as it is reported by Doukas, is composed in careful and dignified prose:[46]

> ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς μάχης ᾑρετίσω, καὶ οὔτε ὅρκοις οὔτε κολακείαις πεισθῆναι ποιῆσαί σε ἔχω, ποίει ἃ βούλει. ἐγὼ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καταφεύγω, καὶ εἰ θελητὸν αὐτῷ ἔστι τοῦ δοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην εἰς χεῖρας σου, τίς ὁ ἀντιπεῖν δυνάμενος εἰ δὲ πάλιν ἐμφυτεύσει εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, καὶ τοῦτο ἀσπασίως ἀποδέχομαι. πλὴν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν λάβε σου τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους. ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως κεκλεισμένας ἔχω καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον φυλάξω. σὺ δὲ καταδυναστεύων δυνάστευε, ἕως ὁ δίκαιος κριτὴς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ, ἐμοί τε καὶ σοί, τὴν δικαίαν ἀπόφασιν.

> Since you have chosen war and I can persuade you neither by flattery nor by your sworn treaty, do as you please. I will seek shelter with God. If it is His will to hand this city into your hands, who will be able to oppose Him? If again He inspires peace in your heart, I will gladly welcome it. For the time being, take back your treaty and your sworn statements. From this point on I will close the gates of the city and I will provide protection to the inhabitants. Do go on with your oppressive rule until the Righteous Judge will deliver His just verdict to each man, to you and to me.

Unmoved by eloquence and ethical arguments, which he may have viewed as a sign of impotence and weakness, the sultan lost no time in declaring war upon the Greeks.[47]

And so the drama moved on to its inevitable conclusion. The construction of the castle was finished in mid-summer, as Barbara acknowledges.[48] Upon its completion, Mehmed led his forces to the landside vicinity of Constantinople and inspected her ancient fortifications. He certainly was conducting an inspection of the state of defenses and was taking notes for the upcoming siege. If any doubts lingered in the minds of the Greeks with regard to the sultan's future intentions, these must have quickly evaporated:[49]

> Καὶ τελέσας τὸ κάστρον, τῇ λα$^{\eta}$ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐγερθεὶς ἀπ᾽ ἐκεῖ, ἐλθὼν ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς σούδας τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ τῇ γ$^{\eta}$ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός…διέβη εἰς τὴν ᾽Ανδριανούπολιν, ὡς φαίνεται, ὅτι τὰς δύο ἡμέρας αὐτὰς ἵνα κρυφίως ἴδῃ τὸ κάστρον καλῶς καὶ τὰ τοῦ κάστρου.

> When the erection of the castle had been completed, he left on August 31, and attacked the fortifications of the City. On September 3 [1452]…he departed for Adrianople. For two days he had been apparently securing his castle and its position.

Pseudo-Sphrantzes repeats the same statement, providing slightly different dates and drastically altering the last section:[50]

> Καὶ τῇ κη$^{\eta}$ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐγερθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐλθὼν ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς σούδας τῆς πόλεως· καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς διέβη εἰς τὴν ᾽Ανδριανούπολιν, ὡς φαίνεται, ἵνα ταῖς δύο αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἴδῃ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως καὶ τάφρους καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐλογίζετο.

> On August 28 [1452], he left and attacked the fortifications of the City. On September 1 he went to Adrianople. He evidently used those two days to inspect the walls of the City, the moat, and whatever else he had in mind.

There was little Constantine could do. The earlier massacre of the peasants had been a clear warning of the sultan’s true intentions. If Pusculo is to be believed, the emperor held a council of war:[51]

> *Casu rex pressus iniquo / Constantinus agit secum, dubiosque volutat / Bellorum eventus primisque in tecta vocatis / Civibus, en lacrymis oculus suffusus abortis, / Et grave suspirans moesto sic pectore fatur.*

> Emperor Constantine was upset by the misfortune and was thinking over the dubious outcome of the conflict. He summoned the first citizens to his palace. With tears in his eyes, with heavy sighs, and in sadness he addressed them.

According to Pusculo, it was decided to issue yet another appeal to western Christendom. Messengers were directed to Hungary and to Italy in search of aid:[52]

> *geminos placet ire per orbe: / Alter in Italiam tendat, regesque fatiget / Italiae fessis nostris succurrere rebus: / Pontificem et Romanımı adeat, … / Pannoniumque alter dominum petat; isque Joannem / Ductorem belli regis, fulmenque superbos / Terribile in Teucros roget, ut non ferre moretur / Auxilium nobis perituris clade cruenta.*

> Two [envoys] would be sent abroad: one was to go to Italy and wear down the kings of Italy so that they would supply us with aid. Then he would proceed to the pope in Rome…. The other [envoy] would go to the lord of the Pannonians [Hungarians] and ask John [Janos Hunyadi], the warlord of the king, to launch a thunderbolt against the cruel Turks and to send us aid as soon as possible, as we were about to perish in bloody slaughter.

That an envoy was dispatched to Hungary and to Hunyadi is also noted by Sphrantzes, who was bitterly disappointed at the indifference and apathy of the west to the Islamic menace in the Balkans. Exactly when this messenger was sent is not explicitly stated but it is probable that at least one Greek envoy reached Hungary at this time.[53]

Thus the sultan finally completed his encirclement of Constantinople and made it as tight as it could be. To the east the Greeks possessed nothing, for the Turks occupied all of Asia Minor. To the west, Thrace had come under firm Ottoman rule, with the ancient

Greek city of Adrianople as the capital of the sultan. To the north the Greeks still controlled a few isolated pockets as Mesembria and Selybria that could easily fall to the Turks, as they did soon thereafter.[54] But access to them from Constantinople was now completely denied by the castle on the Bosporus, which further blocked passage to the Black Sea. Thus for the Greeks the only avenue of communication that remained open was the southern channel to the Aegean, and even that waterway was surrounded by Turkish territory on both sides.

The Italians experienced the might of this castle. The sultan had meant to curb Venetian shipping through the straits. Barbara states that Rumeli Hisar was an effective structure and that normal artillery had been strategically deployed along and on its walls, facing the sea:[55]

> *Questo tal castelo, si son fortissimo da mar, per niun muodo non se poria averlo, per esser assaissime bombarde alla marina e per suxo le mure, ma da tera el son forte, ma non tanto come da mar.*
>
> This castle was strongly fortified on its seaside and could not be taken because of the numerous bombards on the shore and on its walls. On the landside it was strong but not so strong as on its seaward side.

The sultan issued orders to halt and board all ships, as well as inspect all cargo, so that supplies would not reach the Greek capital. In addition, he imposed a toll on all vessels.[56] Early on there were disappointments. The bombards could not produce a rapid and consistent rate of fire against moving targets and some western ships managed to pass through the Boğazken/Başkesen without having to subject themselves to boarding.[57] As numerous western ships managed to pass through, it became obvious that the value of the castle on the Bosphorus was psychological for the most part. Its swift erection, however, sent a number of messages to the beleaguered emperor in Constantinople. The fortress had been built without his approval. It had, however, allowed the sultan on various occasions to express his contempt for the Greeks and for the crown, and had afforded him the opportunity to declare war. The castle advertised the fact that the sultan was in command of considerable technology and that he had sufficient financial means to hire European masters and engineers who even produced impressive artillery. Finally, Rumeli Hisar gave the sultan the needed excuse to demonstrate to the Italians in the Levant that he meant business and that their profitable commerce could continue only with his approval. His determination to enforce his will is further evidenced in the cruel executions of Rizzo and his crew.

Whatever earlier perceptions the west had formed about the young sultan, as an inexperienced and timid young man who could easily be defeated, would now have to be radically modified and a new image would have to be put forth: the sultan was a force to be reckoned with, for he aimed at world domination.

Beyond the strategic and tactical advantages that the sultan gained with the construction of his fortress, his most significant victory was scored in the psychological domain. Rumeli Hisar became a most important pawn in his campaign of subjective warfare. The Greeks became convinced that the end was drawing near. His monstrous bombards at the castle provided a hint of Armageddon. It is no wonder that Greeks surrendered themselves to their fate, as they formed the impression that their ruin had been sealed. We are fortunate to have a note from the hand of Theodoras Agallianos; his sentiments, recorded at this time, seem to express the view of the majority. Agallianos mentions the fortress and then, more importantly, goes on to describe the psychological state that prevailed in the capital at the moment. Survival became questionable. He and others placed their hopes in God, realizing that to oppose the sultan without aid from the west amounted to a Herculean labor. Despair seems to have reigned after the completion of the fortress of doom:[58]

> ἀπαρτισθέντος τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου ἀσεβοῦς ἐν τῷ ᾿Ανάπλῳ κτισθέντος Κάστρου ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ πόλεως πεσὼν καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας προσμείνας καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους ἐκτεμὼν καὶ τὰ προάστεια διαφθείρας ...καὶ πολὺν φόνον ἀνθρώπων εἰργασάμενος καὶ ὅτι πλεῖστον αἷμα ἐκχέας καὶ τότε καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγου, ἀνεχομένου φεῦ! τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου, εἶτα ἀπῆλθε παρασκευασόμενος, ὡς εἴρηται, ἅμα ἔαρι ἢ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, σὺν παντοίᾳ μηχανῇ καὶ ἑλεπόλει πρὸς πολιορκίαν...τῆς Πόλεως μήτ᾽ ἐξ οἰκείων, μήτ᾽ ἔξωθεν τὴν οἱανοῦν κεκτημένην βοήθειαν, μήτε ἀπὸ χρημάτων μήτε ἀπὸ σωμάτων ἀπειρηκυίας δὲ ἤδη τῇ μακροχρονίῳ ταλαιπωρίᾳ, καὶ τῇ πολλῇ πενίᾳ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῇ ἐπιθέσει τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντα τρόμῳ καὶ πικρῷ λογισμῷ· μόνην δὲ τὴν εἰς τὸν εὔσπλαγχνον καὶ οἰκτίρμονα Θεὸν ἐλπίδα κεκτημένης εἰ ἐπιστρέψει καὶ φείσεται καὶ ῥύσεται ἡμᾶς, καὶ εἰς τὴν πάναγνον καὶ ἀειπάρθενον Θεοτόκον, ...εἰ ταῖς λιταῖς αὐτῆς καὶ ἱκεσίαις, ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀσπόρως καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν καὶ λόγον τεχθείς, ἐλεήσει ἡμᾶς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ ἀπιδὼν τὰ ἀναρίθμητά μου πταίσματα, καὶ τῆς πικρᾶς τῶν ἀσεβῶν δουλείας ῥύσεται ἡμᾶς, ὡς τοὺς Φαραωνίτας καταποντίσας τοὺς ᾿Ισραηλίτας.

> The aforementioned impious man [Mehmed] completed his castle at Anaplous; he attacked the City on his way back to Adrianople. He fell upon the environs of the City, remained in the vicinity for three days, destroyed the vineyards, plundered the suburbs, … murdered many people, and spilled as much blood as possible both on this occasion and a little earlier. Alas! God allowed him to do so because of my sins. Then he went away in order to make preparations, it has been said, to lay siege to the City next spring or even before the

spring with every imaginable piece of artillery and siege engine…. The City could expect help neither from within nor from without; neither funds nor men were available, as the City has been tortured for a long time by its great poverty, by lack of men, by the attacks of the enemy, and by fear and bitter reckoning of what is in store for us. Our only hopes are the merciful and compassionate God, should He return, spare, and defend us, and the all-pure, eternal virgin Mother of God…Her son, conceived without seed, beyond nature and logic, should He listen to Her entreaties, will have pity, will show mercy upon us, overlooking my countless sins in the process, and will save us from bitter slavery to the impious [Turks], as He delivered the Israelites and drowned the men of the Pharaoh.

## II. Urban’s Bombard(s): Ottoman Artillery

Urban, the military engineer who transferred his services from the emperor to the sultan,[59] produced a masterpiece that deeply impressed the defenders during the siege and left an indelible mark in our sources. Practically every eyewitness and secondary account makes mention of it. Cardinal Isidore, the pope’s Greek legate and a heroic defender of Constantinople, generally refers to this cannon as *bombarda* a number of times.[60] Isidore’s associate and ardent admirer, Archbishop Leonardo,[61] also often refers to it as *bombarda* (and once as *machina-engme*) and differentiates it from the other artillery by assigning distinctive descriptive adjectives to it:[62] *horribilis*-horrible, *ingens*-huge, and so forth. Benvenuto, the Anconan consul in Constantinople, also calls it *bomberda.*[63] Barbaro generally refers to the artillery as *bombarde* and describes Urban’s largest creations[64] as *do bombarde …le più grosse*, “two bombards…the largest.” Tetaldi’s Latin account correctly identifies Urban’s masterpiece as *unus bombardus aereus et fusilis*, “one bronze and fire bombard,” and then the Florentine merchant hastens to specify that it was made in one solid piece, *integer et indivisus*,[65] “whole, without separate parts,” while Kritoboulos, who supplies a long and detailed description, claims that it was composed of two separate pieces, a breach-receptacle for the gunpowder and a barrel-chamber for the stone projectile:[66]

> ἐβέβλητο πρῶτον ἡ καλουμένη βοτάνη πληροῦσα ἰσχυρῶς τὴν ὄπισθεν ὅλην χωνείαν καὶ τὸν αὐλὸν τῆς μηχανῆς ἕως τοῦ στομίου τοῦ δευτέρου αὐλοῦ τοῦ δεξιομένου τὸν λίθον.
>
> First the powder was placed and it densely filled the entire aft part of the cannon and the bore of the engine as far as the mouth of the second segment of the bore, which received the stone projectile.

Kritoboulos is certainly well informed about the firing mechanism of Urban’s bombard, and one can conclude that Tetaldi, who was one of the active defenders, could not clearly distinguish between the two parts of the bombard. From his vantage point on the walls the bombard must have appeared as if it had been cast in one piece. A bombard of Mehmed II from 1464 survives.[67] It consists of two sections, demonstrating that Kritoboulos was probably correct about the two distinct chambers, each having its own function. When the two separate sections are matched together, the breach screws into the barrel and the gun gives the appearance of being one solid piece. No other source mentions the two separate sections of Urban’s bombard.

Among the Greek secondary sources, there is some confusion regarding its proper designation. Gunpowder artillery had not been common in the Levant as in western Europe, and our Greek sources struggle to invent a terminology for the new engine. Even prior to the siege of 1453 we encounter Greek attempts to approximate the Latin term *bombarda* (probably through its spoken Italian version, *bumbarda*), resulting in such transliterations as βουμπάρδος, βουμπάρδα, μπομπάρδα, or even λουμπάρδα.[68] Clearly, this term derives from the vernacular and is without classical origins. As such, it was avoided by most educated authors, who favored archaic terms, for example, the general σκευή, “equipment,” or μηχανή, “engine/machine,” echoing the Latin *machina.* Thus Kritoboulos realizes the problem and alludes to it by observing that the cannon was a recent invention of the European Celts and Germans[69] and concludes by noting the difficulty of finding an ancient Greek term for it:[70]

> ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ὄνομα παλαιὸν εὑρίσκεται ταύτη τῆ μηχανῆ, εἰ μή πού τις τὴν ἑλέπολιν εἴποι ἢ ἀφετήριον, κοινῷ δ᾽ ὀνόματι ταύτην καλοῦσι πάντες οἱ νῦν ὄντες σκευήν.

> An ancient name for this machine cannot be found, unless one calls it “helepolis” [city-taker] or “missile thrower.” All people nowadays call it “apparatus.”

He then continues to use descriptive phrases such as πετροβόλοι μηχαναί, “stone-throwing engines” or, more commonly, μηχαναί, “engines.” While Doukas is aware of σκευή, “equipment,” more often he prefers to employ his own invented term for artillery, χωνεία-χώνα, . “funnel” (and occasionally modified by the adjective πετροβολιμαῖος, “stone throwing”), and further specifies Urban’s bombard by adding the adjective “great,” χωνεία μεγάλη, “great funnel.”[71] Khalkokondyles devised by far the most successful Greek word for cannon.[72] He coined the term τηλέβολος or τηλεβόλος (“long range [*sc.* μηχανὴ-σκευὴ/engine-machine]”), which with a change in gender is not remote from the Modern Greek term, τηλεβόλον.

Urban’s bombard was cast in Adrianople. The process took three months to complete, according to Doukas, and resulted in the creation of a monster:[73] ἐν τρισὶν οὖν μησὶ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ ἐχωνεύθη τέρας τι φοβερὸν καὶ ἐξαίσιον, “in three months a terrible, unprecedented monster was constructed and cast.” Kritoboulos also suggests that this bombard inspired awe, as he utilizes in his description phrases that belong to folklore:[74] πρᾶγμα φοβερώτατον ἰδεῖν καὶ εἰς ἀκοὴν ὅλως ἄπιστόν τε καὶ δυσπαράδεκτον., “something that is frightful to see; one would not accept or admit its existence if one heard about it.” Kritoboulos supplies a meticulously precise description of the process by which it was cast.[75] It should be emphasized that the bombard was made of bronze at a time when Europe had rejected the cumbersome bronze bombards in preference for a smaller cast iron cannon for reasons of cost and mobility. Apparently, this latest advance in European technology had not yet reached the Balkans.[76] Doukas makes special mention of the material that was required for the bombard, as bronze was not easily found in the Levant:[77] Ἤρξαντο συναθροίζειν χαλκόν, , “they began to amass bronze.” Kritoboulos also makes special mention of the large amounts of bronze needed.[78] It is a well-known fact that the Ottomans regularly faced difficulties in making bronze, as tin could not be obtained from any region of the Levant. Consequently, tin had to be imported from Europe at great cost; this insufficiency was acutely felt as late as the mid-sixteenth century.[79] Thus in 1452 the Porte was extremely energetic in its efforts to amass an enormous amount of bronze demanded by Urban for his bombard(s). The importance of the project must have justified the expense, which obviously had not been a consideration. Kritoboulos does supply the specific quantity of copper and tin used in the casting, but he hastens to clarify his statement by adding that this estimate derives from hearsay ( (ὡς ἐλέγετο, , “as it was reported”).[80] Kritoboulos, in the next paragraph, also specifies that 1500 “talents” of copper and tin were melted down for the casting, but he repeats the same qualifier, “it was so reported,” which must mean that he could not vouch for its accuracy:

> Ἤρξαντο συναθροίζειν χαλκόν,
>
> A great mass of copper and tin, weighing many talents, was thrown into the funnels. It was reported that it measured as much as fifteen hundred talents.

Nor can we be certain of the exact amount Kritoboulos had in mind, for we are not certain as to which “talent” he means. If indeed Kritoboulos is using the ancient Attic-Euboeic talent of 25.86 kilograms, then we are to assume that 38,790 kilograms of bronze were required for the casting.[81] For purposes of comparison, since actual bombards signed by Urban have not survived (or perhaps have not been identified), we may take into consideration Munir Ali’s Dardanelles Gun of 1464. It is not known who Munir Ali was, but, given the date recorded on the cannon, it is quite possible that he had received some of his training from Urban and his workers in 1453. Alternatively, we may speculate and consider the possibility that Munir Ali and Urban are one and the same person after Urban’s conversion to Islam; however, there is no evidence that Urban became a renegade, and no source states so. We simply lose sight of him and we know virtually nothing about his subsequent activities after he had cast his bombard. There are distinct similarities between the Dardanelles Gun and the bombard of 1453. The alloy of the Dardanelles bombard contains 10–11% tin, with traces of silver, and it was cast in vertical molds on purpose so that the muzzle was lowest, in order to turn it into its hardest part by solidifying it last through slow cooling.[82] While this bombard was cast eleven years after the fall of Constantinople, it is not unreasonable to believe that its maker may have been influenced by the methods of Urban, whose casting methods must have been observed at the foundry of Adrianople by other engineers. Consequently, the Dardanelles Gun may be a direct descendant of Urban’s τέρας τι φοβερὸν καὶ ἐξαίσιον,, “a terrible, unprecedented monster,” as Doukas dubs it. It is also possible, if not probable, that the Dardanelles Gun was cast by Urban himself, who after conversion to Islam may have been renamed Munir Ali.

At Adrianople, near the palace of Mehmed II, Urban test fired his finished cannon. Kritoboulos describes the preparations for the firing of the bombard.[83] The workmen first filled the breach-chamber section of the bombard with gunpowder until this compartment was full; they then added a ram, plug, or wad of the strongest wood, which, in effect, sealed the aft compartment tightly.[84] Next they pushed the stone projectile to the bottom of the first compartment, fitting snugly against the wooden ram and ensuring the absence of air pockets between the projectile and the inner side of the bombard’s barrel. The gunpowder was then lit through an opening in the breach. We have no direct measurements of the bombard’s sections but Kritoboulos has supplied measurements for the clay molds that were used in the casting. The entire measured length of the mold was forty “spans” and was divided equally between the chamber and the barrel. If we assume that Kritoboulos’ “span” ranged anywhere from six inches (a small hand) to eight inches (a large hand), the length of the entire bombard would have measured between 20 and 26.6 feet. The barrel measured twelve “spans” in circumference (a measurement also confirmed by Leonardo and Pusculo), that is, six to eight feet, while the breach measured about two feet in circumference.[85] The thickness of the bombard’s wall can be deduced, as Kritoboulos reports that the distance between the core and the casing of the mold was about one “span,” six to eight inches, or slightly more.[86]

Whether this monster had been given a name is not certain. In modern literature we occasionally encounter statements that it was called the “royal” (*basilica*/(ἡ πάσσαλος)) bombard but this detail does not originate in contemporary accounts. Most contemporary authors refer to it as the “famous bombard” and the “great cannon,” or simply as “the monster.”[87] We have no information regarding the size of charge that was loaded for firing this bombard. Kritoboulos states that the breach was completely filled with gunpowder before the “plug” ((ἡ πάσσαλος)) was rammed into the same compartment. Centuries ago, when some of Mehmed’s bombards, including the Dardanelles Gun, were still deployed at the entrance of the Dardanelles, an experiment was conducted. According to Gibbon,[88] the chamber of a bombard was packed with 330 pounds of powder and an 1100-pound stone missile was loaded into the barrel. After the bombard was fired, the missile traveled a distance of 600 yards and then broke up into three distinct fragments, each of which continued on its trajectory and reached the opposite shore. The amount of powder needed depended on the weight and the size of the missile. The defenders of Constantinople in 1453 gained considerable expertise with Urban’s missiles when they observed them directly and even measured them when they had failed to break up.

Nestor-Iskander is clear about the size of the missile; the shots from the largest pieces reached the knee and the waist, apparently, according, to his height of which we have no precise knowledge.[89] Cardinal Isidore, in a letter written from Crete soon after the sack of Constantinople to his friend Cardinal Bessarion, includes his measurements of the missiles:[90]

> *Inter cetera vero infinita tormenta, catapultas sive bombardas, tres erant, quorum prima quatuordecim talentorum lapidem proiciebat, altera duodecim, tertia decern.*
>
> Among other countless engines, catapults or bombards, there were three. Of them, the first fired a stone weighing fourteen talents, the second twelve, and the third ten.

A few days later, in his communication to the pope from Crete (dated

July 15: *die XV Iulii LIIIo*),[91] he states that the largest bombard fired *lapidem cuius mensura circularis erat XI palmorum, pondus cantariorum XIV*, “a stone, whose circumference measured eleven palms; its weight came to fourteen ‘cantaria.’” Leonardo was so fascinated with this weapon that he personally took the trouble to measure the circumference of its missile and found it (presumably at the widest point) to be eleven spans.[92] Leonardo thus matches Kritoboulos’ numbers, who, as we have seen, claims that the barrel of the bombard was twelve spans in circumference, implying that the missile’s circumference would be slightly narrower. Ubertino Pusculo also refers to Urban’s bombard, which he identifies with the formulaic adjectives *maxima*, “greatest,” and *ingens*, “enormous,” and cites his own measurements:[93] *Inter quas* [*sc. bombardas*] *maxima* [*bombarda*] *palmis / expansis circum bis senis*, “among them [*sc.* the bombards] was the greatest [*sc.* bombard], with a circumference of twice six extended palms.” Barbara includes the following information with regard to the two largest bombards of the sultan:[94]

> *Una de queste quatro bombarde che sun a la porta da san Romano, la piera de la bumbarda se pexa livre mille e duxento a la grossa, volze la piera quarte tredexe; considerate che colpo teribile che la fea dove la zonzeva. La segonda bombarda, la piera se pexava livre otozento, volze la piera quarte nove.*
>
> One of these four bombards at the Gate of Saint Romanos fired a stone of almost twelve hundred pounds, more or less, and thirteen *quarte* in circumference; imagine the terrible damage where it struck! The second bombard fired a stone weighing eight hundred pounds and nine *quarte* in circumference.

Barbara probably deduced these measurements from the size of the bombard’s stone missile, while the defenders could only have observed the bombard at a distance, from their positions on the walls. They were certainly familiar with its stone projectiles, whose destructive force they had often witnessed. Apparently some of the projectiles were not destroyed upon impact and the defenders had ample opportunity to inspect them and measure them. As we have seen, Bishop Leonardo actually measured the circumference of one missile and found it to be eleven spans. Tetaldi agrees but adds three fingers to the eleven spans:[95]

> *Inter quae praeeminebat unus bombardus aereus et fusilis, integer et indivisus emittens ex se (quod dictu mirabile est!) lapides habentes in circumferentia rotunditatis undecim palmorum et trium digitorum mensuram.*

> Among the most prominent, there was one bronze bombard, whole, in one piece, which fired (it seems a miracle even to say it!) stones of eleven palms and three digits in circumference.

Isidore produces the same measurements as Leonardo and it is quite probable that both the cardinal and the bishop, who were very close friends, together measured the same missile.

The exact measurements of the projectile cannot be ascertained, as no missile seems to have survived intact. In the first quarter of the twentieth century there were a few projectiles surviving in the targeted sector of the Mesoteikhion, as Pears testifies:[96] "Some of the stone balls have been preserved. They were probably fired over the wall, did not break, and remain nearly in the position where they fell. I have measured two of them and they are exactly eighty-eight inches in diameter." Setton had also seen some of those missiles at a later time.[97] In the summer of 1990, and in June of 2000, and in June, 2001, we discovered and identified one surviving projectile, still *in situ* in the vicinity of the Mesoteikhion. This missile, though, in its present condition is scarred and rests on the floor of a demolished tower, immediately to the south of the Gate of Saint Romanos (Top Kapı).[98] The only undamaged stone cannon balls currently on display are located within the fortress of Ἑπταπύργιον (the Ottoman Yedi Kule fortress, by the Golden Gate). These balls do not date to the siege of 1453. They are small, perfectly round, and identical to the stone balls fired during the second siege of Rhodes (1522) still *in situ.*

The source of Urban's stone projectiles is unclear. It is quite unlikely that they were quarried and shaped in the vicinity of Constantinople immediately before and/or during the siege. This task, a laborious one, had probably been completed long before the cannon were deployed against the walls of the Greek capital. Most of the shot probably had been transported from Adrianople, along with the bombard. The only source to mention their possible origin, the shore of the Black Sea, is Khalkokondyles, who also adds the intriguing detail that they were black in color.[99] Khalkokondyles' statement may receive indirect support from Nestor-Iskander, who had been a prisoner of the Turks for some time prior to the siege and seems to have been attached to the military unit that transported projectiles to the sultan's camp before his escape into Constantinople. This northern origin of the projectiles may not be as far-fetched as it seems *prima facie.*[100] Furthermore, the besieged seem to have noticed that the stone projectiles for the Ottoman artillery were being transported by wagons, as a scribe notes on the margin of a work that he was copying at the end of the siege:[101]

> ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐλεεινὰ ταῦτα ῥήματα ἔγραφον, Τοῦρκοι τὴν Κωνσταντίνου [*sc.* πόλιν] πολιορκοῦσι, καὶ τὰς ἑλεπόλεις οὕτως ἐγγὺς ἤγαγον αὐτῆς ὡς ἀπέχειν τῆς τάφρου μόλις δέκα πόδας· καὶ τύπτουσι τὸ τεῖχος ἀδιαλείπτως διὰ τῶν καλουμένων σκευῶν πέτραι δέ εἰσιν ἁμαξοπληθεῖς· καὶ κλίμακας καὶ πύργους παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ προσδόκιμοί εἰσι καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ὥραν ἑλεῖν αὐτήν.

> As I was writing these miserable words, the Turks are besieging the City of Constantine and they have brought their siege towers close. They are about ten feet from the moat. They have been bombarding the walls with the so-called cannon and their stone projectiles are brought up in loaded wagons. They have prepared towers and ladders and are expected to seize the city very soon.

Further, there is testimony about the weight of the missiles. Tetaldi states that each projectile weighed 1800 pounds.[102] Benvenuto estimates a lower weight, by 500 pounds.[103] With this latter estimate Lauro Quirini (who was not an eyewitness but had heard the reports of refugees who had recently reached Crete, including Cardinal Isidore's account) agrees in a letter dated July 15, 1453: *data Candidae Idibus Iulii 1453*).[104] In his communication of July 15 to Pope Nicholas V, Isidore also speaks of the weight,[105] while in his earlier letter of July 6 to his friend Cardinal Bessarion, he specifies[106] *quatuordecim talentorum lapidem*, "a stone of fourteen talents." Barbara estimates about 1200 pounds: … *la piera de la bumbarda se pexa livre mille e duxento a la grossa.* Leonardo, who had personally measured the circumference of a missile, also calculates its weight at 1200 pounds.[107]

We have no eyewitness information on the amount of powder that was employed in firing Urban's bombard. Tetaldi records an estimate that must have been in circulation among the defenders, claiming in general that 1000 pounds of gunpowder were used daily by the sultan's artillery:[108] *circiter mille libras quotidie in pulveres*, "around one thousand pounds of powder every day." Tetaldi concludes that during the fifty-five-day siege 50,000 pounds of gunpowder were used by Mehmed's cannons:[109] *quarum summam si colligere volueris, invenies quinquaginta millia librarum huiusmodi pulveris*, "if you should care to add it up, you will come up with a total of fifty thousand pounds of this powder." In the era of Gibbon a smaller bombard guarding the Dardanelles was charged with 330 pounds of powder and fired an 1100-pound stone missile.[110]

By the time the bombard was ready to be tested at Adrianople, stories containing folktale elements[111] began to circulate in various quarters. The narrative of Doukas suggests that the bombard made quite an impression at that time and that both the engineer and the sultan anticipated unprecedented results. Such were their expectations that they announced the trial ahead of time to warn the population of the noise and the smoke that the bombard would produce, asking them not to be alarmed:[112]

> τὴν χωνείαν ἣν ὁ τεχνίτης ἐκεῖνος κετεσκεύασεν ἠβουλήθη δοκιμάσαι. καὶ δὴ παραστήσας αὐτὴν τεχνηέντως ἔμπροσθεν τῆς μεγάλης πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν παλατίων...καὶ τὴν πέτραν καλῶς ἐνθείς, καὶ τὴν βοτάνην σταθμήσας, τὴν αὔριον ἔμελλεν ἀπολύσειν αὐτήν. καὶ ἐν τῆ ᾿Αδριανουπόλει φανερὸν ἐγένετο τοῦ κατὰ νοῦν ἔχειν τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὸ κτύπον τὸν οὐρανόβροντον, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαίφνης ἐνωτισθέντες τινὲς ἄφωνοι μείνωσι καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαι τὰ ἔμβρυα ἀπολέσωσι.

> He [*sc.* Mehmed] wished to test the cannon produced by the famous engineer [*sc.* Urban]. Carefully it was set up before the great gate of the palace's [seraglio's] courtyard [at Adrianople]…he placed the stone inside with care, weighed the powder and intended to fire it the next day. There were warnings in Adrianople to pay attention and not to allow the noise and the thunderous roar to terrify uninformed people who might become speechless and cause pregnant women to miscarry.

Later, at the onset of the siege its detonation terrified the defenders, as Doukas notes:[113] καὶ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ κτύπου οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐνεοὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ τὸ "κύριε ἐλέησον" καὶ ταύτης ἐξαφθείσης [τῆς βοτάνης,, "when they heard the roar the people in the city were terrified and cried out 'Lord have mercy!'" Kritoboulos also records the effects, first the reverberating sound, then the ground shaking, and finally the thunderous blast, when the bombard was fired.[114] The results from the trial at Adrianople were enumerated by Doukas, who notes the thundering explosion, whose sound reached as far away as 100 "stades," the accompanying smoke, the distance of one mile reached by the projectile, and the crater that it created on impact.[115] Khalkokondyles, with reference to the siege and not the demonstration at Adrianople, states that the explosion was heard at a distance of about forty "stades" and that it was accompanied by tremors on the ground.[116] Lauro Quirini, who probably received this information from Cardinal Isidore who had recently reached safety in Crete one month after the sack,[117] writes in his letter of July 15, 1453, to Pope Nicholas V, that the sound traveled to a distance of four miles:[118] *in cuius iactum terrain et mare per quatuor milia passuum diu tremuisse asserebant*, "they assert that when it was fired it traveled as far as four miles and that the land and sea shook for long time."

This bombard then made a definite contribution to the psychological campaign, comparable to a "cold war," that the sultan was waging before he actually mobilized his forces against

Constantinople. Undoubtedly, reports of the bombard’s trial must have reached the Greek court and must have contributed to the general climate of demoralization, long before the bombard was positioned opposite the ancient land walls. We do not know how Urban was engaged in the months preceding the actual siege but he must have designed the transport for his bombard and for the other artillery pieces that he had cast. The bombard finally began its long and difficult journey to Constantinople:[119] *magna cum difficultate ductam testantur*, “testimonies record that it was brought with great difficulty.” Receiving his information from Cardinal Isidore, Lauro Quirini states that that it took 500 men and twenty wagons to transport it.[120] According to Doukas,[121] the bombard began its slow journey from Adrianople at the beginning of February 1453. It was pulled by teams of thirty wagons yoked to sixty very strong oxen, or, in the colorful language of Doukas, “oxen of oxen,” attended by a well-equipped corps of 200 men flanking the wagon with the bombard to ensure that it did not slip off its carriage and by fifty skilled carpenters with 200 laborers to construct bridges for its passage over rough terrain.[122] Leonardo also speaks of the difficulties encountered during the transport of the bombard:[123] *quam vix bourn quinquaginta centum iuga vehebant*, “one hundred and fifty pairs of oxen were hard pressed to move it.” The train finally reached the vicinity of Constantinople and halted at a five-mile distance.[124] It was in due time, on April 11, deployed before the walls, according to Barbara.[125]

What became of this monster cannon remains in doubt. As we shall see,[126] the bombard may have exploded during the siege, as some eyewitnesses imprecisely report. Others imply that it was still in operation during the last stages of the siege. Doukas ends his description of Urban’s bombard with a provocative statement that has been totally overlooked by modern scholarship: Urban’s bombard operated throughout the siege and it even survived. On this, Doukas is explicit. He states that the bombard survived the siege and that it had been carefully preserved to be used again by the sultan at will:[127] ἄχρις οὗ ὑπούργησε τὸν ὄλεθρον τῆς Πόλεως· καὶ ἔτι μετὰ ταῦτα φυλάττεται σῶα [*sc.* ἡ χωνεία] καὶ ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ τυράννου θέλημα, “it [*sc.* the bombard] played its part in the destruction of the City; it is still preserved undamaged and can enforce the tyrant’s [= sultan’s] will.” Most modern historians accept the statements of those eyewitnesses who claim that it was damaged in the course of the siege. There is clearly a great deal of understandable confusion in our sources. It would have been difficult to identify the different artillery pieces, given the distance and the clouds of smoke that accompanied each discharge. Their confusion, reflected in the narratives, could have been compounded if and when the Turks changed the locations of their batteries under the cover of darkness.[128]

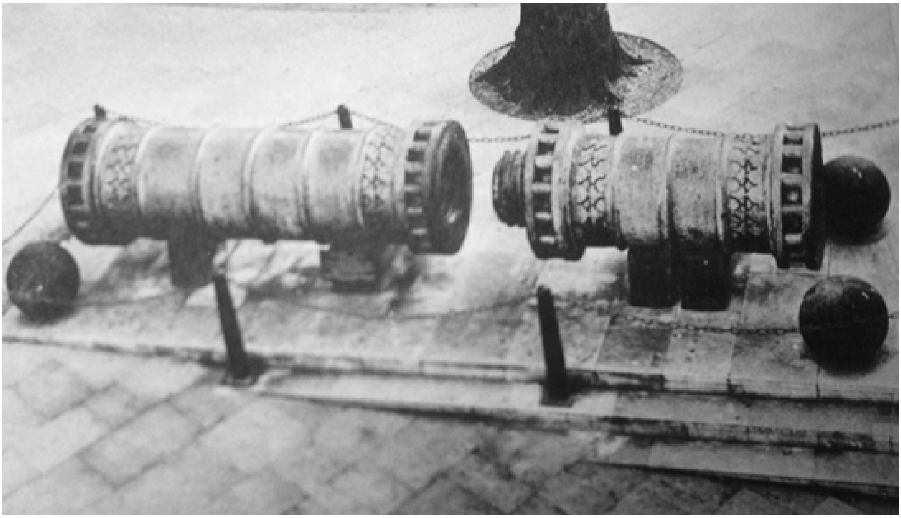


Figure 4

Dardanelles Gun, photograph with the permission and courtesy of the Princeton University Press

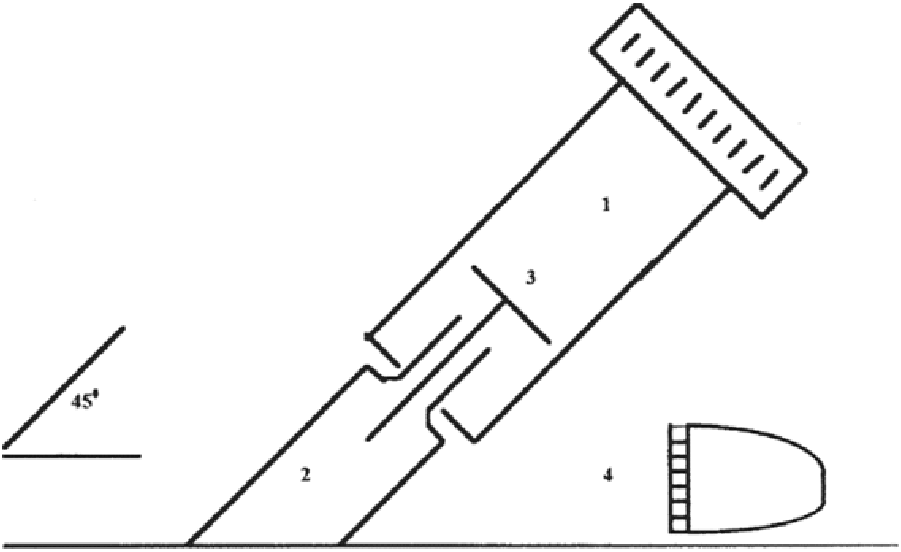


Figure 5

Tentative Reconstruction of Urban’s Bombard

# Notes

[1] *MCT*, p. 70; *PaL* 2: 108; *FC*, p. 64; *LCB*, p. 395; and Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, pp. 40 and 51.

[2] For the events in Manuel's reign, cf. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, ch. 4. For the failures of John VIII at the same game, cf. Philippides, *Constantine XIDragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 3.

[3] Orhan is thought to have been a grandson of Suleyman I, according to *MCT*, p. 70; *LCB*, p. 395; *FC*, p. 56; and Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, p. 52. There is only one statement in regard to Orhan's family in Greek sources, that of Khalkokondyles 398B: Ὀρχάνην τὸν Μουσουλμάνεω [Suleyman?] υἱιδοῦν. Doubt, however, is expressed in Alderson, Table 24, n. 16.

[4] *FC*, p. 56; and *MCT*, p. 70.

[5] Doukas 34.2.

[6] Doukas 34.2, presents a detailed account of the anger and indignation expressed by the vizier Halil Candarh, who was a friend of the Greeks and the leader of the peace faction at the Porte. Cf. the comments in *MCT*, p. 72; and in Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*, p. 52.

[7] Mehmed's swift campaign is treated by Doukas 34.2–5; Khalkokondyles 376B, 377B; and Kritoboulos 1.4.3,4. *CBB* 63.6 (p. 474), 69.41 (p. 535), and 70.13 (p. 544), mention only briefly the Ottoman mobilization and the subsequent campaign, while *CBB* 60.18 (p. 453) cites only the year of the expedition and records the eventual annexation of Karaman. For the Italian reaction to these developments, cf. *PaL* 2: 108–109.

[8] Doukas 34.3: ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Μεχεμὲτ καὶ θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς οὐκ εἶχε τί ποιῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Καραμὰν συνεσπείσατο...τοὺς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἀπεκρίνατο ὡς "ἤδη διασυντόμως ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει μέλλομεν εἶναι, κἀκεῖ ἐλθόντες ἅπαντα τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀναγκαῖα ἀναγγείλατέ μοι, καὶ ἑτοίμως ἔχω τοῦ δοῦναι πᾶν τὸ ζητούμενον."

[9] *MCT*, pp. 70–71; *FC*, pp. 61–65; and *LCB*, pp. 394–395.

[10] Doukas 34.4.

[11] *MCT*, p. 72.

[12] Khalkokondyles 380B: τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ὥστε ἀσφαλῆ αὐτῷ εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διάβασιν, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἑσπερίους δύνασθαι ἐπιόντας τριήρεσι κωλύειν αὐτῷ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ’ καινοτομεῖσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ αὐτῷ πράγματα.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Kritoboulos 1.6.1.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1.6.3. Ubertino Pusculo reports in his poem that one of Mehmed's lieutenants, Zaganos (a Christian renegade and leader of the war faction at the Porte) urged the sultan to build the Rumeli fortress. Pusculo first describes Zaganos (3.96–101 [pp. 44–45]) with contempt as …*Zaganus, qui patribus ortus / Illyriis Christi cultoribus, et puer olim / Moratto turpi Ganymedes junctus amore, / Insectator erat Christi tunc nominis atrox, / Christicolasque omnes contra crudelia habebat / Odia, Machmetti et simulabat in effera semper / Gesta animos, Uli natu pro pellice carus.* Then Pusculo assigns a speech to him, which concludes with the following piece of advice for the sultan, 3.140–144 (p. 44): …*Castello Euxini quo claudere structo/ Velle viam Grajaeque paras damnarier urbi; / Id celerare hortor. Navos deus adjuvat: idem / Aver*

*sus refugit segnes. Nos lege teneri / Haud reor hostili. Dolus est, sed in hoste probandus.*

[16] Kritoboulos 1.6.4: οὕτω διανοηθεὶς χειμῶνος μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν πάντα κελεύει παρασκευάζεσθαι, λίθους τέ φημι καὶ ξύλα καὶ σίδηρον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμα, ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς σπουδαιοτάτους τε καὶ ἐμπειροτάτους ἐντειλάμενος τὴν ταχίστην ἅπαντά οἱ εὐτρεπῆ θέσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ τοῦ ἔργου. Also cf. Pusculo’s text, 3.140 (p. 44), quoted in the previous note.

[17] Doukas 34.5.

[18] *Ibid.*, 34.5: τότε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τὴν πικρὰν ταύτην ἀγγελίαν, καὶ οἱ ἐν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ οἱ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Θράκῃ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις οἰκοῦντες Χριστιανοὶ ὑπερήλγησαν, ἐξηράνθησαν. οὐκ ἦν ἀλλήλοις γλῶσσα ἢ διαλαλία πλὴν "νῦν τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν τῆς πόλεως." ... ταύτην γὰρ τὴν φωνὴν σὺν κλαυθμῷ οὐ μόνον οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀνατολῆς σποράδην οἰκοῦντες Χριστιανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ δύσει τὸ αὐτὸ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ ἐβόων. In addition, cf. *FC*, p. 66.

[19] Cf. Guilland, “Les Appels de Constantin XI Paléologue,” pp. 226–244; M.-M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, “L’action diplomatique et militaire de Venise pour la défense de Constantinople (1452–1453),” *Revue romaine d’histoire* 13 (1974): 247–267; *PaL* 2: 110; and Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, p. 393 (who further manages, in n. 2, to misquote the title of this article and to shorten the name of its author; the same *errata* are repeated in his Bibliography, p. 433).

[20] Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, p. 393.

[21] Published as an Appendix to Barbara’s *Giornale*, Doc. 1 [= *Sen. Sec. T. 19*, fol. 122$^r$], p. 67, dated, *more Veneto, 1452* [= A.D. 1451], February 14. This situation is echoed by Ivani da Sarzana, *TIePN*, pp. 150–152: *Deinde tela, missilia atque omne genus armorum quae ad propellendum hostem defendendamque urbem opportuna sunt ex omnibus locis devehit atque mirabili lignorum strue a Constantinopoli Peram usque portum claudit turresque ligneas complures super struem ad repellendum hostem munitissimas edidit, quae facile hostium naves a transitu obhercere poterant.* Additional documents, with useful quotations, in *PaL* 2: 109–110, n. 6. For the situation, cf. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, p. 393.

[22] Kritoboulos 1.7.

[23] Doukas 34.6.

[24] *Ibid.*, 34.6. On this embassy, cf. Dölger, 5: no. 3542 (p. 137). For the Greek embassies at this time, in general, cf. Carroll, *A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege*, 41: 28–36, but one should be cautious of the views that she holds in regard to the nature of the *Maius*. Apparently, Carroll persists in the erroneous notion that eyewitness observations, perhaps by Sphrantzes himself, are to be found embedded in the siege section of Pseudo-Sphrantzes. This opinion has not been accepted by the vast majority of scholars, who have become convinced that the siege section of the *Maius* is no more than a paraphrase of Leonardo’s Latin text (or perhaps even Leonardo’s Italian version by Languschi-Dolfin), as has been amply demonstrated a number of times in the last two centuries. On this topic, cf. *supra*, ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle’ and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes.”

[25] Kritoboulos 1.8.5, 6: ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ φρούριον μέλλω τειχίζειν, ἡμέτερός τε ἐστιν· σπονδὰς δὲ οὔτε λύω οὔτε βουλήσομαι μενόντων καὶ ὑμῶν κατὰ χώραν καὶ μηδαμοῦ τὰ ἡμέτερα πολυπραγμονούντων μηδὲ περιεργάζεσθαι βουλομένων.

[26] *Ibid.*, 1.9.2: οἱ δὲ (καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα σφόδρα δεινόν, ὥσπερ δῆτα καὶ ἦν) μὴ

Κωνσταντίνου καὶ οἱ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Θρᾴκῃ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις οἰκοῦντες Χριστιανοὶ ὑπερήλγησαν, ἐξηράνθησαν. οὐκ ἦν ἀλλήλοις γλῶσσα ἢ διαλαλία πλὴν "νῦν τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν τῆς πόλεως." ... ταύτην γὰρ τὴν φωνὴν σὺν κλαυθμῷ οὐ μόνον οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀνατολῆς σποράδην οἰκοῦντες Χριστιανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ δύσει τὸ αὐτὸ μετὰ

[27] Doukas 34.6.

[28] Pusculo 3.204–207 (p. 46): *Turn timor audita Machmetti mente fatigat / Constantini urbem: regent, plebem, senatumque / Invadit stupor horrendus; casusque maligni / Corda repercutiunt….*

[29] Kritoboulos 1.10.11: ὡς ἔαρ ὑπέφαινεν ἤδη. Doukas 34.7, is more specific and cites at the beginning of April: ἤδη ἔαρος ἄρξαντος καὶ Μαρτίου μηνὸς ἤδη παρεληλυθότος.

[30] Doukas 34.7.

[31] Khalkokondyles 380B. Both historians are correct and they render into Greek the variant Turkish names for this castle; it was known both as Başkesen ("Head-cutter) and as Boğazkesen ("Throatcutter"). In time it also came to be known as "New Castle" as opposed to the old fortress of Anadolu Hisar on the Asiatic side; cf. *infra*, n. 33.

[32] Kritoboulos 1.10.3: καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων…Συμπληγάδας τὸν χῶρον ὠνόμασαν καὶ Ἡρακλέα τε πρῶτον ἔφασαν διαβῆναι ταύτας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον <ξὺν> τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις Ἰάσονα.

[33] This interesting note was signed by † ὁ δικαιοφύλαξ διάκονος Θεόδωρος ὁ Ἀγαλλιανός. Cf. S. Eustratiades, "Ἐκ τοῦ Κώδικος τοῦ Νικολάου Καρατζᾶ," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 6 (1910): 200–206, esp. 206. For the original codex containing this note, cf. *idem*, "Πανδέκτη Νικολάου Καρατζᾶ, Λογοθέτου Γενικοῦ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 6 (1910): 81–111. The text of this note has also been included in *CBB* 1: Appendix 6 (pp. 635, 636), but the *marginalia* that accompany the text were excluded. For the ultimate fate of this manuscript, cf. now Patrinelis, ed., *Ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανὸς Ταυτιζόμενος*, p. 59, n. 2: "ὁ κῶδιξ ἀνῆκε τότε εἰς τὸν Εὐστρατιάδην, ἤδη δὲ ἄγνωστος ἡ τύχη του." On Agallianos, cf. *PLP* 1: no. 94 (p. 8). That the Rumeli fortress was known generally as "New Castle" in the sixteenth century is also evident in the *Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ* 27: Κτίζει οὖν ἄνωθεν τοῦ Φάρου εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Φονέαν ὅπερ νῦν ἵσταται τὸ Νεόκαστρον. In additiqn. Hierax was also aware of it; cf. ll. 568–569: ἵσταται τὸ Νεόκαστρον. σήμερον Νεόκαστρον καλεῖται, / τὸ πρὸς τὸν Εὔξεινον πορθμὸν ἐν δυτικῷ τῷ μέρει. As early as 1453 Filippo da Rimini calls this fortress *novum castellum*, which, in view of the present discussion, should perhaps be printed as *Novum Castellum.*

[34] Most impressed of all seems to have been Kritoboulos, who devotes a large section to the Rumeli castle; he separately treats its erection (1.11.1–2), the speed of its construction (1.11.3), its plan and specifications (1.11.4–5), and the deployment of artillery on its towers (1.11.6–7). The architect of Mehmed's fortress was a certain Muslih ed-Din, *molto probabilmente un rinnegato* (*CC* 1: 345, n. 3). This fortress was accented with fourteen towers. Notice of its construction had also a foreign

following. E.g. Jan Dlugosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. liber duodecimos 1445–1461* (Cracow, 2003), p. 147. On the modern scholarship on this castle, cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," n. 108.

[35] Barbaro 1 supplies the following concise description of the fortress (with the improved text as it appears in *CC* 1: 8): *Mille quattrozento e cinquanta do de marzo, Machomet bej turco dè prinzipio a fabricar uno castello belittissimo, luntan mìa sie de Costantinopoli verso la boca de Mar Mazor, el qual castello hanno tore quatordexe, de le qual quatordexe, ne sun cinque principal coverte de piombo, e sono maxize.* Barbaro also speaks of the fate of Rizzo and his brave crew, who were the first Christians to fall victim to the batteries deployed on this castle; cf. Barbaro 2 (with improved text in *CC* 1: 9): *El primo colpo che trè la bombarda grossa de questo castelo afondò la nave de Antonio Rizo che vignia de Mar Mazor…el patron de quela si fo piado in aqua…e in cavo de zorni 14 el signor el feze impalar suxo un palo, e uno fio che fo de ser Domenego di Maistri, el suo scrivanelo, lol mese in nel suo seraio, e alguni marinari lo i dè lizentia che i dovesse venir a Costantinopoli; altri fece tagliar per mezzo….* The castle eventually attracted the attention of Venice, as spies produced at least one drawing of it that survives; cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," n. 119.

[36] Doukas 34.8.

[37] *Ibid.*, 34.9: ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖν ἰδὼν ὅτι εἰς τέλος προχωροῦσι τὰ τοῦ τυράννου βουλεύματα, τὴν ἄλλην ἐτράπετο, καὶ δὴ πέμψας ἀποκρισιαρίους ἐζήτει τινὰς δεφένσορας τοῦ δεφενδεύειν τοὺς εἰς κώμας τῆς πόλεως ῾Ρωμαίους, ἵνα μὴ οἱ Τοῦρκοι διερχόμενοι λυμήνουσι τὴν αὐτῶν γεωργίαν...στείλας αὐτῷ καὶ διάφορα δωρήματα καὶ τροφὴν καὶ πόσιν, καθ᾽ ἑκάστην φιλοτιμῶν τὸν ἀνήμερον δράκοντα.

[38] *Ibid.*, 34.10: ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐξαίφνης πρωΐ, καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ ἐξελθόντες εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοῦ θερίζειν, ἐπισπεσόντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι πάντας κατέσφαξαν, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὡς τεσσαράκοντα. Sphrantzes, *Minus* 35.2, seems to allude to the same events and places them in the month of June: Τὸν ᾽Ιούνιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἀπεσκεπάσθη ἡ μάχη καὶ πηλαλήσαντος φωσάτου, οὓς ἔξωθεν εὗρεν, ἀπῆρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέκλεισε. Also, cf. the elaboration of Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Maius* 3.3.5: Τῷ ᾽Ιουνίῳ μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους, ἰδοὺ ἐδημοσιεύθη ἡ μάχη· καὶ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν στρατοπέδου δραμόντος, ᾐχμαλώτευσε πάντας τοὺς ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως οἰκοῦντας.

[39] Theodoros Agallianos, ῾Ο Θεόδωρος ᾽Αγαλλιανὸς Ταυτιζόμενος 206 [= *CBB* 1: 635–636].

[40] Pusculo 3.291–296 (pp. 47–48).

[41] Doukas 34.11.

[42] *Ibid.*, 34.11: ἔτι ἐν τοῖς εὑρεθεῖσι Τούρκοις ὑπῆρχον ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος εὐνουχόπουλοι, οἳ καὶ παραστάθεντες τῷ βασιλεῖ εἶπον, "εἰ μὲν ἀπολύσεις ἡμᾶς ὦ βασιλεῦ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν ἥλιον κλῖναι πρὸς δυσμάς, χάριν εἴσομεν σοι· εἰ δὲ μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου μὴ εὑρεθέντες ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, γνῶθι τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολυθῆναι οὐκ ἔσται ἡμῖν πρόσχαρι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν θανάσιμον. διὸ ποίησον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔλεος, καὶ ἀπόλυσον τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ, εἰ δ᾽ οὐ μή, κέλευσον ἀποτμηθῆναι τὰς κεφαλάς· κρεῖττον γὰρ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τεθνάναι ἢ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλέθρου." ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάμφθη τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.

[43] İnalcik and Murphy, *The History of Mehmed*, p. 34, which provides the Turkish point view on these events. For a partial Italian translation of Tursun Beg, cf. *CC* 1: 310–311. For another Turkish account on the fall of Constantinople, cf. *The Capture of Constantinople from the Ta–j-utteva–ri–kh* ["*The Diadem of Histories*"], *Written in Turkish by Kho–ja Sa 'd-ud-Di–n*, English trans. E. J. W. Gibb (Glasgow, 1879), which

also speaks of this fortress on p. 12.

[44] Pusculo 3.243–250 (pp. 46–47). Also cf. Barbara 2 [*CC* 1: 9]: *L'imperador che temea el suo nemigo, che gera el Turco, ogni zorno mandava prexenti al Turco che fabricava el castelo, e mandava imbasarie ogni zorno, e tutto questo l'mperador feva per paura.*

[45] *Maius* 3.3.3.

[46] Doukas 34.11.

[47] *Ibid.*. 34.11: ταῦτα ἐνωτισθεὶς ὁ βάρβαρος [*sc.* Mehmed], καὶ μηδὲ τὸ οἱονοῦν εἰς νοῦν μελετήσας ἀπολογίαν, παρευθὺ ἐκέλευσε διαλαλίαν μάχης γενέσθαι.

[48] Barbara 2 [*CC* 1: 9]: *E quando fo compido el castelo che fo del mexe d'avosto del 1452.* Khalkokondyles (381B) seems to agree in general terms: ὡς δ᾽ ἐπιτείχιστο ἐς τρεῖς μῆνας.

[49] *Minus* 35.2, 3.

[50] *Maius* 3.6 (380). Barbaro states that the war began with the completion of the castle, with the execution of two Greek ambassadors, and with a subsequent attack upon Constantinople, 2 [*CC* 1 : 9]: *i retène in quel castelo do ambassadori de l'imperador, e felli taiar la testa, e in quel trato fo rotta la vera dal Turco a Griexi, e in quelo el Turco vene a metter campo a Constantinopoli con zerca persone 50000, e stette salvo zorni tre a campo.*

[51] Pusculo 3.307–311 (p. 48).

[52] *Ibid.*, 3.322–333 (p. 48).

[53] On Sphrantzes and the Hungarian embassy, cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," nn. 34–40.

[54] A. E. Bacalopoulos [Vacalopoulos], "Les limites de l'empire byzantine depuis la fin du XIV^e siècle jusqu'à sa chute," *BZ* 55 (1962): 55–65.

[55] Barbara 2 (*CC* 1: 9).

[56] Barbara 2 (*CC* 1: 9), marginal note, n. 36, by M<arco> B<arbaro> [the Genealogist]: *Pose leze che tutte le nave, che venivano da Mar Mazor et intravano, dovesseno calar le vele et mandar il schifo dal castellan a tuor licentia de passar, altrimenti fusse buttà a fondi.*

[57] For the Venetian vessels that eluded the sultan's batteries, cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," text with accompanying nn. 119–126.

[58] Agallianos 206 [= *CBB* 1: 636].

[59] Cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," esp. sec. III.

[60] Cf., e.g., Isidore's letter (dated *die sexta Iulii anno Domini MoCCCCoLIIIo*) to his friend Cardinal Bessarion: *Inter cetera vero infinita tormenta, catapultas sive bombardas, tres erant, quarum prima quatuordecim talentorum lapidem proiciebat, altera duodecim, tertia decern.* Hofmann, "Ein Brief des Kardinals Isidor," pp. 405–414, published the entire Latin text of the letter. Extracts (with Italian translation) are also published in *CC* 1: 64–80.

[61] Leonardo joined the cardinal's retinue when Isidore put in at the island of Chios en route to Constantinople; cf. *PG* 159: 925 (*CC* 1: 124–126): *Cum igitur reverendissimus pater dominus cardinalis Sabinensis, pro unione* [*PG: natione*] *Graecorum legatus, in eius famulatum me ex Chio vocasset*

[62] *PG* 159: 927: *horribilem perinde bombardam, machinae tarn horribili;* and 929: *bombarda praetera ilia ingens.*

[63] *TIePN*, p. 4.

[64] Barbara 21 (*CC* 1: 14–15).

[65] Tetaldi *Caput II.* The French version of this narrative does not, in this case, match the Latin: ch. 4 only mentions "une grande bombarde de métail."

[66] I.30.1. Kritoboulos was not, of course, an eyewitness but was well informed in regard to Mehmed's artillery in the siege.

[67] This bombard is known as the Dardanelles Gun (fig. 4), where it had been deployed, together with other old bombards, until 1868 when it was transported to England and was for some time on exhibit at the Tower of London. It has been removed to storage recently. Its muzzle bears the following inscription: “Help, O God, Sultan Mehmed Khan, the son of Murad. [This is] the work of Munir Ali in the month of Rejeb, year 868 H. [March/April, 1464].” Pictures of this bombard and its inscription are included in *MCT*, Pl. XI a and b. This bombard provides us with a comparison point. In his translation of Schlumberger’s study on the siege, S. P. Lampros, *Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος καὶ ἡ Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων τῷ 1453* (Athens, 1914; repr. 1996), adds the following commentary, p. 70, n. 1: Ὁ μακαρίτης Α. A. Mordtmann. ὅςτις εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἦτο γνώστης…βεβαιοῖ, ὅτι πρό τινων ἐτῶν ἦσαν ὁρατὰ ἐν τοῖς πυροβολοστασίοις τῶν Δαρδανελλίων τινὰ τῶν περιωνύμων ἐκείνων πυροβόλων τῆς πολιορκίας τοῦ 1453.

[68] Cf., e.g., the statements of Ioannes Kananos, who wrote an eyewitness account of the siege of Constantinople by Sultan Murad II (1422). He is the only author of the late Middle Ages to supply the name of the river Lykos, currently flowing under the avenue Vatan Caddesi that pierces the fortifications between the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton; cf. Ioannes Kananos, *Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, p. 462. On the Lykos and the immediate topography, cf. *supra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications,” sec. IV.C.5, and pp. 303 ff.

[69] Kritoboulos I.30.6: εὕρημα δὲ τοῦτο νέον ἐστι Γερμανῶν καὶ Κελτῶν, ἐτῶν που μάλιστα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἢ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλειόνων.

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] Doukas 35: πετροβολιμαίους χώνας, χωνείαν μεγάλην, τὸν τύπον τῆς σκευῆς.

[72] Khalkokondyles 8.204 (38): ἱδρυσάμενος ἔτυπτε τὸ τεῖχος. ἵδρυτο δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν τηλεβόλων κατὰ τὰ ἐκείνων βασίλεια, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ καλουμένην πύλην, ᾗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς. ἵδρυντο μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τηλεβόλοι.

[73] Dukas 35.

[74] Kritoboulos I.29.1.

[75] A succinct summary in English of the text of Kritoboulos is provided by A. Williams, “Ottoman Military Technology: The Metallurgy of Turkish Armor,” in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries*, ed. Y. Lev. The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 9 (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1997): 364.

[76] *Ibid*, pp. 364–365.

[77] Doukas 35.

[78] Kritoboulos I.29.1: καὶ χαλκοῦ πλείστου καὶ ἑτέρων οἰκ ὀλίγων εἰδῶν…καὶ ὃς εὐθὺς θᾶττον ἢ λόγος ἅπαντα δαψιλῶς αὐτοῖς παρέχει τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οἱ δὲ κατασκευάζουσι τὴν μηχανήν.

[79] Williams, “Ottoman Military Technology,” p. 365; he points out that it was not a common alloying metal in Islamic territories and that the need for bronze was sorely felt by the Turks: “The Ottomans therefore had a constant need of tin, which was imported from Europe, either covertly or as contraband…in 1582…the English sent

large amounts of broken bells and images, tin and lead which the Ottomans bought 'almost for its weight in gold, the tin being vitally necessary for the casting of guns....'"

[80] Kritoboulos I.29.6.

[81] Also cf. Gibbon, 7: 177, n. 26: "The Attic talent weighed about sixty minae, or avoirdupois pounds; but among the modern Greeks that classic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred and twenty-five pounds."

[82] The most recent study of the Dardanelles Gun is by A. R. Williams and A. J. R. Paterson, "A Turkish Bronze Cannon in the Tower of London," *Gladius* (Caceres, 1986), pp. 180–203; in addition, cf. Williams, "Ottoman Military Technology," pp. 364–365. Kritoboulos' description of the casting process closely matches the process that Benvenuto Cellini described in his autobiography when he cast his *Perseus;* cf. B. Cellini, *La vita scritta per lui medesimo*, ed. E. Carrara (Torino, 1949), pp. 305 ff. The description shows that a fine line divided the military engineer from the artist in the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, when it came to the process of casting cannon or statues.

[83] Kritoboulos I. 30.1–6: ἐβέβλητο πρῶτον ἡ καλουμένη βοτάνη πληροῦσα ἰσχυρῶς τὴν ὄπισθεν ὅλην χωνείαν καὶ τὸν αὐλὸν τῆς μηχανῆς ἕως τοῦ στομίου τοῦ δευτέρου αὐλοῦ τοῦ δεξομένου τὸν λίθον. ἔπειτα τῷ στόματι τούτῳ πάσσαλος ἐβέβλητο μεγίστη ξύλου τοῦ ἰσχυροτάτου, ...εἶτα τὸν λίθον ἐπεφόρουν ὠθοῦντες ἐντός, ἕως ἐν χρῷ γένηται τῇ πασσάλῳ καὶ συνέσφιγγον τοῦτον κύκλωθεν...εἶτα πῦρ ἐπέβαλον αὐτῇ διὰ τῆς ὄπισθεν τρυμαλιᾶς ἀνάψαντες τὴν βοτάνην.

[84] Williams, "Ottoman Military Technology," p. 364, states that "[t]he plug had a depression for the stone ball." Nothing of this sort is stated in our sources and we have the suspicion that Williams must have added this detail from his familiarity with other western cannon of the period. In our tentative reconstruction of Urban's bombard (fig. 5) we have not added this "depression" on the plug (the πάσσαλος of Kritoboulos), as it is not mentioned by any contemporaneous source.

[85] Kritoboulos I.29.3: μῆκος τούτῳ σπιθαμαὶ τετταράκοντα, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἥμισυ, τὸ πρὸς οἶμαι, τοῦ ὅλου. Thus the barrel and the breach are not of the same diameter. The Dardanelles Gun has the same diameter for both sections of the bombard. The diameter of Urban's barrel, twelve spans according to Kritoboulos, is appropriate for the size of the stone missile, which, according to Leonardo, who took the trouble to measure a projectile, was eleven of his spans *in gyro* (*PG* 159: 927 [*CC* 1: 130]): *lapide qui palmis XI*$^{m}$ *ex meis ambibat in gyro.* Pusculo 4. 246–247 (not included in the selections of *CC* 1) also assigns twelve ("twice six") spans to the circumference of the barrel: *palmis / expansis circum bis senis.*

[86] Kritoboulos I.29: πάντοθεν, ὅσον σπιθαμιαία ἢ καὶ μικρόν τι πρός. *Κωνσταντῖνος*

[87] Stacton/Dereksen, p. 183, makes a leap of faith when he suggests that the official name of Urban's bombard was *basilica/* *Παλαιολόγος*, p. 76: "Εἰς τὸ πυροβόλον τοῦτο, ὃν πιθανῶς τὸ μέγιστον, οὗ γίνεται μνεία ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἐδόθη τὸ χαρακτηριστικὸν ἐπώνυμον Βασιλικόν." which, he believes, was given to it by the Conqueror himself: "This monster armament was christened by Mahomet, Basilica, in graceful allusion to the Basileus, against whom it was soon to be pointed." In fact, Stacton/Dereksen goes on to assign the same name to the replacement of Urban's bombard, which he calls Basilica II.

Long before Stacton/Dereksen, Schlumberger also used the same term; cf. Lampros' translation, Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος, p. 76: "Εἰς τὸ πυροβόλον τοῦτο, ὃν πιθανῶς τὸ μέγιστον, οὗ γίνεται μνεία ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἐδόθη τὸ χαρακτηριστικὸν ἐπώνυμον Βασιλικόν."

[88] Gibbon, 7: 178, n. 29, who further remarks: "The Baron de Tott, who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes…the consternation of the Turks," when the bombard was fired.

[89] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 24 (pp. 40–43): Въ нихже пушкы бяху 2 велице, ижъ ту сольяны: единой ядро въ колѣно, а другой въ поясъ, "among them were two great cannons employing a shot that reached the knee and a shot that reached the girdle." During our survey of the land walls in May/June of 2000, 2001, and 2003, we had the opportunity to study and measure a surviving shot from the great cannon. Its height reached approximately thirty-nine inches (pl. 64). Cf. *infra*, n. 98.

[90] *CC* 1: 70.

[91] *Ibid.*, 1:94.

[92] *PG* 159: 927 [*CC* 1: 130]: *lapide qui palmis XI<sup>m</sup> ex meis ambibat in gyro*.

[93] Pusculo 4.247–248 (66) [not in *CC* 1].

[94] Barbara 21 (*CC* 1: 14–15); it is not clear what Barbara means by *quarte* (a fourth of what?). For no apparent reason, Pears equates *palma*/span and *quarte*, while our sources draw a distinction between *quarte* and *palma;* cf. Pears, p. 246, n. 1: "Pusculus gives fourteen palms as the circumference; Phrantzes and Kritoboulos, twelve; while Barbaro gives thirteen to fourteen." Elsewhere is his narrative, 26–27 (*CC* 1: 17), Barbaro produces the following measurements, in connection with the operations of April 21: *la qual porta sì se chiama san Romano: tuto el suo forzo el feze in questa porta de bombardar cun la sua bombarda grossa, che volse palma quindexe.*

[95] *Caput II* Slightly different is the French text of Tetaldi IV: *& entre les autres une grand bombarde de métail, tirant pierre de neuf espaulx et quatre dois d'entour.* The French text of Tetaldi has come down in two versions; the second version of the French text agrees with the Latin text: "eleven spans." On the different manuscripts of Tetaldi's French text, cf. Concasty, pp. 95–110 (with the cautionary note in *PaL* 2: 112, n. 9).

[96] Pears, p. 246.

[97] *PaL* 2: 114: "Such cannon balls more than seven feet in circumference are still to be seen in Istanbul…."

[98] In June 2000, we discovered, identified, and photographed one missile in the Mesoteikhion area (south of the towers at the Lykos River, a destroyed tower below the Gate of Saint Romanos). In June 2001, we returned to the same site, measured and photographed this missile: at the face eleven hands in circumference or 148 inches [= 375 cms.]; in height or diameter 39 inches [= 99 cms.]; and in length 41 inches [= 99 cms.].

[99] 204 (385) (p. 151): τοὺς δὲ λίθους μέλανας ὄντας λέγεται ἐνεγκεῖν, οἷς ἐπέτακτο, ἀπὸ Εὐξείνου πόντου ἐς τὸ βασιλέως στρατόπεδον. It is to be regretted that neither Pears nor *PaL 2* mentions the color of the surviving projectiles that they observed, or their exact location. The projectile is of light grey stone, unlike the darker grey stone shots (pl. 65) at the Golden Gate. We should add a note of caution that the stone shots placed at the Golden Gate were brought in from elsewhere.

[100] In our study and edition of Nestor-Iskander's narrative, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, we offer the following theory, p. 2:

“[Nestor-Iskander’s] Turkish captors were evidently attached to a military unit stationed in southern Russia, near Moldavia.... This regiment had, in all probability, the primary mission of obtaining shot for the sultan’s cannons and arquebuses.” In relation to Khalkokondyles’ statement about the color of the bombard’s missiles, it should be added that we have never encountered black stone projectiles anywhere in Greece, Turkey, or the Balkans. In addition, Barbaro suggests that some stone projectiles were transported by the sultan’s largest cargo boat from Sinope. Thus the stone missiles were first brought by boat, probably from the shore of the Black Sea and were then transferred by wagon (cf. the next note) and distributed to the deployed batteries about the Ottoman camps. Cf. Barbaro 21 (*CC* 1: 15): *etiam in questa armada del Turco si ne iera una nave de zerca bote trexento, la qual vene da Sinopoli, carga de piere de bombarda....*

[101] This note was written on the margin of *Vaticanus graecus 163 B*, fol. 233$^{r}$; it was published by Lampros, “ “Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι,” ,” pp. 191–269, no. 11 (pp. 260–261). The scribe was copying Kinnamos’ work when he felt inspired to add this personal note, which presents a rare example of a late medieval reaction to an event that is taking place exactly at the time that writer is holding his pen.

[102] Caput II: *Pondus vero tormenti huius fere mille octingentarum extitit librarum.* Slightly different is the French text of Tetaldi IV: *& pesant mille quatre cens cinquante-une livres, les autres tirans dix ou douze centenars.*

[103] *TIePN*, p. 4: *lapis maior erat ponderis 1300 librarum.*

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 70: *lapis enim erat, quem facile proiciebat, mille trecentarum librarum.*

[105] *CC* 1: 94: *pondus cantariorum XIV.*

[106] *Ibid*, p. 70.

[107] *PG* 159: 929 (*CC* 1: 134): *lapide mea existimatione mille ducentarum librarum.* As usual, Leonardo’s statements are copied by Languschi-Dolfin (fol. 315 [9]): *Et quella trazendo piera de 1200 libre.* In addition, Quirini (*TIePN*, p. 70) suggests *mille trecentarum librarum*, Henry of Soemmern, *CC* 1: 82, suggests *lapidem...qui MCCC libras ponderabat*, and Khalkokondyles 204 (385), p. 151, states that it [ὁ μέγας λίθος] measured τρία τάλαντα ἐν σταθμῷ.

[108] *Caput II.* The French version also agrees: *par quoy on compte qu’ils employerent chascun jour mille livres de poudre de bombarde.*

[109] *Caput II* Identical is the French version: *& ainsi en cinquante-cinq jour dépendirent cinquantecinq mille livres, & s’y avoient dix mille coulevrines.*

[110] *Supra*, n. 87; Gibbon, 7: 177, states “[a] lively philosopher...calculates that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder.” In the accompanying note (n. 28), Gibbon makes it clear that the philosopher he had in mind is none other than Voltaire.

[111] Cf., among the other testimonies, the words employed in the following statements: Doukas 35: τέρας τι φοβερὸν καὶ ἐξαίσιον. Kritoboulos I. 29 1–7: πρᾶγμα φοβερώτατον ἰδεῖν καὶ εἰς ἀκοὴν ὅλως ἄπιστόν τε καὶ δυσπαράδεκτον. Quirini, p. 70: *bombardam...admirandae magnitudinis, qualem nulla unquam aetas vidit.*

[112] Doukas 38.

[113] *Ibid.*, 37

[114] Kritoboulos I.30.5: θᾶττον ἢ λόγος πρῶτα μὲν ἐγίνετο μυκηθμὸς φοβερὸς καὶ κλόνος τῆς ὑποκειμένης γῆς καὶ τῆς πόρρω καὶ βρόμος οἷος οὐδείς, ἔπειτα μὲν βροντῆς ἐξαισίας καὶ δούπου φρικώδους καὶ πυρὸς τὰ πέριξ πάντα ξυμφλέγοντος καὶ μελαίνοντος.

[115] Doukas 35:

πρωὶ οὖν βαλὼν πῦρ ἐν τῇ βοτάνῃ, καὶ διερμανθέντος τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἐκκρουσαμένης τῆς πέτρας, ἀπελύθη τῆς χωνείας σὺν ἤχῳ βαρεῖ ἀεροβάτῳ, πληροῦντι τὸν ἀέρα καπνοῦ καὶ ὁμίχλης. ἡ δὲ βοὴ ἀφίκετο μέχρι σταδίων ἑκατὸν τὸ μῆκος, ὁ δὲ λίθος ἔπεσε μακρόθεν τοῦ ἀφεθέντος τόπου ὡς μίλιον ἕν, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ πεσόντι ἐγένετο βόθρος ὅσον τῶν βοτανῶν ὀργυιᾶς.

[116] Khalkokondyles 204 (385), p. 151: λέγεται δὲ τὸν ψόφον αὐτοῦ ἀμήχανόν τινα ὄντα ἐπέχειν τὴν γῆν πέριξ ἐπὶ σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα σειομένην.

[117] As he states in the same letter, Quirini had spoken with the cardinal *(TIePN*, p. 74): *ut a reverendissimo cardinali Rutheno accepi.*

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] *Ibid.*: *quingentis videlicet hominibus et viginti curribus.*

[121] Doukas 37: Παρελθόντος οὖν τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς καὶ τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου ἄρξαντος ἐκέλευσε τὴν χωνίαν μετακομισθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει.

[122] *Ibid.*: ζεύξας ἁμάξας τριάκοντα εἷλκον αὐτὴν ὄπισθεν οἱ ξ΄ βόες, λέγω βόες βοῶν· καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς χωνίας ἄνδρες σ΄, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἓν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἕτερον, τοῦ ἕλκειν καὶ ἐξισοῦν αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ ὀλισθήσῃ τοῦ δρόμου· καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁμαξῶν τέκτονες ν΄, τοῦ κατασκευάζειν γεφύρας ξυλίνους εἰς τὰς ἀνωμαλίας τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἐργάται σὺν αὐτοῖς σ΄.

[123] *PG* 159: 927 (*CC* 1: 130), followed faithfully by Languschi-Dolfin (fol. 315 [9]): *la qual cum fatich era tirata da 150. para de boui.*

[124] Doukas 37: Ἐποίησε γοῦν τὸν Φεβρουάριον καὶ Μάρτιον, ἕως οὗ κατήντησεν ἐν τόπῳ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ μιλίων ε΄.

[125] Barbara 21 (*CC* 1: 14): *A dì undexe pur de april, el signor Turco si fexe impiantar le sue bumbar de per me’ le mure da tera.*

[126] *Infra*, ch. 9: “Land Operations: The Main Targets.”

[127] Doukas 38.9.

[128] Could Doukas have inspected a bombard during his official mission to Adrianople? Could he have been told that it was the famous bombard used against Constantinople in 1453? It is unfortunate that all modern authorities have overlooked this clear and unambiguous statement of a writer who was familiar with the circumstances and had personal contacts at the sultan’s Porte. Perhaps his testimony should carry more weight.

# Chapter 8

# Naval Maneuvers: Subordinate Operations

# I. A Sea Battle

In general, the first half of the *quattrocento* demonstrated a weakness in the Ottoman war machine: the inferior sea skills of Turkish sailors in a century when the Europeans were making important advances in the creation of a viable navy. By far, European skills and technology were well ahead of the Ottomans at this time. It should be recalled that during the prolonged blockade of Constantinople at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the Greek capital survived precisely because the sea-lanes were open and the west could bring supplies and regiments from France and elsewhere almost at will. Again during the siege of 1422 Murad II had a navy of no account and even as late as the battle of Varna he had been forced to pay high prices to Genoese ship captains in order to transfer his troops from Asia to Europe, as Bayezid I had also done before the battle of Nicopolis. By 1453 the situation had improved, but not much. The Ottomans still lacked the type of heavy vessel that was becoming increasingly common among Europeans. Mehmed II's fleet, although numerous, consisted of inferior ships, as events in the siege of 1453 were to demonstrate.

Nevertheless, Mehmed must have realized that his siege of Constantinople had to include a naval component to ensure success. And if the outcome of the engagement of April 20, to be discussed presently, is an indication, he seems to have concluded that his armada's role was an obstacle to any western relief for the beleaguered city and not an offensive weapon against Venice's war galleys in the harbor and the Golden Horn. In the sea battle of April 20 against three or four western ships that brought supplies to the besieged city, Mehmed was able to deploy sixteen "triremes" (galleys, as the term seems to be implicit in Sansovino's translation of Leonardo's usage), seventy "biremes," and an unspecified number of ships with one bank of oars, in addition to light vessels; elsewhere Leonardo mentions about two hundred "triremes" and "biremes."[1] The Turkish armada arrived on April 12 but failed to launch any attacks and, as Barbaro observes, their fleet refused to engage in spite of Venetian taunts. The armada's presence, however, forced the Venetians to remain on constant alert and their commanders could not transfer sailors to assist elsewhere on the land periphery:[2]

> *A dì dodexe pur april, a hora de meza terza, azonse l'armada del Turco per mezo el porto de Costantinopoli.... A hore sete de zorno, tuta la dita*

> *armada fo compida de sorzer al sorzador in uno luogo che se chiama le Colone, che son mìa do luntan da Costantinopoli da la banda de Mar Mazor… e mai questa sua armada no devenne… ne fexe star… da dodexe de april fina vinti nove mazo.*
>
> On April 12, at the third hour of the day, the armada of the Turk arrived before the harbor of Constantinople… in the seventh hour of the day the entire armada dropped anchor at a place called Columns [= Diplokionion], two miles distant from the city, in the direction of Black Sea…. All day and night we were compelled to remain armed under alert. Yet the Turkish armada never made a move against us and only forced us to remain armed through fear. And this situation prevailed from April 12 until May 29.

According to Barbaro, the Ottoman armada was large:[3]

> *La dita armada del Turco fo vele cento e quaranta cinque fra galìe e fuste e parandarie e bergantini ma ne iera galìe dodexe compìe, fuste grose ne iera da setanta in otanta, parandarie da vinti in vinti cinque, tuto el resto si iera bregantini.*
>
> The aforementioned armada of the Turk consisted of one hundred and forty-five sails of galleys, *fustae*, and brigantines, and twelve equipped galleys; there were seventy to eighty *fustae*, and up to twenty-five *parandariae*; the rest were all brigantines.

Tetaldi provides different numbers:[4]

> *Ad portum autem qui est ad latus civitatis fuerunt circiter sedecim galeae, sexaginta octo circiter galiotae atque decern et octo seu viginti alterius generis naves, quas scaphas vocare possumus pro transvehendis hominibus, seu pallandiones pro traducendis equis; aliorumque generum naves et naviculae non paucae.*
>
> At the harbor, however, which is situated along the side of the city, there were sixteen galleys, and about sixty-eight light galleys, as well as eighteen or twenty ships of a different kind, which we may call transport ships, as they were designed to carry men, and barges [= *parandariae]* to ferry horses. There were many ships and vessels of other kinds.

Doukas presents much higher numbers:[5] συνήχθησαν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῦ σὺν τριήρεσι διήρεσι πλοιαρίοις ἕως τετρακόσια τὸν ἀριθμόν, “then his ships assembled out at sea: triremes, biremes, and small vessels, as many as three hundred.” Regardless of the actual numbers, it is clear that the Ottoman vessels outnumbered the Italian defenders in the harbor. Despite the enemy’s superiority, the Italian crews remained confident of their skills and seem to have offered battle on a number of occasions, which the enemy, aware of the Ottoman crews’ inferior naval expertise, wisely declined.[6] No sea battles are recorded that speak of the involvement of all defenders’ ships against the Turkish armada.[7]

The only naval battle that occurred on April 20 did not, strictly speaking, include in the engagement the defending ships within the harbor of Constantinople. They were behind the immense boom that had been stretched across the mouth of the Golden Horn and denied entrance to the Ottoman fleet. The impenetrable boom that blocked the entrance to the harbor is described by Barbara, who states that it was stretched out on April 2 before the arrival of the Ottoman forces.[8] The chain was never breached throughout the period of the siege and, in fact, proved to be an obstacle to refugee ships when they attempted to escape during the onset of the sack on May 29. The fleeing sailors were forced to cut its links.[9] The only formal naval engagement occurred on April 20, when a number of Christian ships,[10] probably three Genoese and a cargo ship under the command of an Italian (and not a Greek, as it is usually stated in modern scholarship[11]) that had been hired by the emperor. Relying on their size, deck height, and superior seamanship, they humiliated the Ottoman attackers, who had launched a relentless pursuit, being under the impression that sheer numbers would carry the day.[12]

This naval engagement,[13] which did not involve the defenders, demonstrated once more the weaknesses of the Ottoman navy. Not only did the Christian ships break through the blockade, but they also did so without a single casualty, which can be attributed to the fact that the European ships were much higher and better protected than the vessels of the Ottoman armada.[14] Thus Leonardo thankfully observes:[15]

> *Naves igitur — Deo grattas — non laesae nec uno saltern homine perdito, aliquot tarnen vulneratis, noctu salvae cum iucunditate portum intrant.*
>
> And so our ships — thanks be to God — unhurt without any losses, not even a single dead man but with some wounded, safely and with joy entered the harbor at night.

As Barbara makes clear, it was not an uncomplicated matter for the Christian ships to enter the harbor. This became vulnerable for a moment, for the chain was relaxed to allow the relief vessels to enter while the Turks had to be kept out:[16]

> *Ma siando imbrunida la notte, nui fessemo bona provixion, per dar soccorso a lor nave; fo mandado misser Chabriel Trivixan vizo capetanio de do galie cun la galia de misser Zaccaria Grioni el cavalier, e ando fuora de la cadena del porto de Costantinopoli cun gran vigoria e de sonari de trombe, e de gran cridori de zurme, per demostrar al nemigo nostro, che fosse assai più armada de quelo <che > la iera; avea do et tre trombe te per galia, parea fosse almen venti galie, e Turchi vedando questo remor, forte se terne, e queste do nostre galie se remurchiò le quatro nave dentro del porto de Costantinopoli, cun salvamento. L'armada del Turco volentiera si stete forte al sorzador a le colone*.

> When night came we made good preparations to assist their ships [the four ships just outside the boom/chain]. We sent Sir Gabriel Trevisan, the vice captain of two galleys with the galley of Sir Zaccaria Grioni, the knight, to cross the chain of Constantinople's harbor, raising clamor with trumpets and with loud shouting by the crews to indicate to our enemy that there were more ships present than the actual number. Each galley had two or three trumpets and thus we gave the impression that there were twenty galleys. Upon hearing all this noise, the Turks became scared, and our two galleys towed our four ships safely into Constantinople's harbor. The armada of the Turk remained at anchor at the Columns [= Diplokionion].

## II. The New Xerxes: A Marvel and a Bridge

This naval engagement of April 20 was a serious setback for the sultan and demonstrated once more the superior skills of western seamanship. Nevertheless, the sultan was a brilliant strategist and was able to turn the defenders' victory into a problem for them. The first adjustment he made was internal and it dealt with his naval staff when he relieved his admiral of his command.[17] It is not certain whether he actually believed his admiral responsible for the setback or whether his dismissal had something to do with the favor that the sultan had increasingly shown to the "hawks" on his staff. Perhaps the admiral had expressed some hesitation about the operations connected with the siege and the sultan could not tolerate such opinions, but utilized any possible excuse to minimize the influence of the Porte's "peace" faction and their questionable activities. The admiral was dismissed in disgrace and under humiliating circumstances, which are reported by our sources in a sensational manner. The admiral was roughly handled by the sultan himself and was physically abused by the common soldiers. Nevertheless, he was able to escape with his life, through the entreaties of other member's of the sultan's high command.[18]

This naval defeat must have been especially irritating to the sultan because he had anticipated, we have reason to believe, the fall of the city on that day. Among the countless dervishes and holy men in his camp, who had come to encourage the soldiers, there was a *sufi* named Şeyh Aq-Şemseddin,[19] who had become a *murşid*, a spiritual guide, to the sultan himself. Mehmed had asked his *murşid* to calculate the exact date the city was fated to fall. He did so and reported the day, but on that day the Christians scored a naval victory. In all likelihood, this date must have been April 20, when the Christians achieved their only notable victory at sea. The *şeyh* acknowledged his error and reported that the city would eventually fall by divine will. He attributed his miscalculation and failure to the fact that, in his opinion, there were too many insincere converts on Mehmed's staff, indirectly criticizing the influence of numerous renegades such as the influential Zaganos. It is possible that Mehmed turned this criticism to his advantage and gained the opportunity to rid himself of Baltoglu, also a renegade who proved to be an irritant to the sultan.[20]

Another issue involves the engagement before the chain/boom at the Golden Horn and deals with chronology. While most sources agree and present this operation as a setback for the sultan, who then mobilized his engineers and transferred some of his lighter vessels to the Golden Horn, an important source, Leonardo, suggests that this impressive operation was not occasioned by the engagement on April 20 (a date that is not reported in Leonardo's text) but earlier, before the arrival of the Christian ships. Thus the archbishop seems to have confused the sequence of events in his narrative when he composed his famous letter. His information, however, seems to be supported by a Turkish eyewitness of the siege, Tursun Beg, who reports[21] that "the smaller ships and galleys [were]… dragged over the hill behind Galatas [= Pera] into the Golden Horn… at this stage, [at a time when] two cargo vessels filled with arms and reinforcements arrived from Europe… and a great battle took place in which the Ottomans were defeated." When all is said and done, one would prefer this operation of vessel transference over Galatas/Pera to have taken place after the naval setback and it is logical to anticipate this sequence. Nevertheless, caution and further research are warranted, given the existence of a major discrepancy introduced by Leonardo and Tursun Beg, two authoritative eyewitnesses from opposite camps. Without the possibility of one text contaminating the other, there exists a major discrepancy in these sources.[22]

Mehmed then directed his attention to the situation at hand. He must have been working on this plan of vessel transference for some time and it had been put into operation, for the material for the execution of the operation was readily available. Antonio Ivani claims[23] that the sultan decided to bring his vessels into the harbor after he received information that Venice was about to send a fleet to the beleaguered capital of the Greeks. It was simply a matter of implementation and the sultan performed this feat brilliantly and with lightning speed. The complicated and demanding operation was completed by April 22, two days after the relief ships had reached Constantinople.[24] Under the cover of darkness the sultan had some of his lighter vessels, up to seventy-two ships,[25] dragged overland and launched into the Golden Horn, thus by-passing the boom that was blocking the harbor's entrance and without having to force his way through the Venetian war galleys. The land execution came as a complete surprise to the Greek defensive high command; somehow its implementation had remained a secret and had not been leaked to the emperor's court. The secrecy associated with this plan is indeed surprising, given the fact that numerous spies operated in both camps and plans of upcoming operations were readily communicated to each other. What makes this operation even more impressive is the fact that the sultan must have bought at least some of the material that was needed for the vessel transference from the Genoese at Pera and that his corps of engineers preparing the pathway for the ships overland had not been detected during the construction.

The exact route that the sultan's engineers followed in this operation remains unknown and has puzzled modern historians. Paspates[26] believes that the route stretched from Diplokionion to the heights of Pera and that the boats were launched into the water at Kasim Pasha. Pears[27] in general terms agrees with Paspates. Runciman[28] also embraces this view. The exact route can never be reconstructed with any degree of accuracy, for the topography of the area has been drastically altered over the centuries. However, it should be observed that the pathway could not have followed an extremely arduous route. Nor were the light vessels that were transported meant to assume absolute control of the harbor, as they were no match for the Venetian war galleys. In our view, these light vessels were meant to harass the defenders and to provide diversions, forcing the besieged to transfer troops that were desperately needed at the land walls. Most importantly, these vessels allowed the sultan to build his bridge (which will be discussed presently), which they then protected. This bridge was not meant to be an offensive weapon. It was constructed to secure communications between the sultan's naval forces to the north of Pera and his camp opposite the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector. The span allowed easy passage from Pera to Kynegon (present-day Aivansarai). Mehmed thus gained a swift and secure passage across the Golden Horn. The most logical site for the bridge would be to place it from the naval installations at Pera, which was the Ottoman arsenal in Istanbul, to the neighborhood of the Gate of Hagia Theodosia (Aya Kapi), where the straits are at their narrowest point. It is our belief that the ships were launched in this area into the Golden Horn. The sultan intended to control this area for his bridge and not to assume control of the entire harbor. Consequently, the boats would have been launched somewhere in the vicinity of the old Ottoman arsenal. The route from Diplokionion to the arsenal is longer than over the hills of Pera, but the terrain is flat. In all likelihood, the small vessels that were transported overland were not crafts of the sultan's fleet. They were smaller and probably had been brought in sections aboard the fleet's naval vessels. They were transported over the long and flat terrain to a site destined to become an arsenal and were probably assembled just below the peaks of the bluff so that they would be obscured and not in full view of the defenders on the walls. They were then launched into the waters of the harbor across from Kynegon. There is no evidence that the fleet at Diplokionion was weakened following the transfer of the boats. This can only presuppose that the transferred craft were not part of the regular fleet, but had been earmarked from the beginning of the siege or even earlier during the actual planning stages for this specific operation.

Barbara, who, together with other defenders, had never suspected that the sultan could perform such an incredulous task so secretly and with such speed, indicates the difficulty of the project. We should further note that at this point in his narrative Barbara was so angered that he describes the sultan with extremely colorful adjectives,[29] while in other sections of his journal he is less emotional:[30]

> *Siando tuta la sua armada sorta a le Colone, che sun mia do luntan da la tera, fexe che tute le zurme muntasse in tera, e fexe spianar tuto el monte che son sopra la zitade de Pera, comenzando da la marina, zoè da li da le Colone, dove che iera l'armada, per infina dentro dal porto de Costantinopoli, che sono mia tre, e spianado che i ave tuto benissimo, i diti Turchi messe assaissimi ruodoli convexi dove che i avea spianado, i quai ruodoli si iera onti benissimo de sevo per modo che i deliberò de dover dar prinzipio de traghetar parte de questa sua armada, dentro dal porto nostro de Costantinopoli, e comenzò da alcune fuste minor, e messele suxo i diti ruodoli, e con una gran quantitade de Turchi se messe a tirar la dita fusta, e tirola in puoco spatio fino dentro dal navarchio de Pera.*

> While his armada remained at anchor at the Columns [= Diplokionion], which is about two miles away, he had his crews disembark and issued orders to flatten the mountain beyond the city of Pera, starting at the shore, that is, at the other side of his anchorage by the Columns where his armada was, all the way to Constantinople's harbor, to a distance of three miles. After the mountain was flattened, the Turks placed numerous curved beams over the flattened area, which had been covered liberally with pork fat. Then he commanded to transport a section of his armada to Constantinople's harbor. So they started with the light *fustae* and they placed the first one on top of the beams, while a large party of Turks began to pull the aforementioned *fusta* and in a short time brought her within the marina of Pera.

This is a matter-of-fact account[31] of a learned man who is familiar with naval operations. Doukas, however, relies on the sensational, and later, when he composed his account, this incident had achieved legendary proportions, with considerable elaboration and poetic imagery. Doukas presents an attractive picture that is more appealing than Barbara's dry account:[32]

> Καὶ ποιήσαντες τὴν ὁδὸν ὁμαλήν, ὅσον ἐδύναντο, διὰ τῶν φαλαγγίων ἐπιβιβάσας τὰς διήρεις καὶ τὰ ἱστία πτερώσας ἐκέλευσεν ἕλκειν διὰ ξηρᾶς...καὶ εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸν Κεράτιον κόλπον τὰ πλοῖα.... Ἥλκοντο δὲ τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ πρωρεὺς καὶ ἄλλος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰάκων καθήμενος· ἕτερος δὲ τὸ πτερὸν κρατῶν τὸ ἱστίον ἐτίνασε· ἄλλος τύμπανον, ἕτερος σάλπιγγα κρούων ἐμελῴδει θαλάσσιον μέλος. Καὶ ἐξ οὐρίας πλέοντες τὰς νάπας καὶ τοὺς ῥύακας, τὴν ξηρὰν διήρχοντο, ἕως οὗ καταντήσαντες ἐν τῇ ὑγρᾷ.

> And they made the pathway as smooth as possible, and transferred the biremes on platforms, which he ordered to be pulled overland… to the Golden Horn; and so it happened. The vessels were dragged and each one had its lookout on the prow at his proper place, while the helmsman was by the steering oars. Someone else was holding the yardarm and was unfurling the sail; yet another beat the drum, another sounded the trumpet and struck a sea tune. With a favorable wind they sailed over glen and streams, making their way over land, until they reached the water.

Kritoboulos concludes his description of this incident by invoking language that belongs to folk tales:[33]

> ...καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θέαμα ξένον καὶ ἀκοαῖς ἄπιστον πλὴν τῶν θεαμένων, ναῦς ἐπὶ τῆς μεσογείας φερομένας ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πλεούσας μετὰ τῶν πληρωμάτων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱστίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς.

> … what a strange sight to behold! No one would ever believe a description, one simply had to have seen it: ships moving over land as if sailing over the sea, crews on board, with sails and all equipment!

Cardinal Isidore also writes of this event with the authority of an eyewitness in his letter to Cardinal Bessarion:[34]

> *Primum quidem cum validissimis catenis portus esset accinctus et clausus a parte montis Galat<a>e [= Perae] usque ad portam Pulchram triremes Venetorum quinque cum duodecim aliis onerariis sive rotundis navibus et quidem maximis portui et catenis innixe Turcorum introitum prohibebant. Turci vero cum se illic frustra consistere animadverterent, in Dipplociomam stationem se cum eorum navibus transtulerunt, ubi et classem instruxerunt. Paucis vero post diebus viam montanam trium milium passuum et ultra sterni iussit Turcus ad traiciendas ab una parte montis Galat<a>e in alteram biremes et soliremes nonaginta duas, quas cum in portu eo modo traiecisset, portu potitus est et eius totaliter factus est dominus.*

> To begin with, the harbor had been contained and secured, from the side of Galatas' [= Pera's] mountain to the Beautiful Gate and

> access was admirably blocked to the Turks by fifteen Venetian triremes [= galleys] and another twelve round ships and especially by those immense chains. When the Turks concluded that they could not force their way, they moved to their anchorage at Diplokionion, where they had amassed their ships. A few days later the Turk ordered that a three-mile (or even longer) road be constructed over the mountain to transport ninety-two biremes and uniremes from one side of the mountain at Galatas [= Pera] to the other; and so it was done and the Turk assumed total control of the harbor.

Cardinal Isidore discusses the same subject in another letter to Pope Nicholas V:[35]

> … *amira… statuit iter super colles et juga fieri per tria miliaria et ultra; iussit quoque suis triremibus stantibus foris ligna sustinere et simul ea colligare per quae biremes LXXII numero deduceret; quas adeo per colles et juga currentes perduxit ac si super mare ducerentur vento frequenti, habentes remos extemos, vexilla et tentoria, ut de suo more est super mare portare; quas ad portum tandem deduxit.*

> … the emir [= sultan]… decided to construct a road over the hills and bluffs, to a distance of three miles or more. He ordered that his triremes [= galleys] be lifted on beams and in this way he assembled and transported ninety-two biremes. He brought them to the hills and bluffs and they were moved as if they were sailing on the sea, as if there was a brisk wind, with the oars extended, with standards, and with tents, as they are accustomed to sail over the sea; finally they were launched into the harbor.

The maneuver impressed the defenders deeply and even short narratives by eyewitnesses make reference to it.[36] In fact, the accomplishment was so stunning that many defenders could not believe that the Turks had successfully carried it out and sought to identify Christian "traitors" and "renegades" from Europe who sold their services to the Porte and performed this complicated task for the sultan. Leonardo first mentions parallel operations in Italy and then suggests that the sultan had western help in this project:[37] *Quam novitatem puto, Venetorum more, ex Gardae lacu, is qui artificium Teucris patefecit, didicerat*, "this new stratagem, was shown, I believe, to the Turks by a man who was familiar with what the Venetians had done at Lake Garda." Leonardo's faithful follower, Languschi-Dolfin, presents additional information on this point, providing names,[38] while the *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle* maintains Leonardo's essentials but also elaborates and furnishes other details independent of Leonardo or of Languschi-Dolfin. The River Po is mentioned and the stratagem is attributed to an "Italian renegade".[39]

To press his point even more, the sultan then began the construction of a bridge from the side of Pera towards the city walls, in the direction of Kynegos, the present-day Aivanserai. Once more, the construction of this pontoon/bridge caught the defenders by surprise and all eyewitnesses were impressed with the achievement. Descriptions of this memorable bridge are also encountered in most sources. Cardinal Isidore expresses admiration for Mehmed's bridge in his letter to Cardinal Bessarion:[40]

> *Aliud iterum mirabilius est machinatus, quod et Xerxes quondam fecisse memoratur, pontem siquidem construxit et fabricavit maximum a mari Sanctae Galatinae usque ad moenia Cynegi, quod duplo maius est spatium quam illius Hellespontiaci olim pontis a Xerxe fabricati, per quem non modo pedites verum etiam equites multi simul traducebantur.*

> Then he [*sc*. Mehmed] thought of something more admirable, something that Xerxes had also done in antiquity: he devised and constructed a very large bridge stretching from the shore by Hagia Galatina as far as our walls at Kynegion, double the distance bridged by Xerxes long ago. Over it many horsemen and foot soldiers could cross at the same time.

Isidore has, of course, exaggerated the distance or perhaps he had been misinformed about Xerxes' bridge. Leonardo presents similar information and also compares this bridge to Xerxes' fording of the Hellespont in 480 B.C. It is not a question of Isidore and Leonardo copying from each other's text, as they wrote their letters unaware of each other's work. The comparison to Xerxes must therefore derive from their conversations during the siege; in addition, similar phraseology in our sources is encountered when the janissaries are characterized as "Myrmidons."[41] The two ecclesiastics were close friends and Leonardo was in awe of Isidore. It is only natural to anticipate traces of their conversations to appear in their respective narratives. Leonardo describes this bridge as follows, with a reference to Xerxes also:[42]

> *Proinde hoc ingenio non contentus Theucrus aliud quoque, quo nos terreret magis, construxit, pontem videlicet longitudinis stadiorum circiter triginta, ex ripa urbi opposita maris qui sinum scinderet, vasis vinariis colligatis, subconstructis confixisque lignis, quo exercitus decurreret ad murum prope urbis iuxta fanum, <imitatus Xerxis potentiam, qui ex Asia in Thraciam Bosphoro exercitum traduxit. Non restabat ergo nisi navium catenaque diametralis initio, quae transitum ingressumve classi*

> *prohibebat*>.
>
> Not content with this stratagem, the Turk devised another, one which terrified us more: he constructed a bridge, about thirty stades long, from the shore across, to cut across the gulf. It was joined with wine barrels tied together, with a platform of timber nailed on top, so that his army could come close to the wall of the city next to the Lighthouse [= district of Phanar]. He thus imitated the might of Xerxes, who transported his army from Asia to Thrace via the Bosphorus. And so there remained only this area across from the middle, where the chain and the ships were, to check the entrance and the attacks of his fleet.

Pusculo also cites similar events with antiquity in mind, confirming the impression that among the educated defenders, at least, the main subject of discussion consisted of comparisons with ancient achievements. In addition, Pusculo also offers the specific example of Xerxes:[43]

> …*atque una consternere Pontum / Ponte superstructo; et cuneos transmittere siccis / Ipsi urbi pedibus tumidum super aequor et undas. / Xerxem fama canit quondam stravisse frementem / Hellespontiacum pontum, et junxisse rejunctam / Ponte Asiam Europa, siccis atque agmina plantis / Innumera ex Asia Europae immisisse.*
>
> …and so a bridge was constructed over the Gulf [= Golden Horn] and he could transfer his regiments over the swelling sea and the waves without getting their feet wet. Rumor has it that long ago Xerxes paved over the deep sounding Hellespont to join with a bridge from Asia to Europe, and transferred his innumerable forces from Asia to Europe on dry timber.

The echoes of the comparison of Mehmed to Xerxes are also encountered in secondary literature on the siege, proving that this was a widespread notion for the period and may actually date back to the days of the siege. Kritoboulos alludes to Xerxes likewise in connection with the transfer of the Ottoman fleet, and claims that the sultan’s accomplishment surpassed the achievements of Xerxes.[44] Doukas is in complete agreement:[45]

> ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν θάλασαν ἐγεφύρωσεν καὶ ὡς ξηρὰν ὁ τοσοῦτος στρατὸς ἐπάνω ταύτης διῆλθεν. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ νέος Μακεδών…ὕστατος τὴν γῆν ἐθαλάσσωσεν καὶ ὡς κατὰ κυμάτων τὰ πλοῖα ὑπὲρ τῶν κορυφῶν ἐπέζευξεν. Ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ξέρξην οὗτος· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰσχύνην ἐνδυθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν, οὗτος δὲ τὴν ξηρὰν ὡς ὑγρὰν διαβὰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠφάνισεν καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς ὄντως Ἀθήνας τὰς κοσμούσας τὸν κόσμον, τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων εἷλεν.

> Xerxes bridged the sea and his large army crossed over it, as if it were marching on dry land. This new Macedonian[46]…turned the land into a sea and made his boats travel over mountain peaks as if they were sailing over the sea. Yet this one [= Mehmed] surpassed Xerxes. The latter crossed the Hellespont but the Athenians dressed him in garments of shame and forced him to return home; while the former destroyed Athens, the city really draped in gold, the latter conquered the Queen of Cities [= Constantinople].

The objective of these complex maneuvers was fairly simple. While the sultan had no intention to attempt a conquest of the city by way of the sea walls, the presence of some of his boats within the Golden Horn and the ease with which his troops could cross over from the hills of Pera to the vicinity of the sea walls, to the sectors that had been considered secure by the besieged thus far, required a response by the defenders. The unusual situation demanded that the scanty forces of the Greek defenders had to thin themselves out even further in order to man the sea walls in a more satisfactory manner. No troops could effectively be spared from the land sectors but adjustment had to be made and the consequence was extremely grave for the defense. In this way the sultan reduced the effectiveness of the defenses along the land fortifications, the main target of his batteries and regiments. New assignments and new relocations of troops within the city were made and our eyewitness authors record that the new situation became a disturbing source of constant anxiety throughout the latter part of the siege. In addition, the sultan was in command of a bridge that secured his communications between the camps and the fleet and further allowed for swift transfer of troops and sailors wherever needed.

# III. Reaction and Disaster

To avoid a redeployment of the few defenders, the imperial high command had no alternative but to attempt to eliminate the threat that had been created by this perilous situation: if the Ottoman boats that had been dragged over the hills of Pera and launched into the Golden Horn were destroyed, the sultan's bridge would present no danger, lacking naval support, and the defenders would feel secure again to re-assign their scanty forces to the land walls. The only way this goal could be realized was through a direct assault against the Ottoman vessels within the harbor. The operation was carefully planned but its execution failed miserably and the Constantinopolitan force simply proved unable to eliminate the threat from the harbor. Consequently, the defense of the land walls had to be weakened at a critical stage during the siege operations. The anxiety that had been created by the transfer of the Ottoman boats produced such a fearful climate[47] within the beleaguered city that riots ensued and there was open strife among the defenders, who lacked cohesion because of local politics. The Genoese were eager to attack the Venetians, the Italians were not pleased with the performance of the Greeks, the Greeks hated the Catholics, and there appears to have been a fifth column operating within the city. The situation degenerated into chaos and only with extreme difficulty was the emperor able to restore a semblance of peace. Thus the sultan gained another point with his minor operation. He had increased the existing and marked discontent among the populace within the city by precipitating further internal dissension, and caused actual strife to break out into the open, even for a short period. He thus demonstrated the fatal weaknesses among the defenders.[48]

The Constantinopolitan defense prepared a special operation with the primary objective of burning the Ottoman ships within the Golden Horn:[49]

> *Tunc Itali, Veneti ac Genuenses urere flammis / Stabat qua portus, classem nil tale timentem / Consilia inceptant Phrygiam sub litore curvo. / Conveniunt Venetae praefecti classis in aedem / Petri clavigeri sacram. Praefectus et ipse / Justinianus adest Genuensis. Maximus atque / Grittus adest Baptista gerens in pectora fida / Consilia. Accedit Genuensis plurimum ordo. Instructis nocte obscura cum manibus ire / Constituunt, Phrygiaeque ignes subjiecere classi. / Mergere vel ponto naves, vel ducere captas.*

> The Italians, Venetians and Genoese held a council in order to find a way and burn the Phrygian [= Ottoman] armada that fearlessly stood within the harbor, by the curved shore [= Golden Horn]. They assembled at the Church of the Saint Peter, the key-bearer. Among them was the commander-in-chief himself [Giovanni] Giustiniani. The imposing Battista Gritti was also present with loyal advice. The Genoese produced a plan. They decided to burn, to sink, or to capture and bring back the Phrygian [= Ottoman] ships at night, under the cover of darkness.

A more detailed and surely more accurate account is preserved by Barbaro, who indicates the limitations of the operation by stressing the inability of the defenders to decide on the details of the operation. His account implies that strict secrecy was not observed because there were too many individuals involved in the deliberations; and, in disagreement with Pusculo, Barbaro cites another convergent point:[50]

> *A dì vintitre pur de questo mexe de april, l'acade a far presta provixion sopra el fatto de questa armada del Turco, che son traghetada de sora via le montagne, dentro dal porto de Costantinopoli, e però in questo zorno fessemo conseio di dodexe in giexia de santa Maria de Costantinopoli, de dover tuor la intromission de dover andar a bruxar l'armada del Turco, la qual è dentro dal navarchio de Pera. Fo messa la parte, e fola prexa, intendando quela parte esser stada longamente desputada a che muodo che se podeva far, che tanta intromission avesse effeto, e tuti del conseio si dixea la sua opinion; alguni de conseio si volea, che de bel mezo zorno se dovesse muover tuta la nostra armada del porto, tute nave e galie, e tute fuste, e andar a invesir efetivamente dentro de questa sua armada, e non cazar fuogo; aluni si volea che andasse zente per tera, e assaltar queli pavioni da tera, i qual steva in varda de l'armata sua, e aver solamente do galie sutil da mar. Misser Jacomo Coco, el qual si iera patron de galia de Trabexonda, si disse anche lui el suo parer, e consonò a tuti, come per avanti intenderè el teribel caxo sequido de questa tal intromission, per voler bruxar la dita armada del Turco.*

> On the 23rd of the month of April we decided to take measures against the ships that the Turks had dragged over the mountain and transferred into the harbor of Constantinople. On that day we convened the Council of the Twelve in the Church of Hagia Maria of Constantinople, in order to decide our course of action to burn the Turkish armada that was within the marina of Pera. In the council there was interminable discussion and dissension about the execution of the operation; consequently every one expressed his opinion. Some members of the Council wished to move into the

> harbor in full daylight, with all our ships, all the galleys and all the *fuste*, and attack their armada, which was not to be burned; others wanted us to attack the tents that the Turks had pitched on land to guard their armada, and to dispatch only two light galleys from the sea. Sir Jacomo Coco, the captain of the galley from Trebizond, expressed his views, with which everyone agreed, and you will be presently informed about our terrible misfortune, because we wanted to burn the aforementioned armada of the Turk.

The flaw in the operation was its very approach. The Ottoman fleet feared a direct assault by the combined assembly of the Christian fleet. Had the defenders attempted to send all their ships against the enemy and their smaller vessels, they would have had a better chance at success. After all, four Christian ships had recently defeated the entire armada of the sultan. Instead the high command opted for a covert operation, which would incinerate the Ottoman fleet under the cover of darkness and would involve a few vessels manned by volunteers, with minimum support from the rest of the fleet, as they did not dare endanger all available ships. In spite of the plan's inherent weaknesses, this approach might have yielded results, because the Ottoman crews were in mortal fear of their Italian counterparts. This operation was to possess the advantage of complete surprise, as the Council of the Twelve had assumed in it's planning. Instead, circumstances forced a postponement and the secret under such strained conditions could not be maintained for very long. And as more individuals became involved in the operation, it was only natural that the sultan would eventually be informed of the designs of the defenders. What sealed the fate of this operation was its interminable delay. It finally took place on April 28. Barbaro seems to have realized the significance of the delay, but he is unsure why it took so long to implement the plan. He attributes the inevitable, although fatal, delay to the will of God and to his usual scapegoats, the Genoese.[51] With typical Venetian bias, Barbaro accuses the Genoese and specifically states that the *podestà* of Pera, without citing his name, personally dispatched envoys to inform the sultan, who was stationed by the Gate of Saint Romanos. Also, Barbaro maintains that the Genoese had asked for a postponement of the operation so that they might be allowed to participate.[52] It is clear from the colorful adjectives with which he embroidered the narrative[53] that Barbaro had lost all patience with Genoese when he made this entry in his diary. In the meantime, news of the operation, its planned execution and objective, was somehow related to the Porte, as could have been predicted. The operation required boldness but, above all, it had to take place soon after the decision was made, perhaps even the night of

April 23. It is unclear from our sources who was responsible for informing the Porte. Doubtless the siege itself was a breeding ground for spies, who easily communicated with the Turkish camp or with the defenders within the city.[54]

Barbaro is not the only eyewitness to speak of “treason” in regard to this operation. Pusculo is quite clear about this matter and even identifies one culprit:[55]

> *Sed raro in multis sunt fida silentia. Furtim / Detulit accelerans Machmetto nuntius audax / Angelus ex Galata Zacharias, atque suorum / Consilia expandit.*
>
> But loyal secrecy among many is not encountered often. In haste and in secret a bold messenger informed the sultan: Angelo Zacharias from Galatas [= Pera] revealed the plans of his side.

That Angelo Zacharias was adjudged an agent of the sultan at the time becomes evident in the literature of the period, for he is often designated as the traitor who was responsible for the disaster of the naval operation. While Leonardo fails to mention any individual by name, his narrative betrays someone who was angry with what had transpired and simply chose not to divulge the name of the individual because he was too ashamed of the actions of his compatriots at Pera during the siege:[56]*Etenim res haec detecta relataque Theucris egit…. Sed quid dicam, beatissime Pater? Accusarene quempiam licet? Silendum mihi est*, “yet this operation had been revealed and reported to the Turks…. What am I to say, most blessed father? Should I accuse anyone? I must be silent.” Significantly, Leonardo’s follower, Languschi-Dolfin, goes beyond this veiled accusation and notes the traitor[57] as Anzolo Zacharia from Pera. Barbaro does mention the betrayer, whom he designates as Faiuzo:[58]

> *…e quando Zenovexi vete esser zorno, e abiando lor paxe con el Turco, aprì una de le porte de Pera, e mandò fuora uno al Turco, el qual ha nome Faiuzo, e questo Faiuzo, siando al pavion del signor Turco, e a quelo lo i fè asaver come Venitiani, la notte passada, se mise in ordene de andar a cazar fuogo dentro de l’armada del mandrachio* [= μανδράκι(ον)] *de Pera. El signor Turco abiando intexo queste parole, rengratiò molto questo imbaxador da parte de queli de Pera, e subito quelo el signor el mandò in driedo in Pera. Partido che el fo da lui, el dito signor Turco de subito si mandò assaissimi scopettieri a la sua armada, che iera in nel mandrachio, e oltra i scopeti el fexe metter do bombarde a raxo la marina, e do altre bombarde da l’altro ladi del mandrachio, e atorno via del ditto mandrachio tutto si iera ben*

> *reparado… e questo tal tradimento i maledetti Zenovexi de Pera rebeli de la fede cristiana.*

> …at daybreak, the Genoese, who were at peace with the Turk, opened a gate of Pera and sent a man to the Turk; his name is Faiuzo. This Faiuzo came to the tent of the lord Turk and informed him that the Venetians had made preparations in the course of the previous night to burn the armada that was in the marina of Pera. The Turks listened and profusely thanked the envoy of the Genoese of Pera. Without delay he sent him back. As soon as he left, the aforementioned lord Turk sent thousands of men with firearms to his armada that was in the marina and deployed two bombards by the marina, and two other bombards on the other side of the marina, which he also fortified well…such an act of betrayal was committed by the accursed Genoese of Pera, rebels against the Christian faith.

But his relative, Marco Barbaro, has added a modest commentary to the margins of the physician's diary and complicates the matter by adding that the traitor was the man named by Languschi-Dolfin and not Faiuzo:[59] *Anzolo Zacharia da Pera lo fece saper al Turco*, "Angelo Zacharia from Pera informed the Turk."

The operation finally got under way on April 28, two hours before daybreak.[60] The task force comprised two fire ships that were well supplied with flammable materials, and two war galleys and three fuste, all well equipped with armament and crews, escorted them.[61] In addition, the galley from Trebizond was commanded by Coco,[62] who, according to Barbaro, was overly eager to attack, moved ahead of the other vessels, and broke from the planned formation.[63] All precautions were in vain; the attack had been expected and as soon as the Christian force left its anchorage, their maneuver was loudly announced to the Turks. The agents of the sultan, if more than Zacharias/Zacaria-Faiuzo were involved, went beyond the simple communication of valuable intelligence information. Apparently, the sultan's agents had maintained a watchful eye over the Christian harbor in order to reveal the defenders' departure for the operation by means of a signal. Pusculo would have us believe that the movement of the Christian force was indicated to the Turks by a bonfire that was lit on a tower at Pera:[64]

> *Ecce facem summa Galatae de turre levari / Cernitur; hoc Teucris signum fore nuntius ipse / Creditur, ut puppes se de statione moverent / Christicolum.*

> Behold: a fire was seen lifting itself from the tallest tower of Galatas

> [= Pera]. This is believed to have been a signal to the Turks announcing that the ships of the Christians were moving away from their anchorage.

Languschi-Dolfin amplifies Leonardo's statement and states that the bonfire was actually lit by Angelo Zacaria.[65] The Ottoman crews were ready for the attack, which had lost all element of surprise and failed miserably, with heavy losses.[66] Coco's galley was struck by the first bombard missile that was fired, and sank, taking the captain to the bottom of the sea.[67] The Ottoman boats then captured numerous survivors, while the remainder of the fleet retreated to the safety of the harbor's western shore. Tetaldi summarizes the operation, without referring to Coco directly:[68]

> *Ascendit itaque capitaneus galeae Christiani exercitus* [*Coco?*] *subtilem quamdam galeam, quatenus facilius et convenientius ad Turcorum cuneum pervenire valeret et naves illorum concremare. Instigabat autem eum ad haec maxime audacia suorum commilitonum, pleno corde auxiliari sibi cupientium. Sed eorum conatus per adversarios est frustratus: nam illorum mox galeam Turci fundis dissipantes, quosdam Christianorum illic repertos huiusmodi naufragio peremerunt.*
>
> The captain of a galley of the Christian army boarded a certain light galley in order to reach easily and comfortably the line of the Turks and burn their ships. He was incited to do this by the immoderate audacity of his fellow soldiers who desired with all their heart to be of assistance. But their adversaries frustrated their attempt: the Turks quickly destroyed their galley with artillery fire and captured some Christians whom they found in the wreckage.

The following morning was marked by the execution of prisoners on both sides; the Turks executed the sailors they had captured from Coco's crew:[69]

> *…ex mersis inde supernatantes quidam ad litus capiuntur ab hostibus, quos impius rex ante oculos nostros crastino decollari iussit.*
>
> …the enemy captured some of those who were swimming to the shore. Early the next morning the impious king [= sultan] ordered their decapitation before our eyes.

Leonardo adds that there was retaliation by the Constantinopolitan defenders, who also executed their prisoners. And he further expresses his displeasure at the atrocity, noting that it added another dimension to the siege:[70]

> *…nostri exacerbati, quos habebant captivos <in> carcere Theucros, ad muros in suorum prospectu immanius trucidant; sicque impietas crudelitate commixta bellum atrocius fecit.*

> …in exasperation our side brought all the prisoners who were in prison and savagely slaughtered them before the eyes of the Turks. And so impiety mixed with cruelty made the war more savage.

While Leonardo speaks of decapitation, there is reason to suspect that the execution of the Christian sailors was more cruel; at least, this is the opinion of Tetaldi:[71]

> *Quosdam vero comprehendentes horribili supplicio discerpserunt, et hoc ad terrorem aliorum Christianorum. Nam eos crudeliter et immaniter laniantes a subteriore parte ventris usque ad summum eius secantes, et more pecudum aut piscium exenterantes visceribus inhumaniter patefactis Christianorum obtutibus probrose praesentaverunt, ut ipsis hoc modo contumeliam facerent ac de illis suas iniurias quas in congressibus saepius sustinebant, insultus eorum perferendo sese vindicando talionem expeterent.*

> They executed their prisoners in a horrible manner, to instill terror among the other Christians. They butchered them cruelly and savagely, as they dissected them from the lowest area of the belly to the highest point, and disemboweled them, with their entrails exposed, as if they were fish or sheep, which they shamelessly displayed to the Christians, to mock them in this way, paying them back for the injuries that they had received so often in battle and seeking revenge for the insults that they had endured.

The French version of Tetaldi disagrees as to the method of execution and suggests impalement.[72] The atrocities committed by both sides brought all action at the harbor to an end and neither the Ottoman fleet nor the Italian vessels made any further aggressive moves. To all intents and purposes the fighting within the Golden Horn had ceased, for neither side seemed willing to engage the other.

While no new attacks are recorded, the sultan continued his harassing tactics, keeping the Christian fleet at bay. He did not risk any direct engagement in order to avoid annihilation of his light vessels within the harbor. On the other hand, he continued his bombardment and it appears that Mehmed employed the services of his engineer, Urban, who, as we have seen,[73] had designed and supervised the manufacture and deployment of the enormous bombard(s) that had targeted the land walls. The reason for Urban's transfer to the harbor is unknown, although it is possible that it had become evident to the sultan at this stage in the siege that Urban's artillery against the walls had not produced the anticipated results. His transfer, therefore, to naval operations may be interpreted as a demotion. At any rate, Leonardo produced his only reference to Urban at this point in his narrative, but neglects to mention his name. It is evident from his phraseology that he has Urban in mind. Leonardo places this incident that involves Urban immediately following the dismissal of Baltoğlu as the *kapudan paşa*, when the sultan attempted to force the withdrawal of the Christian fleet from its station by the chain/boom guarding the entrance to the harbor:[74]

> *Dispositis itaque et ex ripa occidentali bombardis…. Itaque artifex, cui provisio negata fuit, ex nostris ad Teucros reductus, quanto ingenio potuit, naves frangere studuit: nescioque quo fato resultans bombardae a colle lapis, centurionis navem, forte ob crimen, uno ictu confodit; quae extemplo mercibus onusta, fundum mersa petiit, maximum discrimen quidem inferens. Quo casu reliquae ne confringantur muro Galatae protectae haerent. Mirandum quidem Dei judicium, ut immissis quinquaginta et centum prope lapidibus, quibus perforatae multae Galatae domus, inter triginta mulieres conglobatas, una sola optimae famae interempta fuit.*
>
> And so the bombards were deployed from the western bank…. The engineer, who had been denied a salary and had gone over from our side and joined the Turks, used every skill he possessed to break up our ships. Favored by fortune somehow, his first stone shot from a bombard placed on the hill pierced the ship of Centurione, as a result of his sins, perhaps. She was loaded with merchandise and immediately sank to the bottom, causing a great deal of danger. At this loss our ships sought shelter under the walls of Galata [= Pera] to avoid destruction. It was indeed a miracle of God's judgment that after almost one hundred and fifty stones were fired, which pierced numerous houses in Galata [= Pera], only one women, within a group of thirty other women, was killed.

The phrase, *artifex, cui provisio negata fuit, ex nostris ad Teucros reductus*, "the engineer, who had been denied a salary and had gone over from our side and joined the Turks," clearly identifies "the engineer" as Urban. Thus we can be certain that as late as April 21 Urban was still alive and present at the harbor, regardless of the fate of his famous bombard. In the naval sector Urban's instructions were to harass but he never achieved any notable results, apart from the fortuitous shot that sank the merchantman. His efforts did not deter the Christian ships from resuming their position at the chain/boom and, beyond this incident, Urban and his cannons achieved no major successes at the harbor.

The naval action elsewhere also appears to have subsided and consisted only of small covert maneuvers. Thus, towards the end of the siege, when the defenders reached the limits of desperation, a small vessel was dispatched through the Turkish lines, disguised as an Ottoman boat. Its mission was to locate the Venetian fleet and accelerate its progress toward the city; by then it had been assumed that the relief column was in the vicinity of Constantinople. This small ship was dispatched on May 3 to the Aegean in search of the anticipated Venetian fleet. Twenty days later its crew returned to report that they had sailed as far away as the entrance to the archipelago but had sighted no western ships:[75]

> *Zonto i fo a la zitade, i referì al serenissimo imperador quelo che i fexe, e che i non avea trovado armada niuna de i venetiani; in quela fiada el serenissimo imperador si comenzò fortemente a lagrimar da dolor, che queli da Veniexia non i mandava secorso; vedando l'imperador questo, el se deliberò de meterse in le man del nostro mixericordioxo misser Jexu Cristo, e de la sua madre madona santa Maria, e de misser santo Constantin confalon de la so zitade, e lor vardasse la zitade, da poi che la universa cristianitade, non me a voiudo dar secorso contra questo perfido turco nemigo de la cristianitade.*
>
> When they were [back] in the city, they gave an account of what they had done [and said to] the most serene emperor that they had found no armada of the Venetians. At this, the most serene emperor began to shed a great deal of tears out of grief, because the Venetians had not sent aid. When the emperor realized this, he decided to commit himself to the hands of our merciful lord, Jesus Christ, of His mother Saint Mary, our Lady, and of Saint Constantine, our lord and guardian of his city, so that they would protect the city: "Because all of Christendom is not willing to give me help against this treacherous Turk, the enemy of Christendom."

A final observation is in order. The description of events in the naval sector that is presented above is what can be safely gleaned from our sources. However, there are hints that we may be encountering some confusion and that, in fact, there were additional operations, which have been conflated into a single nightly operation that resulted in the Christian disaster. The evidence is circumstantial; some sources, admittedly non-eyewitness, suggest that Giustiniani had also participated in that operation. Thus Doukas seems to place the nocturnal engagement on May 4. But probably he has confused the Coco incident with an otherwise unknown later naval operation, which may have taken place under the command of Giovanni

Giustiniani, whose objective was to restrict the movements of Ottoman boats in the Golden Horn. Doukas states in a passage that seems to have conflated the Coco incident (after all, Doukas does insist on the treasonous behavior of the Perenses, which clearly belongs to the Coco operation) with another possible mission planned by Giustiniani:[76]

> Τότε ὁ Λόγγος Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐσκέψατο διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς προσεγγίσαι ταῖς διήρεσι καὶ ἐμπρῆσαι ταύτας. Καὶ δὴ ἑτοιμάσας μίαν τῶν τριήρεων καὶ βαλὼν ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους τῶν Ἰταλῶν καὶ παντοῖα μηχανικὰ σκεύη, ἵσταντο ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν ὥραν. Οἱ δὲ Γενουῖται τοῦ Γαλατᾶ μαθόντες τὸ δρώμενον ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς Τούρκοις. Οἱ δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἄγρυπνοι διανυκτερεύσαντες καὶ σκευὰς ἑτοίμους παραταξάμενοι τοὺς Λατίνους ἐκδέχοντο. Οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι μὴ γνῶντες τὸ μηνυθὲν παρὰ τῶν τοῦ Γαλατᾶ εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄρασα τὰς ἀγκύρας ἡ τριήρης ἀψοφητὶ τοῖς πλοίοις πλησιάζουσα ἦν. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι ἐν τῇ βοτάνῃ τῆς σκευῆς πῦρ βαλόντες, ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐγρηγορότες, καὶ δὴ ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὁ λίθος κατὰ τῆς τριήρεως καὶ σὺν ἤχῳ πλείστῳ κρούσας αὐτὴν ἔβαλε κάτω ὑποβρύχιον σὺν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις πέμψας εἰς βυθόν. Τοῦτο τοὺς Λατίνους εἰς φόβον καὶ ἀγωνίαν οὐ μικρὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην οὐκ εἰς μικρὰν ἀθυμίαν.Ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ καταποντισθέντες ἅπαντες ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ νηός, εὔζωνοι νέοι καὶ λίαν πολεμισταί, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ρν΄.

> Then [Giovanni] Longo Giustiniani decided to approach and burn the [Turkish] biremes at night. So he made ready one of the triremes [galleys] and equipped her with the most experienced Italians and engines [cannon]; at the ready they waited for the appointed moment. Yet the Genoese of Galatas [Pera] discovered what was going to take place and they informed the Turks, who spent that night sleepless and deployed their engines [cannon] to meet the attack of the Latins. Unaware of the message that the Galatians [Perenses] had dispatched to the impious [Turks], they lifted the anchor and the trireme made its silent way against the ships about midnight. The Turks, who had spent all night without sleep awaiting the attack, applied fire to the [gun] powder of their engine [cannon], and the stone was ejected and hit the trireme [galley] with a great deal of noise; she went under the waves and sank to the bottom of the sea along with her crew. This event created considerable fear and anxiety among the Latins and Giovanni [Giustiniani] became greatly discouraged. For those who went to the bottom of the sea were all from his ship and were energetic young men and good warriors; there were more than one hundred and fifty.

Giustiniani may have supervised an operation that is not explicitly mentioned in our eyewitness sources but finds an echo in Doukas' narrative.[77] In addition, Kritoboulos seems to agree when it comes to an operation planned by the emperor's warlord:[78]

> Ἰουστῖνος γὰρ ἄρας μίαν τῶν ὁλκάδων αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν τριήρεων τρεῖς ἐπάγει κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ κόλπου ἐφ᾽ οὗ ἐφώρμουν αἱ νῆες τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὁρμίζει αὐτοῦ, ἵν᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ποιοῖτο τὸν πόλεμον καὶ κατείργῃ τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μηδαμοῦ ἐκθεούσας ἢ βλάπτειν δυναμένας τόν τε λιμένα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ σκάφη. καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτο ἀρίστη βουλὴ καὶ ἀντιτέχνησις.... Μεχέμετις γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο ἰδὼν ἀντιτεχνᾶται τοίνδε· κελεύει τοὺς μηχανοποιοὺς νυκτὸς ἀπαγαγόντας λάθρᾳ τὰς μηχανὰς θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀντικρύ, οὗ ἐφώρμουν αἱ νῆες καὶ ἡ ὁλκάς, καὶ ἀφεῖναι τοὺς λίθους κατ᾽ αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ θᾶσσον τοῦτο ποιήσαντες βάλλουσι μίαν τῶν τριήρεων κατὰ μέσον καὶ καταδύουσιν αὔτανδρον πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπονηξαμένων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας τριήρεις. καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς ὄντες εὐθὺς ἀπάγουσί τε αὐτὰς ὡς πορρωτάτω καὶ ὁρμίζουσιν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο τάχος ἐγεγόνει, κατεδύοντ᾽ ἂν αἱ τριήρεις αὔτανδροι.

> Giustiniani moved his cargo boat and three Italian triremes [galleys] from the mouth of the harbor and directed them to the mouth of the gulf [Golden Horn] where the triremes of the king [sultan] were stationed. He directed them to attack in an effort to restrict the enemy vessels and prevent them from raiding the gulf [Golden Horn], the harbor, and the vessels within. This seemed the best plan but there was a counter-strategy. For Mehmed the king [sultan] saw what was occurring and made the following response: he ordered his artillerymen to move the engines [cannon] in secret under the cover of darkness and deploy them by the opposite shore, opposite the spot from which the ships and the cargo boat made their way, and ordered them to direct their fire at them. They did so swiftly and they struck one of the triremes [galleys] in the middle and she sank with all hands, except that a few managed to swim away to the other triremes [galleys]. Without delay the crew moved their ships as far away as possible and dropped anchor. If they had not done so with haste, the triremes [galleys] would have been sunk with all hands.

It is possible that Kritoboulos and Doukas have the Coco operation in mind; it is also possible that they are providing an account of a different operation, or operations following the Coco incident. They both emphasize the role of Giustiniani in this failed mission. There is reason, therefore, to believe that Giustiniani had an active interest in naval engagements and that prior to his arrival in Constantinople he had engaged in what may be termed acts of piracy on the high seas. While there is no evidence whatsoever to connect Giustiniani with any land operations prior to 1453, there are some hints in our evidence to suggest that he had been a corsair and a pirate in the Mediterranean.[79] Thus one may surmise that Giustiniani, who was in command of his own vessel, may have planned some unspecified, perhaps even minor, operation or operations that took place within the harbor, which, in the final analysis, will have to remain shrouded in darkness, in the absence of further evidence.

# IV. The Exodus

The final operation of the Christian fleet was its successful escape from the harbor[80] after the Ottoman forces had broken through the barricades and stockades at the Pempton. There were no engagements; the ships managed to flee unharmed, with one notable exception,[81] and brought the refugees to the west, precisely because the Turkish crews were too eager to join their comrades in the plunder of the city and were unwilling to skirmish with the departing ships. The prospect of easy booty was more palatable than a final confrontation against a desperate retreating enemy. The Ottoman crews, therefore, made no serious attempt to prevent the Christian boats laden with refugees from leaving the harbor.

A major problem confronting the Venetian flotilla in the harbor was the matter of escape, once it had become clear that the city had fallen and the land forces were no longer engaged in an organized and coordinated resistance. As we have observed, there was no real threat presented by the Turkish armada; its crews had grown to respect superior western tactics at sea and were unwilling to engage the Venetians in combat. In addition, they were more concerned with the prospect of immediate and effortless booty and were no longer willing to risk their lives in a futile attack upon the retreating ships. Moreover, the Turkish ships within the Golden Horn, whose crews were actively involved in an attempt to scale the sea walls before the gates had been opened, had not attempted to attack the Venetian vessels throughout the siege but had maintained a respectful distance. Doukas mentions this aspect of the sack that allowed some breathing room for the Venetians; but he also astutely points out that most of the captains of the Venetian vessels had either fallen in battle or had been captured by the Turks, because they had been transferred from the harbor and their ships to assist in the defense of the land sectors:[82]

> …καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ νῆαι ἑτοιμάζοντο· ἦσαν γὰρ αἱ πλεῖσται ἀποβαλόμεναι τοὺς ναυάρχους αὐτῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντας…. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ ἀσχολοῦντο τὰ πλοῖα τοῦ τυράννου ἐν τῇ πραίδᾳ [= *praedae*] καὶ τῷ σκυλμῷ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἂν ἀφέθη μία καὶ μόνον. Ἀλλ᾽ οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀφέντες τὰ πλοῖα, πάντες ἔνδον ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Λατῖνοι ἄδειαν εὑρόντες ἐξήρχοντο τοῦ λιμένος.

> …and the rest of the ships were getting ready [to sail away]. Most of them had lost their captains who had been captured…. Indeed if the ships of the tyrant [= sultan] had not been busy pillaging and looting the city, not a single ship would have escaped. Yet the Turks had deserted their ships and all had gone into the city. Thus the

> Latins obtained a chance to leave the harbor.

Barbaro is also explicit and suggests that the Turkish admiral may have intended to engage the Venetians at the commencement of the assault but soon changed his mind and directed his crews to disembark and attack the sea walls by the side of the Dardanelles. Further attracted by the prospect of easy booty, they also attacked the walls of the Giudecca, that is, away from the chain and the Venetian galleys:[83]

> *…una hora avanti zorno l'armada da mar si se levò da le colone, dove che quela se iera sorta, e quela se vene a prexentar per mezo la cadena del porto, e quela si vene per dar bataia a la cadena; ma el capetanio de quela sua armada si vete che el porto nostro si iera ben in ordene de nave, e de galìe, e masima a la cadena che ne iera nave diexe… e abiando quel capetanio paura de la nostra armada, lui se deliberò, e andò a combater driedo da la tera, da la banda del Dardanelo, e lasò el porto senza combater, e lì de driedo i montò in tera, e parte de quela armada muntò in tera de la banda da la zudeca, per poder meio robar per esser lì assai richeza in caxa de queli zudei, e masima de zoie*.
>
> …one hour before daylight the armada [of the Turks] left its anchorage at the Columns [= Diplokionion] and drew up before the harbor's chain, intending to attack. Yet the captain of that armada [= Hamza, the *kapudan paşa*] saw that our harbor was well protected by the ships, by the galleys, and especially by the chain where there were ten ships…. The captain became scared of our armada and decided to fight on land by the side of the Dardanelles; he left the harbor without launching an attack. A large section of his armada disembarked on land near the Giudecca, as it offered a better prospect for booty. There were many riches in the houses of the Jews, especially jewels.

Barbaro returns to same subject once more and emphasizes the interest of the Turkish crews in booty rather than combat:[84]

> *Ma quando la dita armada si vete con li ochi che cristiani avea perso Costantinopoli, e che l'insegna de Macomet bei turco si iera levada…tuti de quele setanta fuste si montò in tera; et simelemente muntò tuti queli de l'armada che iera da la banda del Dardanelo, e lassò le armade in tera a la riva senza niuno dentro, e questo fei, perché tuti corse furioxamente come cani in tera per zercar oro, zoie e altre richeze, e aver ancora prexoni di marcadanti, e forte zercava i monestieri.*
>
> But when the [crews of the] aforementioned armada saw with their

> own eyes that the Christians had lost Constantinople and that the colors of the Turk, Mehmed Beg, had been raised…all of them left the seventy boats and landed. Similarly, the [crews of the] armada by the side of the Dardanelles left their ships and disembarked; no one was left on board. All of them rushed furiously, like dogs, into the territory to search for gold, jewels, and other riches, as well as to capture merchants; above all, they searched the convents.

While the greed of the Turkish crews seems to have given the Venetians an opportunity to prepare for departure without having to fight, their departure was further facilitated by the incapacity of the Turkish vessels to offer serious pursuit, since some Greek and other prisoners had been herded into the holds of Turkish ships, rendering the craft incapable of further action:[85]

> *…e tute moneghe fo menade in l'armada, e quele tute fo vergognade e vituperade da lor Turchi; poi tute quele fo vendude per schiave al incanto per la Turchia, e tute donzele ancora, quele si fo vergognade, e poi vendude al bel incanto, ma algune de quele donzele più tosto se volse butar in neli pozi e anegarse, che dover andar in le man de Turchi; cusi fevei ancor el simele de le maridade. Questi Turchi cargò tuta la sua armada de prexoni, e de grandissimo aver.*

> …all nuns were sent to the [Turkish] armada and they were well dishonored and shamed by the Turks; then they were sold into slavery for profit throughout Turkey. The same fate awaited all women, who were shamed and then sold for handsome profit. But some of those women chose to drown themselves in wells rather than fall into hands of the Turks; so did some matrons. These Turks filled their entire armada with prisoners and enormous booty.

The seventy Turkish vessels that had been dragged overland and launched into the Golden Horn presented no threat to the Venetians. They failed to engage the Christian ships and the Venetians did not offer battle, because their vessels were, in all likelihood, lacking crew, men that had been sent to the land walls to assist in the fighting at the critical Saint Romanos-Pempton sector. That there was a shortage of seamen became obvious when they finally set sail to depart from the harbor. In fact, one of their ships was captured precisely because it could not make headway due to the shortage of sailors.[86] But during the assault, the seventy Turkish ships that had ignored the Venetians moved against the district of Phanarion,[87] by the Gate of Hagia Theodosia [Aya Kapı]:

> *Le setanta fuste, che iera dentro dal porto, le qual fuste iera capetanio*

> *Zagano basà, e quele tute setanta fuste, tute a una bota si referi in tera a uno luogo de la tera che se chiama el Fanari; e i cristiani che iera a quela posta suxo le mure valentemente quele si fexe tornar in driedo.*
>
> All seventy *fuste*, which had been transferred to the harbor over the mountain and were under the orders of Zaganos Pasha, moved *en masse* against the location called Phanarion [Fenar district]. But the Christians stationed at the post fought valiantly from the walls and forced them to withdraw.

The major problem confronting the Venetian captains as they contemplated departure was their own chain/boom that was still stretched across the mouth of the Golden Horn, in effect making the Venetians prisoners within the harbor of Constantinople. The boom had not been opened and was still blocking the entrance, denying entrance to the remainder of the Turkish armada and exit to the Venetians. The chain could not be opened from the Constantinopolitan side, since the fortifications had fallen to the control of the Turks and no one could reach the tower to lower the chain. Doukas does not in the least address the issue of the chain and Kritoboulos errs when he states[88] that the sultan's admiral broke the chain as the Christian ships were hastening from Constantinople. The departure of the Christian ships took time; it was the Venetian sailors who were compelled to force the chain and not the Ottoman crews. Further, the Venetian ships purposefully remained in the vicinity of the city in order to take on as many refugees as was possible who could reach the ships.

Because the Venetians had no access to the Constantinopolitan tower that controlled the chain/boom, the only way they could lower it would have been from the Genoese side of Pera.[89] Thus, in theory, the Genoese *podestà*, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, had control of the chain. During the siege, relations between the Venetians and Genoese had not improved; each deeply distrusted the other and accusations as well as charges of treason and faithlessness had been frequently voiced.[90] Their neutral stance and their frequent trade with the sultan's army had in general tainted the Genoese of Pera. After the siege a heavy cloud of suspicion fell upon them, especially since Giustiniani had abandoned the battle and his assigned sector at a critical phase during the final assault.[91] The commander of the Venetian flotilla immediately requested a meeting with the Genoese *podestà* of Pera, whom Barbaro neglects to mention by name. But Angelo Giovanni Lomellino seems to have been in favor of procrastinating. The *podestà* had an entire colony to safeguard and the Venetians were clearly the sultan's enemies. No doubt Lomellino wished to secure some assurances from the Porte in regard to his charge before he even created an impression that he would give assistance to the Venetians. After all, he and the Genoese would continue to reside in the area. Barbaro suggests that Lomellino equivocated regarding the actual status of the Venetians and Genoese *vis-à-vis* the sultan:[92]

> *Domandado misser Aluvixe Diedo conseio al podestà dito de Pera, el podestà si disse: "Misser lo capetanio, aspeté qua in Pera, che manderò uno ambasador al signor Turco, e sì vederemo si avemo nui Zenovexi e vui Vinitiani vera o paxe con lui."*
>
> Sir Aluvixe Diedo asked advice from the aforementioned *podestà* of Pera. The *podestà* said to him: "Lord captain: Wait for a while here in Pera and I will send an ambassador to the lord Turk and we will see if we Genoese and you Venetians are at war or at peace with him."

To make matters worse, the Venetians realized that during this discussion the *podestà* ordered that all gates of Pera be closed. Not only were the galleys of Venice trapped within the Golden Horn behind the chain, but their delegation, composed of all major commanders, including Barbaro himself, who had gone to visit Lomellino[93] were about to become prisoners of the Genoese of Pera. They probably began to question the actions of the *podestà,* who could have decided to hand them over to the Porte to obtain favorable status for his colony. Their precarious position was soon realized:[94]

> *Nui, che ieremo seradi, se vedevemo a esser a mala condition. Zenovexi si ne fexe questo, per dar le nostre galìe con el nostro aver in le man del Turco, ma niuno imbasador non fo mandado*.
>
> When we realized that we had been trapped, we understood how bad our situation was. The Genoese did this in order to surrender our galleys and our possessions to the hands of the Turk and sent no ambassador.

The Venetian crews also realized that their commanders were trapped and began preparations to sail away without them.[95] Finally, Lomellino gave in to the pleas of Diedo and released the Venetian commanders who hastened to their galleys:[96]

> *Ma el dito capetanio, che vete esser mezo imprexonao, con bone parole sepe far tanto, che el podestà l'avèrse, e insì fuora de la tera, e muntò de subito in la galìa sua.*
>
> Then the aforementioned captain [*sc*. Diedo], who had realized that we were *de facto* prisoners, employed all the good words that he

> knew, and asked the *podestà* [*sc*. Lomellino] to allow him to leave. He departed from the territory [of the Genoese] and without further delay went aboard his galley.

Lomellino was also in difficulty and he had legitimate fears for the fate of his colony, which could be sacked by the Turks at any moment. Numerous residents of Pera had joined the defenders in the final battle[97] and many of them, including Lomellino's own nephew, had become prisoners of the Turks.[98] Moreover, the nucleus of the Constantinopolitan defense had been the Genoese professional band of Giustiniani. The *podestà* at this point in the drama did not wish to offer any provocation to the Porte, since the eastern end of the chain blocking the entrance of the harbor was under his protection. He clearly had his hands full, not only with the Venetians but also with his own captains as well, who also wished to leave. The *podestà* was under immense pressure, as is evident almost one month later in his confused report to the authorities in Genoa.[99] While he relates nothing about his interaction with the Venetian captains, he writes of the problems that he had with the Genoese captains, who, in the final analysis disregarded his wishes and exasperated his precarious relations with the Porte:[100]

> *Ab alia disposui in salute provideri, et subito misi ambasciatores ad dominum, cum pulc<h>ris exeniis* [ξενίοις?], *dicendo: "Habemus bonam pacem," rogantes et se submittentes, vellet ipse nobis observare. Pro illo vero nullum responsum dederunt. Naves se tiraverunt ad locum pro velificando. Feci dicere patronis amore Dei et intuitu pietatis vellent stare tota die sequenti, quia eram certus facere <…> deberemus cum domino. Nil facere voluerunt; imo ad dimidiam noctem velificaverunt. In mane habita notitia domino de recessu navium, dixit ambasciatoribus… in salutem Constantinopolis fecimus quid possibile nobis fuisset…. Fuimus in maximo periculo.*

> I did all I could to ensure salvation, and I immediately sent ambassadors to the lord [= sultan], with beautiful presents and with a supplicating message: "We have a good peace," and asking him to observe it. They gave no reply to our message. Our ships were moving to a place from which they could sail away. I implored the captain, for the love of God and for our faith, to wait one more day, as I wished to ascertain…[101] with the lord [= sultan]. They were unwilling to listen and they sailed away in the middle of the night.[102] Early next morning it came to the attention of the lord [= sultan] that our ships had departed. He said to our ambassadors… that we had done everything in [our] power to save

> Constantinople…. We were in the greatest danger.

The troubles of the Venetians had not lessened, even though their commanders had somehow by-passed the confused and terrified *podestà* of the Perenses, who was clearly struggling to find a solution to the issues that he would soon be encountering an angry and victorious sultan. The Venetian flotilla was still trapped behind the mighty chain/boom and clearly it could expect no help from the Genoese. Thus the decision was made to break through the chain, a formidable task:[103]

> *…e subito montado* [*sc. el dito capetanio*] *che el fo in galìa, i comenzò a tirarse a iegomo verso la cadena, che iera a traverso del porto, ma quando fosemo a la cadena non podevemo insir fuora, perché da una banda e da l'altra la iera incaenada dentro de lo do zitade, zoè Costantinopoli e Pera. Ma do valenti homeni si salta suxo el zòco de la cadena, e con do manère quela cadena si taiò, e tosto pur a iegomo se tirasemo fuora e andasemo in levada a uno luogo che se chiama le Colone driedo Pera, che iera sorta l'armada del Turco*.

> …as soon as he [*sc*. the aforementioned captain, that is, Alvise Diedo] had boarded the galley, they began to row towards the chain that stretched across the harbor; but when we arrived at the chain we could not go beyond, as it was secured on both ends from within the two cities, that is, Constantinople and Pera. Then two brave men jumped on a link of the chain and cut it with two axes. So we rowed on and by dawn we reached a place called Columns [= Diplokionion], behind Pera, the anchorage of the Turk's armada.

It should be noted that the Venetians did not immediately flee to the south as soon as they had overcome this obstacle. They patiently remained at their anchorage for about six hours to allow time to pass for the refugees to reach the safety of their ships. While they awaited the arrival of specific individuals, Barbaro sadly notes that none of those whom they had expected managed to reach them, for they had all fallen into the hands of the enemy:[104]

> *Qua in questo luogo de le Colone stesemo per fina al mezo dì, aspetando se el podeva vignir in galìa qualche nostro marcadante, ma niuno non potè vignir, perché zà tuti si iera stadi prexi*.

> In this place, the Columns, we remained until midday, waiting for some of our merchants to come to the galley, but no one was able to come, because by then they had all been captured.

Nevertheless, scores of unexpected refugees must have reached the ships and must have been taken aboard. Tetaldi was one of those who was able to swim to the ships and was rescued.[105] The fact that the Venetian ships remained at this anchorage for some time was indeed a welcome development for potential refugees, as Tetaldi notes, and also observes that a large number was taken on board:[106]

> *Interea galeae quaedam Venetorum… praestolantes in mari a mane usque post meridiem in tuto loco se servabant iuxta urbem davastatam, desiderantes vitam Christianorum servare incolumem et illaesam. Venerunt autem ex illis fere quadringenti fugitivi.*
>
> Meanwhile some galleys of the Venetians went out to sea early in the morning and remained in a safe place near the plundered city until after midday, as they wished to protect and save as many Christians as possible. Almost four hundred refugees reached them.

Relative to the Tetaldi incident, we should mention the existence of a phantom crew. Clearly, Tetaldi continued to resist the Turks, even though it had become clear that the city had been penetrated. Such isolated pockets of resistance must have continued throughout Constantinople for some hours, if not days, after the ingression. A clear example of resistance is the fortified house of Loukas Notaras, the grand duke, whose retainers endured for some time after the entry of the Turks, until the grand duke himself reached the house and arranged surrender.[107] There is also mention of an isolated pocket that involved the supposed crew of a Cretan boat. Pseudo-Sphrantzes relates this occurrence and it should be stressed at the outset that his account is not supported by any other authoritative text; in fact, he is the only author to mention this incident:[108]

> Καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς πάντων ἐγένοντο [*sc.* οἱ Τοῦρκοι], ἄνευ δὲ τῶν πύργων τῶν λεγομένων Βασιλείου Λέοντος καὶ ᾽Αλεξίου ἐν οἷς εἰστήκασιν οἱ ναῦται ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης· αὐτοὶ γὰρ γενναίως ἐμάχοντο μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἕκτης καὶ ἑβδόμης ὥρας καὶ πολλοὺς τούρκους ἐθανάτωσαν, καὶ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος βλέποντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν δεδουλωμένην πᾶσαν αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἤθελον δουλωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔλεγον ἀποθανεῖν κρεῖττον ἢ ζῆν. Τοῦρκος δὲ τῷ ἀμηρᾷ ἀναφορὰν ποιήσας περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀνδρίας, προσέταξεν ἵνα κατέλθωσι μετὰ συμβάσεως καὶ ὦσιν ἐλεύθεροι αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ ναῦς αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀποσκευὴ ἣν εἶχον. καὶ οὕτως γενομένων πάλιν μόλις ἐκ τοῦ πύργου τούτου ἔπεισαν ἀπελθεῖν.
>
> They [*sc.* the Turks] took control of the entire area, with the exception of the towers Basileios, Leon, and Alexios, which were manned by Cretan sailors, who bravely continued the struggle into the sixth and seventh hour and killed many Turks. Although they saw their numbers and were aware that the whole city was enslaved, they refused to be enslaved and maintained that death

> was preferable to life. When a Turk reported their bravery to the emir [= sultan], he ordered them to come down, under a truce. He declared that they, their ship, and all their equipment would remain free. Even so, the Turks had trouble persuading the Cretans to abandon that tower.

Who were these sailors? Pseudo-Sphrantzes mentions them in another section of his narrative, when he apportions the distribution of the defenders along the walls:[109]

> Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πύλης τῆς λεγομένης ὡραίας φυλάττειν ὡρίσθησαν οἱ ναῦται καὶ οἱ ναύκληροι καὶ κυβερνῆται, οὓς εἶχεν ἡ ναῦς ἡ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης.

> And the protection of the vicinity of the gate called Horaia was given to the sailors, captains, and commanders of the ship from Crete.

There are the additional problems here concerning the topography of Melissourgos-Melissenos. First, he begins his narrative by mentioning the “towers Basileios, Leon, and Alexios” and concludes by stating that the sailors refused to come down from “that tower.” Does he mean one, two, or three towers? Furthermore, these names do not correspond to any known towers, even though our knowledge in regard to this matter is admittedly incomplete. In the nineteenth century, Paspates noted[110] an inscription on a tower by the Kontoskalion, east of Yedi Kule, that reads: †ΠΥΡΓΟCΛΕΟΝΤΟCΚΑΛΕΞΑΝ†,. which Paspates restored[111] as †Πύργος Λέοντος κ<αὶ> Ἀλεξάν<δρου>†,, “†The Tower of Leon a<nd> Alexan<der>†.” He further states:[112]

> Ὁ πύργος οὗτος μετὰ τῶν παραπλησίων αὐτοῦ πυργίων εἶναι, νομίζω, οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραντζῆ καλούμενοι πύργοι τῶν λεγομένων Βασιλείου, Λέοντος καὶ Ἀλεξίου.

> This tower together with the adjacent lower towers, are, I believe, the towers mentioned by Phrantzes [= Pseudo-Sphrantzes] as “Basileios, Leon, and Alexios”.

Besides the coincidence of the name “Leon,” there is nothing further that can support this identification. Clearly, the inscription mentions “Alexander” and not “Alexios.” Moreover, “Basileios” is nowhere to be found. There are absolutely no grounds, other than wishful thinking, to recommend this identification. In addition, the second passage of Pseudo-Sphrantzes suggests that these towers must be in the vicinity of the Horaia Gate, which cannot be located near the Kontoskalion area. Based on the order of the Pseudo-Sphrantzes’ narrative, the

Horaia Gate has been sought on the other side of the city, along the Golden Horn.[113]

Be that as it may, it seems preferable to relegate this incident, its topography, and the presence of Cretan crews, to the imagination and inventiveness of Pseudo-Sphrantzes, who does not hesitate to invent participants and inserts them into his composition[114] in order to promote his own agenda.[115] In all likelihood, we are not encountering a historical event that has been overlooked by all other sources.[116] The Cretan ships that were present during the siege defended the Golden Horn along with the Venetian fleet and they also joined the Venetian exodus, under their commanders, Philomates, Sgouros,[117] and Hyalinas. They were stationed with the Venetian fleet throughout the siege and their crews had not been transferred to the land walls. They escaped with the Venetians and reached Crete one month later, as has been recorded by a scribe at the monastery of Ankarathos.[118]

At noon the Venetian flotilla finally set sail and departed the area. The galley of Alvise Diedo set the course; it was followed by the galley of Girolamo (Jeruolemo) Morozini (Morexini). The third galley to proceed under the command of Dolfin Dolfin could hardly move, for she had lost one hundred and forty of her crew. She was followed by the galley of Gabriel Trevisano (Trivixan), even though the Turks had captured him. Then came the three ships from Crete under Venier, Philomates, and Hyalinas. A fourth galley from Crete under Grioni was the only casualty;[119] the Turks captured her, but Barbaro[120] provides no particulars about this incident. To this list of departing vessels we should mention Sgouros and his ship, as he too arrived in Crete a month later with the other Cretan captains and their vessels.

Barbaro admits that favorable weather assisted the flotilla in making its escape. In truth, it was a fortuitous circumstance, for the ships could have been immobilized and could easily have fallen into the hands of the Turks:[121]

> *…e tuti andasemo in conserva nave e galìe per infina fuora del streto, con una buora a più de dodexe mia per ora; si el fose stà bonaza o vento in prova, tuti nui saremo stadi prexi.*

> …we all, ships and galleys, proceeded under a *buora* [northeasterly wind], with a speed greater than twelve miles per hour. Had it been calm or had the wind changed direction we would all have become prisoners.

The fleet faced no further obstacles. It sailed across the Aegean without incident and finally reached Negroponte (Khalkis in Euboea), where it made a stop before proceeding to Venice to bring the sad news to western Christendom of the fall of the imperial city.[122] Diedo had been in command of the departing ships and of the voyage home. He remained justly proud of this accomplishment and recorded this information on his tombstone,[123] which still exists in Venice: *BIZANTIO CAPTO…VENETORUM CLASSEM PER MEDIOS HOSTES TUTO IN PATRIAM EREXIT*, "after Byzantium [= Constantinople] was captured, he led the fleet for the Venetians through the middle of the enemy [forces] and brought them safely home."

In conclusion, the exodus of the Venetian flotilla was assisted by the following factors:

1. Favorable winds.
2. The quick decision of Diedo and his crews to depart against the wishes of the Genoese *podestà* of Pera.
3. The ability to cut through the links of the massive chain blocking their way at the mouth of the Golden Horn.
4. The fear of the Ottoman crews to engage an inferior force that was nevertheless well equipped and the Turkish respect for the superior western naval tactics.
5. The greed of the Ottoman crews to join the land forces in search of booty in Constantinople and their unwillingness to fight a retreating flotilla transporting refugees.

As a last observation, we note that once the sack commenced, the authorities on both sides had little control over the individual units and apparently all discipline immediately evaporated. Lomellino could neither persuade the Venetian captains to grant him time nor his Genoese captains to remain in Pera. Furthermore, the sultan must have been enraged when he observed the Venetian flotilla depart from the area while his armada had been incapacitated by the absence of crews. His anger must have increased when he discovered the following morning that a number of Genoese ships had also departed. It was not simply the escape of his Venetian enemies, slipping unopposed through the Ottoman lines, that must have disturbed him. There was also a great deal of wealth in the form of valuable merchandise that departed with the Venetian and Genoese ships.

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# Notes

[1] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 930 (*CC* 1: 136): …*ducentarum et quinquaginta fustarum ex diversis… litoribus…classis venit, inter quas triremes sex et decern, biremes septuaginta, reliquae fustae unius banchoremis; cymbae etiam barculaeque sagittariis ad ostentationem plenae vehebantur*. Elsewhere, he presents a summary, *PG* 159: 931 (*CC* 1: 140), of the ships that attacked the four Christian vessels that had come to the relief of Constantinople: *erant quae invaserant naves, inter triremes et biremes, circiter ducentae*. As usual, Leonardo is followed by Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (12): …*erano trireme 16. fuste bireme 70., el resto fuste, cimbe e barchette, anno per bancho*…. Surprisingly, the *Anonymous Barberini* departs from Leonardo's text and presents different numbers and generalities, 16: τὰ κάτεργα τὰ τούρκικα…καὶ φοῦστες καλὰ ἀρματωμένα, …κάτεργα καὶ φοῦστες ἕως ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι…καὶ πολλὲς βάρκες καὶ ἄλλα πλεούμενα. Sansovino ch. III, 99, remains faithful to his prototype: …*erano sei galere, e ch'echi da due remi per banco, et settanta altre fuste da vn remo per banco. Menauano anche barche, & altri legni*….

[2] Barbaro 21 (*CC* 1: 15; this is a short extract; most of the text has been omitted).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Tetaldi *Caput III*. The equivalent French version reads as follows (V): *L'armée du Turc estant tant au port que dehors de seize à dix-huit gallées, soixante, ou soixante-dix galliotes, de dix-huit à vingt vans, de saize à vingt barques petites, comme pour porter chevaulx & fustes*.

[5] Doukas 38.6.

[6] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 935 (omitted by *CC* 1): *buccinis jugiter et ululatibus Matrem invitabant*, faithfully followed by Languschi-Dolfin fol. 317 (20): *cum trombe et cridori continui accendeua et inuitaua ala pugna*; by Sansovino ch. III, 104; by Pseudo-Sphrantzes 3.5.6: μετὰ σαλπίγγων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ φωνῶν ἀναριθμήτων…εἰς μάχην ἐκάλουν…; and by the *Anonymous Barberini* 21: καὶ ἐβάρειε τὶς τρουμπέτες καὶ ἐκάλειε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰσὲ πόλεμον. Of course, it should be recalled here that each Venetian galley routinely included about twenty musicians among its crew, who were able to make a great deal of noise and rouse the blood of the crew to a fighting pitch.

[7] Kritoboulos was not an eyewitness and is certainly in the minority when he reports, 36.3: ἐπίπλους τοῦ Παλτόγλη [= Baltaoğlu, the Ottoman admiral] κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ὁλκάδων καὶ τῆς ἁλύσεως καὶ ναυμαχία κρατερὰ καὶ ἀποτυχία, that upon arrival, the Ottoman admiral received orders from the sultan to force his way into the harbor of Constantinople. Kritoboulos astutely observes that the Christian defenders had the advantage of fighting from higher decks: ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ μαχόμενοι καὶ ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες…ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοτάτου τῆς τῶν ἱστίων στεφάνης, and easily repelled the Turkish attack upon the boom. The authoritative narrative of Barbara, who would not have failed to report an incident

of this type, if it actually had occurred, contradicts him. Leonardo presents some information on the numbers of the defending ships, *CC* 1: 136: *Quae cinctum cathena portum et navibus rostratis bene armatis, Genuensium septem, Cretensium tribus*, followed by Sansovino ch. III, 99: … *cinto il porto da vna catena, & guernito di naui bene annate, sette di Genouesi, & tre di Candiotti*. The most detailed modern analysis of the defending forces, including the number of ships securing the harbor, can be found in *PaL* 2: 110–112, and nn. 9, 10, and 11.

[8] Barbara 15 (*CC* 1, 13): *A di do april, el serenissimo imperador si comando a ser Bortolamio Soligo, che dovesse des tender la cadena a traverso del porto, zoè da Costantinopoli fina in Pera; el dito ser Bartolamio Soligo per comandamento del imperador si destexe la cadena a traverso del porto, e questa tal cadena si iera de legnami grossissimi e redondi, e innarpexadi uno cun l'altro cun feri grossi, e cun cadene grosse de fero, e li cavi de la cadena, uno cavo si iera, dentro da le mure de Costantinopoli, e l'altro cavo si iera dentro da le mura de Pera per più segurtade de la dita cadena*.

[9] Barbara 58 (*CC* 1: 36): …*ma quando fosemo a la cadena non podevemo insir fuora, perché da una banda e da l'altra la iera incaenada dentro de lo zitade, zoè Costantinopoli e Pera. Ma do volenti homeni si salta suxo el zòco de la cadena, e con do manerè que la cadena si taiò, e tosto pur a iegomo se tirasemo fuora e andasemo in levada a uno luogo che se chiama le Colone driedo Pera, dove che iera sorta l'armada del Turco*. On this famous, massive chain, cf. R. Guilland, "La Chaîne de la Corne d'Or," *EEBΣ* 25 (1955): 88–120. Until recently, a fragmentary section of what purports to be the original chain was exhibited in the Military Museum (Askeri Müze) of Istanbul, before it was renovated, in a room that had been devoted to the siege of 1453. In actuality, the links that had been on exhibit in the Military Museum seem less massive and may belong to the chain that guarded the port of Rhodes, which was brought to Constantinople in 1522 after this island's surrender to Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. A black-and-white photograph of inferior quality, depicting this chain, can be found in the Greek translation by Protopsaltes of Schlumberger, p. 73. The earlier enriched translation into Greek of the same book by Lampros, Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος, also includes a black-and-white photograph of the same chain at the end of the book. Both photographs were taken before the chain had been transferred to the museum and had been lying outdoors in Istanbul.

[10] Barbara 23 (not in *CC* 1) first speaks of three cargo boats and then of four. Isidore never mentions this event in his surviving correspondence, and neither does Tetaldi. Leonardo also notes four ships, *PG* 159: 931 (*CC* 1: 138): *Interea ex Chio in nostrum subsidium tres Genuenses armis, militibus frumentoque conductae naves, unam imperatoris, quae ex Sicilia frumento onusta adventarat, comitem ducebant*. He is closely followed by Languschi-Dolfin: *In questo tempo mezo da Chio uenne in soccorso nostro tre naui genoese armate condutte cum formento. Una del imperator che de Sicilia ueniua carga del formento;* by the *Anonymous Barberini* 17: Καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἤρθανε τρία καράβια Γενουβήσικα μὲ ἕνα τοῦ βασιλέως φορτωμένα στάρι …διὰ βοήθειαν τῆς Πόλης ἀπὸ τὴν Χίο; and by Sansovino ch. IV, 99–100: *In questo mezzo tre naui Genouesi curiche d'arma, di soldati, & di fromento partire de Chio*. Pusculo is quite clear: three Genoese and one imperial vessel, 4. 360, 361 968 (omitted by *CC* 1): *Tres Genuae extollunt insignia puppibus altis, / Ultima sed regis Danaum se adjunxerrat una*. Doukas, however, speaks of five ships: four Genoese (that had been hired by the emperor) and one imperial vessel that came from the Morea (and not from Sicily), 38.7:

αἱ δὲ νῆαι…πέντε, μία ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως φέρουσα φόρτον τὸν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου σῖτον, αἱ δ᾽ ἄλλαι τέσσαρες ἐκ Γένουας ῥογευθῆσαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

Kritoboulos records three ships that had been sent by "the Roman *pontifex*" [that is, the pope]. 1.39.1: ...τρεῖς τῶν μεγάλων ὁλκάδων...ἃς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔπεμψεν ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεύς. Against those ships the Ottoman armada deployed two hundred triremes [galleys] and biremes, according to Leonardo, *PG* 159: 931 (*CC* 1: 140): *erant quae invaserant naves, inter triremes et biremes, circiter ducentae*. In addition, cf. *PaL* 2: 118, n. 37.

[11] On "Phlantanelas," who was really Lecanella, cf. *supra*, ch. 3: "A 'Chronicle' and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes," nn. 81–88.

[12] Their confidence is demonstrated by the festive manner with which they launched their attack, as observed by Leonardo, PG 159: 931 (*CC* 1: 138–140): *Quas* [*sc. naves*] *ut mox vicinas urbi classis, quae extrinsecus excubabat, applicare vidisset, concite strepentibus tympanis tubisque sonantibus, intuentibus nobis, obvadit fingens imperatoris navem expugnare velle*. It is further noted by numerous eyewitness authors that the sultan came to the shore to observe the engagement, which had been assured of victory; in this case the narratives almost suggest parallels with Xerxes observing the sea battle at Salamis. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that the sultan observed the activities, because the defenders could see him from the walls and our sources add some details that clearly derive from direct observation. Thus it is noted by some that during the engagement the sultan became so enraged with the performance of his naval forces that he spurred his horse on into the sea and rent his garments: Leonardo, *PG* 159: 931 (*CC* 1: 140): *Rex sc*. sultan], *qui ex colle circumspicit quod classis perit, blasphemat, urget equum in salum, vestimenta cum furore conscindit*. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (14): *El signor Turcho, che desopra il monte uede perir l'armada, biastema, spirono el cauallo in mar, squarza le ueste*. Such details have also found their way into the text of Doukas 38.7: ὁ δὲ τύραννος [*sc.* Mehmed] ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἀλαζονείας ὁρμήσας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐποχούμενος ἵππῳ, ἐφαντάζετο σχίζειν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἕως αὐτῶν τῶν νηῶν διὰ τοῦ ἵππου πλεῦσαι. While Kritoboulos notes that the sultan was on his horse observing the engagement, he fails to mention his ride into the water. After all, Kritoboulos composed his text for the eyes of Mehmed, in whose library the manuscript eventually surfaced. He could ill afford to make direct mention of a humiliating incident for the sultan, Cf. I.41.1: βασιλεὺς [*sc*. sultan] δὲ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἑστὼς ἔφιππος ἑώρα τὰ δρώμενα...εὐθὺς ἠνιᾶτο ὑπερβαλλόντως καὶ πλήξας τὸν ἵππον ἀνεχώρησε σιωπῶν.

[13] Discussed in detail by Pears, pp. 258–265, and Appendix II, pp. 436–443; also cf. *FC*, pp. 100–103 ; and *PaL* 2: 117–118; it is ignored by *MCT*.

[14] Cf. the comment of Kritoboulos, quoted *supra*, n. 7, with which Pusculo agrees, especially in connection with this engagement, 4.364 (omitted by *CC* 1): *Quatuor ecce rates turritis moenibus aequae*.

[15] *PG* 159: 931 (*CC* 1: 140); he is followed closely by Languschi-Dolfin (who omits the thanksgiving exclamation, which will be nevertheless be repeated by Sansovino), fol. 315 (14): *La naue illese ne morto pur uno homo, ma molti feridi la nocte cum iocundita intrornono nel porto;* by Sansovino ch. IV, 100: *Le naui adunque entrarono la notte per gratia di Dio nel porto, senza esse offese, & senza che vi morisse alcuno, fuor che alcuni pochi che furon feriti;* and by the *Anonymous Barberini* (which adds, perhaps as a conjecture, that the wounded died afterwards), 18: Τότε ἐγλυτώσανε ὅλα αὐτὰ τὰ καράβια καὶ ἐμπήκασι μέσα εἰς τὴν Πόλι καλὰ τὴν νύκτα, χωρὶς νὰ βλαφτοῦνε ποσῶ· καὶ ἀποθάνασι ὀλίγοι λαβωμένοι.

[16] Barbaro 24 (omitted by *CC* 1).

[17] The admiral's name is reported in our sources as Baltoğlu; Tursun Beg 35 is the only source to state his full name: Balta-oğlu Süleiman Beg. According to Doukas, who had personally talked with Hamza, the admiral's successor, Baltoğlu had originally been a Christian but after he was enslaved he became a renegade. He even

identifies his family in Bulgaria, and suggests that his Turkish name derives from his family name, 38.7:

ἦν δ᾿ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἕλκων, τινὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων Βουλγαρίας υἱός, Πάλδα ἐπονομαζόμενος. Ἐδουλώθη οὖν πρὸ καιροῦ καὶ ἐξωμόσατο τὸ πάτριον σέβας καὶ ἦν δοῦλος πατρικὸς τοῦ Μεχεμέτ.

There is no agreement on the origins of Hamza. In the Cornet edition of Barbaro 25, n. 4, Hamza is identified as *figlio di Pietro Loredano, capitano all'epoca della rotta di Murad II*$^{do}$. This identification is suspicious and remains a dubious attribution. Pietro Loredan, a member of a distinguished and ancient Venetian noble family, was "generale d'armata nel 1421–1424, nella difesa di Constantinopoli...," according to the *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 21 (Rome, 1934): 490. This is confirmed in the account of Languschi-Dolfin that relates par. 1: "It was decided on February 15 [1453] that the captain of the sea with fifteen galleys and two ships of 800 *botte* be sent to assist Constantinople. On the twentieth it was decided in the Grand Council that Sir Jacomo Loredan, the son of Messier Piero [Pietro]... be appointed Captain of the Sea." The fleet did not reach Constantinople before the fall of the city on May 29; hence the claim of Hamza to be Jacomo Loredan is very suspect. Perhaps he was a Venetian Christian renegade of lesser rank who assumed the identity of Jacomo Loredan. Turkish (secondary) sources make no similar claim and appear to identify Hamza as a descendant of a native Anatolian family sharing a patronymic that is evident among many kindred lines. For the exploits of and difficulties for Hamza Beg in Chios and then Cherson in 1454 and 1455, cf. Doukas 43.1–14.

[18] Doukas 38.7:

Ἀχθέντος οὖν καὶ ῥιφέντος καὶ ὑπὸ τεσσάρων τανυσθέντος, αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγεμὼν οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἔτυψεν δοὺς ἑκατὸν σὺν μιᾷ χρυσῇ ῥάβδῳ.... Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καταφρονηθέντα...εἷς τῶν ἀζαπίδων λίθας ἄρας καὶ κατὰ κόρης κρούσας ἐξώρυξε τὸν ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ. Doukas hints that this rough treatment by the common soldiers may have been prompted by the behavior of the admiral himself, who, in the past, had been stingy in distributing the spoils to his raiders:

ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπελάταις οὐ καλὸς φίλος, ἁρπάζων αὐτῶν τὰ λάφυρα.. Kritoboulos 1.41.1, however, states that the admiral lost an eye in the engagement against the Christian ships:

βάλλεται δὲ καὶ Παλτόγλης ὁ τοῦ στόλου ἡγεμὼν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν λίθῳ.. Perhaps Kritoboulos has altered the facts because he did not wish to portray the sultan in an undignified manner. The sultan in other sources is portrayed as personally beating his admiral, who was being held by others. Ultimately, Kritoboulos intended his work for the eyes of the sultan himself. Kritoboulos, nevertheless, agrees that the admiral was dismissed and supplies the name of his successor:

παραλύει μέντοι τοῦτον εὐθὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ παραδίδει τόν τε στόλον καὶ τὴν σατραπείαν Καλλιουπόλεως Χαμουζᾷ.

Leonardo presents similar information on Baltaoğlu, *CC* 1: 140: Rex *contra classis prafectum Baltoglum oppido indignatus, precibus baronum concessa eidem vita, sententiam tulit quod officio et bonis omnibus privaretur;* he is imitated by his followers: cf., e.g., Languschi-Dolfin (who suppresses the admiral's name), fol. 315 (14): *el Turcho disdegnato disponendo occider el capitanio a preghiere de bassadi, quello confino et priuo de sui beni;* Sansovino ch. IV, 100: *Il Re sdegnato, & grauamente adicato con Baltoglo Capitano dell 'armata, hauendogli a preghiere de i Baroni conceduta la vita,* *sententià che fosse priuato dell'officio, & priuato di tutti i suoi beni;* and the *Anonymous Barberini* (which, like Languschi-Dolfin, also omits the admiral's name), 18:καὶ ὁ σουλτάνος ἤθελε νὰ φουρκίση τὸν καπετὰν πασᾶ, ὁποὺ ἦτονε εἰς τὴν ἀρμάδα· καὶ τὸν ἐπαρακαλέσανε οἱ ἄλλοι πασᾶδες καὶ ἐχάρισε τὴν ζωήν του, ἀλήθεια τὸν ἐξώρισε. It is perhaps significant that Pseudo-Sphrantzes also omits the name of the admiral but adds, on his own authority, that the sultan was enraged with his admiral because the Christian ships managed that night to slip into the harbor through the chain/boom: δι᾿ ἀπροσεξίας τούτου καὶ ἀνωφελίας τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἐξαλίξασαι εἰσῆλθον ἐν τῷ λιμένι. Cf. *Maius* 3.5.1: ὁ ἀμηρᾶς δὲ τοσοῦτον μανεὶς καὶ λυπηθεὶς κατὰ τοῦ στόλου δρουγγαρίου ἤθελεν αὐτὸν ἀνασκολοπίσαι…τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς βουλῆς καὶ αὐλῆς τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ ἐδεήθησαν καὶ οὕτως τοῦ ζῆν τῷ δρουγγαρίῳ ἐχαρίσατο, πλὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος αὐτὸν ἐγύμνωσε καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἰαννιτζάροις ἐχαρίσατο.

Barbara treats this incident in detail, more so than any other author and reports direct conversation between the sultan and Baltaoğlu. Barbara 23–26 (not in *CC* 1), relates: *A di vinti pur de questo mexe de aprile a ora de terza, avessemo vista de quatro nave grosse, che vignia suxo per il dardanelo da ponente, le quaL vigniva da Genova credese, e vignia a Costantinopoli per dare soccorso a la zità; etiam vene per uno comandamento che fexe el serenissimo imperador de Costantinopoli a Zenovexi, che zascaduna nave de Zenovexi, che vignisse per secorso de Costantinopoli, e quele fosse carghe de che sorta marcadantia se voia, fosse liberamente franche tute marcadantie de ogni gabela aspetasse a l'imperador. Vignando a vela le dite quatro nave con ostria fresca, e d'agnora quele aproximandose verso l'angusoxa zitade, e come piaxete a Dio, quando queste quatro nave fo per mezo la zitade de Costantinopoli, subito el vento i bonazò, e trovarse le dite nave esser in gran bonaza; siando romaxe quele in bonaza, l'armada da mar de Machomet bej Turco perfido a la fede cristiana, si se mosse cun gran vigoria de anemo, la qual armada si se trova esser sorta a le colone, e con gran sonari de nacare, e cridori si vene verso le quatro nave con una vuoga rancada, come homeni volonteroxi de aver vitoria contra el suo inimigo; ma pur non i zova a pregar el suo Machometo che i desse vitoria; anzi le pre giere de nui Cristiani, el nostro eterno Dio l'exaudi, che in questa bataja nui avessemo vitoria, come qui de sotto vederete, Vignando le quatro nave a vela, e quele esser cadute in bonaza, l'armada del Turco si se mosse, e vene in ver queste nave. El capetanio de l'armada del Turco fo el primo che investi cun gran ardir in la pope de la nave de l'imperador de Costantinopoli, e tuta altra armada si investì come…meio fra tute quatro nave, ma pur la galia del capetanio de Turchi mai non se mosse cun i speroni da la pope del serenissimo imperador, zoè da la sua nave, dagandoi aspra bataja; e cusi tuta altra armada del Turco dagando asprissima bataja; e tute quatro nave, tal nave, avea cinque galie atorno, tal nave avea trenta fuste, tal avea quaranta parandarie, per modo che el dardanelo, si iera coverto de fusti armadi, apena che se podesse veder aqua da tanta armada de questi malvaxi cani. La bataia durò salvo do ore in tre, e niuna de le parte non ave vitoria, ma pur le quatro nave nostre de cristiani ave più bel honor, e questo perchè abiando abudo adosso de sì, vele zento e quaranta cinque de Turchi, d'esser scapolade da lor. Siando stade cusi combatude, e iera cadude in bonaza, forzo i fo a sorzer, e sorse per me' la zitade de Costantinopoli, pur cun spavento de lor armada, che la note non fosse assaltade. Ma siando imbrunida la notte, nui fessemo bona provixion, per dar soccorso a lor nave; fo mandado misser Chabriel Trivixan vizo capetanio de do galie de misser Zaccaria Grioni el cavalier, e andò fuora de la cadena del porto de Costantinopoli cun gran vigoria e de sonari de trombe, e de gran cridori de zurme, per demostrar al nemigo nostro, che fosse assai più armada de quelo (che) la iera; avea do e tre trombete per galia, parea fosse almen venti galie, e Turchi vedando questo remor, forte* *se terne, e queste do nostre galie se remurchiò le quatro nave dentro del porto de Costantinopoli cun salvamento. L'armada del Turco volentiera si stete forte al sorzador a le colone; dubitava lor Turchi, che la nostra armada non fusse tuta levada, per andar a trovar lor Turchi. — El zorno seguente, che fo adi vinti uno de april, el signor Turco si se mosse dal campo, zoè da le mure de Costantinopoli, e cavalcò cun zerca diexemillia cavalli, e vene a le colone dove che iera la sua armada, per veder e intender qual fo la caxon che el suo capetanio de la soa armada non avea possudo piar cun tanta armada quatro nave solamente. El signor Turco quando el fo azonto a l'armada, de subito fexe scender in terra el capitanio de l'armada soa, e quelo fece vignir a la sua prexentia, e in quelafiada el perfido Turco pien de tosego cuntra el capetanio si dise: traditor de la fede de Machometo, e traditor de mi to signor, ma qual è stada la caxon che tu non ha posudo piar, cun tanta armada che tu hai soto ti, quatro nave de cristiani, le qual avei bel combater per esser quele stade in bonaza morta? ma non abiando prexo quele, come voratu prender l'armada che son in porto in Costantinopoli? Respoxe el suo capetanio al signor Turco: signor, varda con i ochi, e poi tu porai creder cun el cuor, e te vo pregar non voler corer a furia; tu vedi cun li ochi tui, che pur solamente de la mia galia ne sun sta morti da queli cristiani de le nave, combatendo, persone cento e quindexe de la leè de Machometo, e tu sai, e per vista de tuti, che mai con li spironi de la mia galia non me ne partii da pope de la nave de l'imperador d'agnora combattendo aspramente, e la sperientia se vede con gli ochi, li omeni che me sun stadi morti, e cusì ne sun sta morti assai de le altre galie, e de queli de le fuste e parandarie senza numero, e messi a fondo di brigantini, si che dal canto mia ho fato tuto el forzo che mai ho possuto, si che signor, te voio pregar, che tu me diebi perdonar, e non voler corer a furia. El signor Turco, come homo indiavolào e pien de ogni mal pensier, e mal desposto sora el suo capetanio senza altro respeto a la prima loi dixe: traditor, e te voio mi medemo taiarte la testa; el capetanio cun tante sue bone parole sape far, che el se sparagna la vita soa, e scampa quela furia bestial del suo signor. Ma el signor Turco privò quelo de esser più capetanio de quela armada, e privado che fo el dito capetanio de la sua capetanaria, el se fexe avanti el fiol de colui, che fo capetanio quando che fo de misser Piero Loredan, quando fo de la rotta del pare de questo Turco, e disse constui al signor Turco: Signor si tu me fa capetanio de questa tua armada, e che staga al impeti de cristiani, da mo te imprometo de darte tuta l'armada de Cristiani in ne le man a man salva, e si vignarò a far la vendeta de mio pare, e si questo che te ho dito non serà vero, da mo te digo senza dir altro, farame taiar la testa de prexente; e al Turco i consona el suo parlar, e filo capetanio zeneral da mar de tuta la soa armada, e dege de prexente el baston in man, e avelo fato so capetanio, che el fosse in pè de la persona del signor, a far e desfar come capetanio, come è lè zeneral.*

[19] On Şeyh Aq-Şemseddin, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," n. 245.

[20] On this incident, cf. İnalcik, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," pp. 252–253. We should not place too much emphasis on Mehmed's reliance on holy men. Mehmed II was a pragmatist and not a religious zealot. It should be remembered that Baltaoğlu's replacement, Hamza, was also a convert, a fact that disturbed the Venetians, for Hamza appears to have had Venetian origins. Cf. Barbaro 25 (not in *CC* 1): *Ma el signor Turco privò quelo [Baltoğlu] de esser più capetanio de quela armada, e privado che fo el dito capetanio de la sua capitanaria, el se fexe avanti el fiol de colui, che fo capetanio quando che fo de misser Pietro Loredan, quando fo de rotta del pare de questo Turco….*

[21] Tursun Beg 35; the text is adopted from the summary translation by Murphy.

[22] Leonardo's followers, Languschi-Dolfin, Sansovino, and the *Anonymous Barberini*, blindly conform to the chronology of their prototype. Pseudo-Sphrantzes, however, who must have been aware of this discrepancy, chose to abandon the text of Leonardo at this point and transferred the imitated passages to the section dealing with the events after the naval engagement. In general, modern historians have

disregarded this discordant note and by-pass, in silence, the chronological problem. Barbara is explicit: the operation took place on April 22, two days after the sea battle. Cf. Barbara 26 (*CC* 1: 17–18): *A di vintido pur de questo mexe de april, lo signor Turco…fexe per inzegno de dover traghetar parte de la sua armada… dentro dal porto de Costantinopoli.…*

[23] *TIePN*, p. 154: *Interea litterae Venetorum ad imperatorem ab hostibus intercipiuntur, <in> quibus nostri nostri commonebantur quindecim naves futuro mense praesidio Venturas. Quam ob rem, sum praesidium aberat, regi visum est acrius oppugnationem fore parandam; sed quum vidisset urbem a se frustra obsideri nisi mari etiam oppugnaretur, novum atque arduum consilium inire cepit. Nam quum ob ligneam compaginem in portum classem deducere minime posset, statuit, si secus fieri, nequiret naves curribus per terram devehere.*

[24] In general, cf. *FC*, pp. 105 ff.; *OGN*, p. 196; *MCT*, p. 88; Pears, pp. 269–276; and Zoras, *τὴν Ἅλωσιν, Περὶ* pp. 100–112.

[25] This number is quoted by Barbara 27 [*CC* 1: 18], who was stationed at the harbor and had ample opportunity to count the Turkish vessels. He further specifies that these light vessels were propelled by fifteen to twenty oars: *e come Turchi si vede che questo inzegno i vignia bene, i andava traghetando ancora de queste so fuste minor, le qual fuste si iera de banchi quindexe, fina banchi vinti…abiandone tragetà dentro dal porto de Costantinopoli ben fuste setantado*. Cardinal Isidore, in his letter to Cardinal Bessarion, mentions ninety-two *uniremes* and *biremes* (*CC* 1: 72): *…viam montanam trium milium passuum et ultra sterni iussit Turcus ad traiciendas ab una parte montis Galatae in alteram biremes et soliremes nonaginta duas*. Tetaldi *Caput III* reports that seventy-five vessels (and includes galleys among them) were transported: *circiter septuaginta quinque galeas aliasque naves;* the equivalent French passage specifies *de soixante-dix à quatre-vingt gallées que autres fustes armées*. Leonardo, *PG* 159: 34, mentions only *biremes,* without numbers. Pusculo does not mention numbers but specifies "a section of the fleet," 4.570 [not in *CC* 1]: *pars classis erat Phrygia convecta*. The secondary narrative of Doukas mentions eighty biremes, 38.9: ὀγδοήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αἱ διήρεις, while Kritoboulos specifies sixty-seven ships. 1.42.6: στόλος οὐ μικρός, νῆες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα.

[26] *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, p. 136: …ὁ πολυμήχανος Σουλτάνος…διέταξε ἵνα… διὰ τῶν ὑψηλῶν λόφων τοῦ Σταυροδρομίου… λειάνῃ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ὑψώματα τοῦ Σταυροδρομίου ἀνωφερῆ ὁδόν, καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν μέχρι τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Κασὴμ πασά.

[27] Pears, p. 272: "There existed a path from a place on the Bosporus near the present Tophana to the Springs [now known as Cassim Pasha] at right angles to the road on the ridge to Pera Hill… giving to Pera its modern Greek name of Stavrodromion.… It was probably along this route that the sultan determined to haul his ships."

[28] *FC*, p. 105: "…a road from Tophane up the steep valley…to the present Taksim Square…a little to the left and… down to… Kasimpaşa."

[29] Barbaro 27 (*CC* 1: 18): *malvaxio pagano* and *questo can*, instead of his usual *lo signor Turco*.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 934 [partial text in *CC* 1: 136–138], presents similar information: *Est enim portus ille, beatissime Pater, in longum angustum protractus: cujus orientalem plagam colligatae naves et catena muniebant: inde hostibus auditus impossibilis erat. Quare ut coangustaret circumvalleretque magis urbem, jussit invia aequare: exque colle suppositis lenitis vasis lacertorum sex, ad stadia septuaginta trahi biremes, quae*

*ascensu gravius sublatae, posthac ex apice in declivum ad ripam sinus levissime introrsum vehebantur*. Languschi-Dolfin follows suit (omitting the vocative case addressing the pope and with some lacunae in the manuscript at this point), fol. 315 (12): … *tutte fuste del armata perho che la faca del porto oriental cum la cathena facta dette naui era in tutto serata a gli inimici. Et per coangustar, et circumuallar piu la terra, comando fusse spianato le uie, et supra i colli messi in terra i uasi a forza de brazze…*. Also, cf. Sansovino, ch. III (98): …*dimander le barche dentro per la cima d'vn colle percioche quel porto è lungo & fretto, la cui parte Orientale era guernita di catene, & di naui, onde era impossibile ch 'i nemici vi potessero entrare. La onde il Turco per stringer maggiormente la Città, hauendo fatto far vna strada ageuole, faceua che le galee, andauano al'in su. & nella discesa inuiate dolcemente scendeuano in aqua senza alcun disturbo*. The *Anonymous Barberini* presents a confusing version that seems to have elaborated upon the original information of Leonardo to such a degree that it cannot be said to derive directly from the archbishop's text.

[32] Doukas 38.8. Kritoboulos agrees with the picture that Doukas paints and one wonders whether both historians (who had connections at the sultan's Porte) used the same informants. More probable is that both authors used a Greek or Turkish folk poem or a popular song that must have been in circulation, commemorating the unusual event: cf. Kritoboulos 1.42.5: al αἱ μὲν οὖν νῆες εἵλκοντο θᾶττον, οἱ δὲ ἐπιβάται τούτων ὥσπερ ἐπεντρυφῶντες τοῖς γινομένοις…ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης οἱ μὲν ἀνεπετάννυον σὺν κραυγῇ τὰ ἱστία ὡς δῆθεν ἀναγόμενοι, τὰ πνεῦμά τε ἐδέχετο καὶ ἐκυρτοῦτο. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρεσίας καθήμενοι κατεῖχον τὰ κώπας ἐν χεροῖν τετροπωμένας ὥσπερ ἐρέττοντες. καὶ οἱ κελευσταὶ διαθέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱστοδόκης συριγμοῖς τε καὶ κραυγῇ καὶ φραγγελίοις παίοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρεσίας ἐρέττειν διεκελεύοντο, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου φερόμεναι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πελάγους αἱ μὲν ἀνήγοντο διὰ τοῦ ἀνάντους ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἄνω, αἱ δὲ πάλιν κατήγοντο διὰ τοῦ κατάντους ἐς τὸν λιμένα. It should be added that similar details appear in Tursun Beg's narrative, 35: "…as ordered, the ships and galleys were decked out with banners of every color." By contrast, Pusculo's poem is rather prosaic at this point and displays very little imagery; in all likelihood, Pusculo was not aware of folk tales or poems circulating among the Greeks or the Turks, regarding this exotic event. Cf. Pusculo 4.515–572 [not in *CC* 1]: … *Scandunt juga montis /Alta manu puppesque fluunt ad litora pronae / Aequoris ignoti, minatae currere celsum /Per collem, rursus sponto redduntur, et imo / Conduntur portum, ac late spatiantur in undis*.

[33] Kritoboulos 1.42.6.

[34] *CC* 1: 70–72.

[35] *Ibid*, 96.

[36] Cf., e.g., Eparkhos and Diplovatatzes, *NE* 2: 514–518 (Italian translation, without the original German text, in *CC* 1: 234–239): Item: *dar nach hat er daz Gepirge ob Pera eingenumen und hat gross Schif hin auff lassen zihen, 2200 Galeen und Fusten, auf Waltzen und mit Puffein und Aurochsen und mit gewoppentem Volck, untz auf die Höch der Perg und haben die wider ablassen schissen, von der Höch piss in daz Mer, zwischen Petra und Constantinopel, in ir Lantwer auf dem Wasser*, Bishop Samuel, *NE* 4: 65–68. Before its publication, this text had been known and transcribed by a scholar, as the following note is encountered: *Hancce epistolam exscripsit in usum D. teutsch, gymnasii schässburgensis rectoris, G. M. Thomas, 3 julii 1855;* for an Italian translation, without the German original, cf. *CC* 1: 228–231: *Czwissen Galatham* [= *Pera*] *vnd Constantinopel auf ainem Tayl des Mers das do flewsset czwischen den Steten, do prachten sy czway hundert Galeyn, grosse Scheff, auff dem grossen Mer, vncz zu dem Landt; do sy ir für bass nicht mochten füren auf dem Mer zu der Stat, do czugen sy dy czway hundert Galeyn auf dem Landt mit jren aygen Henden, wol czwo Meil Wegs lanck, vnd Hessen sy in das Tayl des Mers czwischen den vor genanten Stetten*.

[37] *PG* 159: 934.

[38] Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 315 (12): *la qual nouita fu trouata da Nicolo Sorbolo, et Nicolo Carcauilla comiti di gallia quando per l Adese condusseno gallie 5. per la campagna de Verona in lago di Garda in l anno 1438…. Et questo artificio da Uenetiani fu insegnato a Turci*. On this point, cf. K. Kairophyla, "Μεταφορὰ Πλοίων διὰ Ξηρᾶς. Σόρβολος καὶ Μωάμεθ Β΄," *ΕΕΒΣ* 7 (1937): 46–51.

[39] *Anonymous Barberini* 16: Τότε εἱρέθη ἕνας ἀρνιγάδος, ὁποὺ ἤτονε Ταλιάνος, καὶ εἶχε ξέρει ἀπὸ τὸν ποταμόν, τὸ λέγουσι Πό, ὁποὺ ἀπερνοῦσι τὰ πλεούμενα καὶ ἐδιάβη καὶ εἶπε τοῦ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτη…. Καὶ ἐπῆρε θέλημα καὶ τὸ ἔκαμε ὅτι ἀπέρασε τὰ κάτεργα ἀπὸ τὸ πλάγι τῆς στερέα, ὅλα γλυκά, ὁποὺ δὲν ἐβλάφτη μηδὲ ἕνα.

[40] *CC* 1: 72. Cardinal Isidore also speaks of this bridge in his letter to the pope (July 8), and claims that it did survive the siege and was in place at the time of his composition. *CC* 1: 96: *Deinde pontem super mare, qui usque ad hodiernum diem manet, construxit: habet enim distantiam de terra firma in Constantinopoli per miliare unum et tertium.* Bishop Samuel's impressions were recorded in German translation, *NE* 4: 86: *…vnd liessen sy in das Tayl des Mers czwischen den vorgenanten Stetten* [*Pera and Constantinople*], *vnd mochten da ein Pruck von aynem Tayl zu dem andern, darinnen leyten sy grosse Vas; vnd darauf leytten sy Püchsen vnd Füesslewt ein grosse Menig, vnd auff die selben Vass mochten sy aber ayn Pruck vnd mochten ein zwifächtige Wer auf das Wasser.* Similarly, Eparkhos and Diplovatatzes spoke of this operation and of its effects on the defenders, *NE* 2: 516: Item: *als er pei Petra auf daz Wasser ist kumen in ir Lantwer, do hat er alle Fesser genumen, die er mocht zu Wege pringen, und haben die an ein ander gepunden, und haben dar auf gepruck, und auf dem Wasser gestritten sam auf dem Land, und haben do gehabt mit ein 1000 Leittern, die wurffen sie an die Mauren; auch ward ein Loch geschossen, ein gross Loch, in die Statmaur, sam Sant Sebolds Kirchhof; dez haben sich die Genuessen unterwunden, sie wollens wol hervaren mit iren Schissen, – die dann hetten vil Schif; es was auch geboten in des Turcken Here vor finfzehen Tagen daz ein itlicher solt ein Leittern tragen, auf dem Wasser und auf dem Land*. Tetaldi also notes this bridge, *Caput VIII*: *Similiter et pontem mira ingeniositate fabricati fecit de vasis, afferibus, trabibus et plancis, mille habentem passus in longitudine et septem in latitudine, ut sui ad nostros pertingere possint super mare ex transverso ambulantes et civitatis muris appropriquantes*. The equivalent passage in the French Tetaldi reads as follows, ch. VI: & *un pont de barques que les Chrestiens avoient fait pour aller de Constantinople à Peyre pour s'entre-secourir*. Also cf. Tetaldi, ch. XIV: *Le dit Sengampsa fist un chastel de bois si hault & si grant, qu'il seignourissoit le mur, … & plusieurs instruments de bois, desquels il povoit estre sans estre blechié: & si l'y avoit tours de bois tres-haultes, grandes & ligieress*.

[41] Cf., e.g., Leonardo, *PG* 159: 927 [*CC* 1: 128–130]: *Excitatus itaque in furorem Deus misit Mehemet regem potentissimum Theucrorum, adolescentem quidem audacem, ambitiosum, temulentum, Christianorum capitalem hostem, qui Nonis Aprilis ante Constantinopoleos prospectum cum tercentis et ultra millibus pugnatorum, in gyro terrae castra papilionesque confixit. Milites maiore numero equestres, quamquam omnes pedites magis expugnabant; inter quos pedites ad regis custodiam deputati audaces, qui ab elementis christiani aut christianorum filii, retrorsum conversi, dicti genizari, ut apud Macedonem Myrmidones, quasi quindecim milia.* Languschi-Dolfin repeats, fol. 314 (8): *…ouer fioli de Christiani son fatti Turchi dicti Janizari, come i Mirmidoni apresso i Macedonici, et sono 15000*. It is quite possible that Isidore and Leonardo had exchanged views earlier, while they were both residents in and defenders of Constantinople and entertained each other by bringing up classical references that could apply to their own circumstances. In addition, cf. Niccolò Tignosi (da Foligno), who wrote prior to November, 1453, and who also uses similar phraseology to describe the assault troops, *TIePN*, pp. 108–110: *Tria sunt quae non modo interritos*

*sed audacissimos ferunt hostes: primum ab oppidanis omnino desperatum subsidium, secundum defensorum paucitas, tertium ipsorum multitudo quae excreverat <ita> ut Achillis Mirmidones viderentur.*

[42] *PG* 159: 931 [*CC* 1: 138]. Leonardo is followed faithfully by Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 315 (12–13): *Non contento perho de queso inzegno, el Turcho per altro modo cercho spauentarne. Et fece contruir uno ponte longo 30 stadij sono miglia… dal mare fino alla ripa de la terra, fatta la zatra fermata sopra le botte ligate per diuider el porto, per lo qual ponte exercito poteua correr apresso el muro de la cita, apresso la giesia, imitando la potentia di Xerse el quale de Natolia in Grecia tradusse lo suo exercito per lo stretto de Hellesponto*, by Sansovino, ch. IV (98): *Ma non essendo il Turco contento di questo insegno, ne fabricò un'altro per metterli in maggior terrore, cioè vn ponte di lungheza di trenta stadi dalla riua opposita de la città, il qual fendendo l'acqua del mare, si sosteneua fu botti da vino ritenute, & incatenate di sotto con traui, per lo quale essercito, se ne venisse, al muro vicino alla Città; imtando la potenza di Serse, il qual traghettò l'essercito dall'Asia nella Thracia per Bosforo. Et non restaua altro posto se non lo spatio diametrale delle naui, & delle catene lo qual vietana l'entrar, & l'vscire all'armata*; and by the *Anonymous Barberini* (without the reference to Xerxes) 17: Τότε ἐκάμανε μία τζάταρα ἢ σκάλα — ταράτζα ξύλινη οἱ Τοῦρκοι, μακρέα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες ὀργυῖες καὶ πλατέα πεντακόσες ὀργυῖες, καὶ τὴν ἐκαρφώσανε καλὰ ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν θάλασσα καὶ τὴν ἐτραβήξανε κοντὰ εἰς τὰ τειχία τῆς Πόλης· καὶ ἐβάλανε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ποῦντε πολλοὺς Τούρκους καὶ ἐπολεμούσανε, διατὶ ἀπὸ κάτω τοῦ αὐτοῦ πόντε ἔβαλε πολλὰ βουτζία ἄδεια καὶ τὴν ἐκράτειε ἀπάνω.

[43] Pusculo 4.536–544 (71–72) [omitted by *CC* 1].

[44] Kritoboulos I.42.6: ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ τῆς Ξέρξου τοῦ Ἄθω διορυγῆς μεῖζον εἶναι τοῦτο πολλῷ καὶ παραδοξότερον καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

[45] Doukas 38.8.

[46] The reference to Mehmed as a "Macedonian" must be connected to the notion of the janissaries being "Myrmidons" from Thessaly, and to the classical comparison between the sultan and Alexander the Great of Macedonia.

[47] Cf., e.g., Leonardo, *PG* 159: 932 [*CC* 1: 142], who explains the reasons for the ensuing naval operation with the ablative absolute construction, *crescende perinde angustia*.

[48] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 932 [*CC* 1: 140–142]: *At posthac inter Venetos et Genuenses Galatae oborta dissensio est, quod alterum fugae suspicionem improbrasset, asserentibus Venetis, ut tollatur suspicio, quod e navibus suis gubernacula carbasaque apud Constantinopolim in salvo deponant. Indignati Genuenses…. Pacata posthac cuncta sunt, agentibus Venetis de triremibus suis uti voluissent.* He is followed by Languschi-Dolfin, who gives the meaningful title: *Come uenne disension tra Ueneti e Genoesi* to this section of the narrative, fol. 316 (15): *Dapoi naque gran discension, fra Ueneti, et Genoexi de Pera, che l uno a l altro imputaua che uoleuano fuzir, digando Uenitiani acio sia leuato tal suspetto da uui, uolemo sia posto in terra le uele et timoni de tute le naue. Indiganti Zenoexi…. Dapoi tutto fu acquietato, et da Uenetiani et da galliotti*. There is an echo of this situation in the *Anonymous Barberini*, also, 18: Τότε ἐμαλώσανε μὲ τὰ λόγια οἱ Βενετζᾶνοι μὲ τοὺς Γενουβήσους καὶ ὑβριζόντησαν.

[49] Pusculo 4.574–584 (72) [omitted by *CC* 1].

[50] Barbaro 28–29 [omitted by CC 1].

[51] Barbaro 30 [omitted by *CC* 1]: *Da vinti quattro fino dì vinti otto del ditto mexe, stessemo suxo questo fatto de questa tal intromission, ma pur penso la fosse volontade de Dio, che el volse, che se andasse, per punir i peccadi de alguni de quelli che andò, come per avanti vederete el caxo terribele seguido, avisandove, che nui Venitiani non saveemo*

*nulla del trattado de questi malvaxi Zenovexi*. Barbaro's accusations are also encountered in Doukas 38.19: Οἱ δὲ Γενουῖται τοῦ Γαλατᾶ μαθόντες τὸ δρώμενον ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς Τούρκοις.

[52] Barbaro 29–30 [*CC* 1: 19–20]: *E in quela fiada i Zenovexi de Pera, nemigi de la fede cristiana, si vene a presentir questa cosa, che nui volemo bruxar questa armada; de subito el podestade de Pera* [*Angelo Giovanni Lomellino*] *sì mandò do di suo Zenovexi per imbassadori al signor Turco, il qual si iera a san Romano intorno le mure di Costantinopoli. E in nel parlamento che fexe i Zenovexi in la galìa de misser lo capetanio, lor cani traditori de Zenovexi sì dise: "Misser lo capetanio questa note non sun da dover tuor tanta intromission vui soli, ma si vui induxiadi a una altra note, nui Zenovexi de Pera se oferimo a dover esser in vostra compagnia, per bruxar meio questa sua armada."*

[53] Cf. the text in the previous note: *i Zenovexi de Pera, nemigi de la fede cristiana*, "the Genoese of Pera, enemies of the Christian faith"; and *cani traditori de Zenovexi*, "the traitor dogs of the Genoese."

[54] The subject of intelligence and counter-intelligence activities, movements, and planted rumors in connection with the siege of 1453 deserves its own separate study. There was considerable activity by spies before and during the siege. There were widespread rumors in circulation, implicating the most important personalities involved in the drama. It was not just Halil, the sultan's vizier, who was thought to be a "traitor." The sultan had his own spies within the Greek camp and it was suspected, perhaps unjustly, that Loukas Notaras, the last grand duke of Constantinople, who held the position of "prime minister" in the administration of Constantine XI, was too friendly with the Turks and quite inimical to the Venetians and the Genoese, who were defending Constantinople.

[55] Pusculo 4.585–588 (72) [omitted by *CC* 1].

[56] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 933 [*CC* 1: 144].

[57] Languschi-Dolfin fol. 316 (16): *Et questo intrauenne per che tal deliberation fu per Anzolo Zacharia de Pera fato saper al Signor Turco dato segno che, quando se mouerano da riua arano segno de fuogo da le mure de Pera*.

[58] Barbaro 30 [*CC* 1: 20]. Faiuzo is not cited in any other text.

[59] Barbaro 29 [*CC* 1: 19]. The first editor of Barbaro, in an effort to identify this Zacharias/Zacaria, further added (n. 2): '*Angelo Giovanni era il nome de Podestà, e commisario di Pera.*' Thus this traitor was confused with Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, who, clearly, was not a traitor and for some time this misconception was accepted as a historical fact. On this point, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," II.2.

[60] Barbaro 30 [not in *CC* 1]: *A dì vinti otto pur de questo mexe de april, cun el nome de misser Jexu Cristo fo deliberà de tuor questa intromission de bruxar questa armada del perfido Turco; do ore avanti zorno, cun el nome de spirito santo, se mosse le do nave del porto….*

[61] Barbaro 30–31 [not in *CC* 1] supplies us with the order of attack: …*le qual nave se iera tutte investide de sacchi de lana, e de sacchi de gotoni, e in compagnia de quelle, si iera la galia de misser Gabriel Trivixan, e la galia de misser Zacaria Grioni el cavalier, tutti do armadori al golfo, e ne iera tre fuste de banchi vinti quattro l'una, le qual fuste iera stade armade per i tre patroni de le galie de Romania cun le sue zurme, i qual patroni si fo questi nominadi, ser Silvestro Trivixan de ser Nicolò, ser Jeruolemo Morexini fo de ser Bernardo, ser Jacomo Coco el grando*. Leonardo supplies the following order, *PG* 159: 932–933 [*CC* 1: 142]: …*consultum est si quo modo intromissas hostium fustas urere nostri possent, clanculoque una dierum ante lucem duabus navibus per Johannem Justinianum capitaneum dispositis cum aliquot biremibus ad ripam vehendis, parato foco et machinis, fit, detractis navibus dato ordine, ut cymbae tectae, quas barbotas dicimus, biremesque sequerentur, hoc ideo ut munitae saccis lana plenis naves prius ex machinis*

*exciperent lapidum ictus.* As usual, Leonardo is echoed by Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 316 (15): *…consegliati de brusar le fuste turche tragetatte nel porto, cautamente uno zorno auanti di, aparechiate do naue per Joanne Zustignan capitaneo, cum alcune fuste menate alla riua cum focho apariato, dato ordene che barche coperte barbotade seguitasse le fuste, et le naue fusse menate auanti coperte de sachi de lana che receuesseno li colpi de bombarda, et dietro quelle seguisse cum foco*.

[62] Coco had formed a very unfavorable impression, in all likelihood, about the skills of the Ottoman crews, as he had easily by-passed the Ottoman bombards at Rumeli Hisar before the beginning of the siege; cf. Barbaro 4 [not in *CC* 1]: *…le zurme sempre vogando de bona voia per la legreza che i avea, per aver pasado quel passo de quel castelo* [= Rumeli Hisar], *el qual iera forte pericoloxo passo, e d'agnora de tal fiada la galia tuta jera in battaia come quella dovesse combatter, e questo se fo adì 4 dezembrio* [*1452*], *che quela azonse a Costantinopoli; patron de la galia ser Jacopo Coco el grando*.

[63] Barbaro 31 [not in *CC* 1]: *ma el meschin anemoxo de misser Jacomo Coco patron de la galia de Trabexonda volse esser lui el primo feridor in questa armada per aquistar honor in questo mondo.* A few lines later Barbaro describes Coco in identical terms and makes it clear that he considers him responsible for departing from the original plan of battle; his actions had invited disaster: *ma misser Jacomo Coco patron de la galia de Trabexonda, come homo volonteroxo de aquistar honor in questo mondo, non volse aspetar che le nave fosse le prime de investir, anzi el sora ditto misser Jacomo volse esser el primo feridor in la predita armada del turco.* It is interesting to note that the same characterization of Coco is encountered in the Genoese Leonardo, *PG* 159: 933 [*CC* 1: 142]: *At Jacobus Cocho, vir Venetus…gloriae et honoris avidus, laxatis remis praevenientem concitat.* As usual, Leonardo is echoed by Languschi-Dolfin fol. 316 (15): *Accade che Jacomo Coco, patron de galliaza, auido de honor et gloria cum galliotti de sua gallia eletti montato in fusta del imperador secondo l ordine dato.*

[64] Pusculo 4.610–613 (73) [not in *CC* 1].

[65] Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 316 (16); his text is quoted *supra*, n. 57.

[66] The failure is discussed, in theatrical terms, by Pusculo 4.601–654 (73–74) [not in *CC* 1]: *Ast Italisque viris armisque triremis / Credita cui fuerat major, muniverat ipsam / Egregius Jacobus Cocchus, generosa propago, / Spectatamque manum juvenum dux ipse regebat. / Atque huic cum celsa, stipato vellere tutum / Saxa latus contra monstranti puppe Joannes / sese offert primum Genuensis, vulnera forti / Velle rate excipere jactorum turbine multo / Saxorum. Tacite incendunt hoc agmine naves…. Cocchus vix castra subibant* [*sic!*] *…haud procul a fluctu socios hortatur, et inquit / … Sic fatus corripit ardens / Incensam laeva taedam, dextraque corruscat / Ensem fulmineum atque cruci dedit oscula…. / Cocchus summis stans fluctibus alta / Voce rogat scapham remo suffultus adire, / Innixus quo certat aquas superare; sed illum / Clamantem frustra auxilium rapuere gravatum / Arma imum ad fundum; "natosque (extrema loquentem) / Commendo, o cives, morior, carosque, deoque / Hanc animam, nostrae quaeso miserescite sortis." / Talia vociferans Neptuni tractus ad imam est.*

[67] Following the conclusion of Barbaro's autograph journal, Marco Barbaro, *il genealogista*, adds the following note dated *1453 adì 18 Luglio* (Barbaro 65 [not in *CC* 1]): *Fu preso parte che li proveditori del sal, debbano dar alli figli di messer Jacomo Coco, che era patron di una galia al viaggio di Romania, qual morse, come apar in questo a carte 31* [of the autograph], *Ducati 60, per il suo viver per uno anno prossimo, et fra questo anno sian obligati comprar, tanti imprestedi che sia per Ducati 600 d'oro de boni denari, et li facian scriver alla figlia del ditto ser Jacomo, per il suo maritar, et vadi pro sopra cavedal* [= capital] *fino si mariterà, et se la morirà anzi il maritar, siano di suo fratello, et fra il termine anteditto debban comprar altretanti imprestedi da esser scritti a suo figlio*. As late as 1455 Venice was still trying to compensate the relatives of some of those sailors who were lost in this operation. Cf. *NE* 3: 290, n. 1: *Le 23 septembre de la même année* [1455], *une décision du sénat vénitien qui accorde une pension à la*

*famille de Nicolas de Segna, habitant de Venise, noyé avec l'equipage de la galiote Cocca, raconte les faits de manière suivante*: '*Cum autem, tempore quo accidit casus excidii miserabilis civitatis constantinopolitane, vir nobilis Jacobus Caucho armasset quandam galeotam pro comburendo armatam Turchorum, super qua ascenderunt multi fideles subditi nostri et, cum viriliter accederent pro perficiendo negotio, accidit quod ipsa fusta ictu bombarde fracta et submersa fuit, et omnes qui super ea erant sufocati remanserunt….*'

[68] Tetaldi *Caput VI*. The French version reads as follows, 12: *Parmy ce temps advint aucunes particularités, semblant aux Chrestiens estre ligier de brûler le navire du Turc; le capitaine de la gallée de Trapesonde monta sur une gallée subtile, pour ce faire avecques certains autres ordonnés à ce: mais leur gallée fut enfondrée d'une bombarde du Turc, & les gens noyex, desquieulx les anciens furent prins par les Turcs, qui furent par le fondement affichez sur paulx agus, devant ceux qui faisoient la grade sur le mur*.

[69] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 93 [*CC* 1: 144]; he is followed by Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 316 (16): *Alcuni che erano senza arme nudando in terra, da Turchi fono a modo de pecore talgiati a pezzi*. Barbaro does not mention the execution.

[70] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 93 [*CC* 1: 144]; he is followed by Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 316 (16), omitting the note of disapproval: *Et mossi da ira nostri alcuni Turchi prexoni, che haueuano menati sopra le mure in conspecto de Turchi amazadi fono precipitati*.

[71] Tetaldi *Caput VI*.

[72] French version, 12: & *les gens noyex, desquieulx les anciens furent prins par les Turcs, qui furent par le fondement affichez sur paulx agus, devant ceux qui faisoient la grade sur le mur*.

[73] *Supra*, ch. 7: "A Castle and a Bombard," sec. II.

[74] *PG* 159: 931–932 [not included in *CC* 1]. Leonardo is not followed by his Greek imitators on this point. Only Languschi-Dolfin paraphrases and adds the name *Bernaba* to *centurione*. Cf. Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 316 (14): *Messo andocha le bombarde a segno dal occidente, se sforza cum bombardieri profundar le naue, manda a dir a Perensi che per esser naue de corsari suo inimici condutte dal imperator, uol quelle destruzer. El bombardier nostro al qual non era data la prouision ando dal Turco, et cum suo arte studio desfar le naue. Et per la mala sorte trazando perforo la naue de Bernaba centurione. Et quella carga de merce mando a fondi cum graue danno de Genoesi, per el caso de la qual le altre naue genoexe, se acostorono alla panizza de Pera uscindo fuora della cadena. Miranda cosa fuche tratto da poi 150. piere cum le qual forono molte case di Pera, morto una nobil femina, de trenta naue ligate una sola perite*. For another English translation of the Leonardo passage, cf. Melville Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, p. 22.

[75] Barbaro 35 [not included in *CC* 1]. It was at this time that the emperor was urged to leave the city (as his father had done on a previous occasion) and personally apply for help abroad; if Nestor-Iskander is to be believed, two versions of his text provide contrasting statements. First, Sreznevsky, *Повѣсть о Царѣградѣ*, . 10 (p. 11), reads: Тогда партіархъ и вельможи...стали увѣщевать царя выйдти изъ города "на удобное мѣстос, представляя ему, что, когда распространится вѣсть объ его выходѣ, придуть къ нему и братья его, и Албанцы, a можетъ быть и самъ «безбожный Махметъ» устрашится и оступить отъ города, , "then the patriarch and great lords…commenced to exhort the emperor to leave the city 'for a favorable place,' offering him, that, when news goes abroad of [his] departure, his brothers and the Albanians will come to him, and perhaps even the 'godless Mehmed' himself will be frightened and will withdraw from the city." The Leonid rendition of *The Troitse-Sergieva Lavra Ms. 773* (Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 31 [pp. 46–49]) provides a

substantially different version: Но въ 9-й день потомъ паки повелѣ всему воинству пріступити къ граду и брань створитим по вся дни, а пышку ону велію паки повелѣ предѣлати того крѣпчае. Сія же увѣавъ вельможи и Зустунѣя, собрався вкупѣ съ партіархомъ, начаша увѣщавати цесаря, глаголюще: видимъ, цесарю, яко сей безвѣрный не ослабѣетъ дѣломъ, но паче готовится на большее дѣло. И что сотворимъ, помощи ни откуду чаюше? Но подобаетъ тобѣ, цесарю, изыти изъ града на подобное мѣсто, и услышавше людіе твои и братіа твоа къ тебѣ пріидутъ на помочь, но и Арбанаша убоявся пріидутъ къ симъ же, еда како и онъ безбожный устрашився отступитъ отъ града, "but then, on the ninth day [May 3], once more all of their forces drew near the city and waged war for all days. Their great cannon was enjoined again to penetrate the limits of that stronghold. The great lords and Justinian [Giustiniani] observed this [development]. They gathered together with the patriarch and began to exhort the emperor, saying: 'Observe, emperor, how this godless one [Mehmed] has not weakened in his endeavor; once more he is ready to exert great effort. What shall we do? Assistance is not expected from anywhere. Emperor, you ought to leave the city for a similar place. If they hear [this], your people [fellow countrymen] and your brothers will come to your aid. Even the Arbanites [= Albanians] in fear will come to the same conclusion. Then in dread [of the consequences] the godless one [Mehmed] will perhaps retire from the city.'" The emperor rejected this proposal. Both renditions provide similar statements and the Sreznevsky reading, 10 (11), records this response:

«Нѣть, я умру здѣсь съ вами.» И склонился онъ, горько плача; съ нимъ всплакались партіархъ и всѣ, кто быль…,

"'No, I will die here with you.' And he began to cry in grief; with him the patriarch and all present wept…."

[76] Doukas 38.19.

[77] Cf. the acute observation in *PaL* 2: 120–121, n. 41, which realized that there is something amiss in these secondary, although well-informed, sources. The obstacle to the existence of this later operation is that Barbaro, who was, after all, stationed in the harbor, does not mention it. Yet this omission is understandable. Cf. *PaL* 2: 120, n. 41: "One need not be surprised at Barbaro's failure to mention Giustiniani's [naval] action against the Turkish fleet. He consistently deprecates the contribution of Giustiniani to the siege (which exceeded that of the Venetians)." A more serious objection may be raised, when one considers the silence of Pusculo and of Tetaldi. Why would they have passed over such incidents in silence? After all, they seem to lack Barbaro's Venetian bias against the Genoese, in general, and Giustiniani, in particular.

[78] Kritoboulos 1.44.1.

[79] For Giustiniani's background as a "corsair," cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to Siege of 1453," nn. 75–87.

[80] Modern historians, including the meticulous *PaL* 2, have neglected the complicated story of the departure of the Venetian ships from the harbor and have concentrated on the fate and the sack of Constantinople. They retrace the footsteps of the contemporary late medieval historians, who also neglected this final episode. Our guide for the Venetian departure remains Barbaro, who was a participant in the events. For the role of Alvise Diedo in this final chapter of the siege, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," nn. 73–81.

[81] Barbaro 59 [*CC* 1: 36]: *la galia de Candia patron misser Zacaria Grioni el cavalier, quela si fo prexa*. For problems regarding the fate of Grioni, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," nn. 36–39.

[82] Doukas 39.29. He adds that the actions of the Ottoman crews enraged the sultan, who had no wish to let the Venetians slip through the lines, but there was nothing that he could do to prevent their exodus: Ὁ δὲ τύραννος [= sultan] ἔτρυξε μὲν τοὺς ὀδόντας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἠδύνατο πλέον τι πρᾶξαι καὶ ἄκων ἐκαρτέρει.

[83] Barbaro 56 [not in *CC* 1, without the customary indication of a lacuna].

[84] Barbaro 56 [*CC* 1: 34].

[85] Barbaro 56 [*CC* 1: 34–35].

[86] Barbaro58 [*CC* 1: 36]: …*ma questa galìa de Trabexonda asai se stentò a levarse, e questo perché el ne manca homeni cento e sesanta quatro, i qual parte se anegò e parte morti da le bombarde, e morti pur la bataia per altro muodo, siché apena quela potè levarse*.

[87] Barbaro 56 [not in *CC* 1, without the customary indication of a lacuna]. On Zaganos, cf. *supra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” n. 100.

[88] Kritoboulos 65: …καὶ Χαμουζᾶς [= Ḥamza] ὁ τῶν νεῶν ἡγεμὼν [= *kapudan paşa*], ὡς εἶδε τὴν πόλιν ἐχομένην ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ληιζομένους αὐτήν, εὐθὺς ἐπιπλεῖ τῇ ἁλύσει καὶ διαρρήξας αὐτὴν ἔσω γίνεται τοῦ λιμένος· καὶ ὅσας εὗρε τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν [= Greek] νεῶν (αἱ γὰρ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀνήχθησαν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος), τὰς μὲν κατέδυσεν αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ αὐτάνδρους ἔλαβε.

[89] Barbaro 15 [*CC* 1: 13]: …*e questa tal cadena si iera de legnami grossissimi e redondi, e innarperxadi uno cun l’altro cun feri grossi, e cun cadene grosse de fero, e li cavi de la cadena, uno cavo si era dentro da le mure de Costantinopoli, e l’altro cavo si era dentro da la mura de Pera per più segurtade de la dita cadena*.

[90] Cf. our discussion, *infra*, ch. p. 9: “Land Operations: The Main Targets,” sec. IV; and *supra*, nn. 51–64.

[91] Cf. *infra*, ch. 9: “Land Operations: The Main Targets,” sec. IV.

[92] Barbaro 57–58 [*CC* 1: 35].

[93] Barbaro 58 [*CC* 1: 35–36]: *Ma in questo star in raxonar, el podestà si fexe serar le porte de la tera, e serò dentro misser lo capetanio, e ser Bortolo Fiurian, armiraio de le galìe da la Tana, e ser Nicolò Barbaro de ser Marco el miedego de le galìe.*

[94] Barbaro 36.

[95] *Ibid.*: *Or siando nui seradi in la tera, subito i galioti comenzò a meter le vele in antena, e colar e meter i remi in fornelo, per voler andar via senza el capetanio*.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] Cf. Lomellino’s statement, *CC* 1: 42–44: *Ad defensionem loci* [*sc. Constantinopolis*] *misi omnes stipendiarios de Chio et omnes missos de Janua et in maiori parte cives et burgenses de hic* [*sc. Pera*] *et, quid plus, Imperialis noster et famuli nostri.* Cardinal Isidore also speaks of the volunteers from Pera who fought in the last battle on the side of the defenders, *CC* 1: 108: *nec deerant nobis Ianuenses, qui omni conatu Urbem ipsam tutati sunt, et quamquam simulatu cum Teucro viverent hocque fieret statuto consilio, tamen noctu clam ad nos eos quos valebant ac poterant viros et sic subsidia mittebant frequentique senatu imperatorio aderant*.…

[98] *Imperialis nepos meus captus fuit; in redemptione eius feci quantum fuit mihi possible … dominus… ipsum cepit.* Imperialis became a renegade and an official of the Porte; it is not certain whether he ever returned to Italy; cf. *NE* 2: 493: *Et, perchè ne sappiate il tucto, come noi, vi mando la copia de capituli che hà facto il Turcho co Genovesi et la copia d’una lettera venuta da Scio, da huomo valente et di grande discretione, che si vorrebbono mandare al Sancto Padre et in Corte di Roma. Et questo di c’è rinfrescato peggio per la via di Vinegia, che dicono… che uno Agnolo Lomellino, ch’era podestà in Pera, huomo valente et di grandi riputatione, lo fà carregiare priete* (*sic*), *et*

*uno suo nipote di xx anni hà rinnegato, et hallo facto un gran maestro*. On Imperialis, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 101.

[99] On this interesting personality, cf. Dallegio d'Alessio, pp. 151–157 (with the complaint of *CC* 1: 41); and, more recently, Olgiati, "Angelo Giovanni Lomellino," pp. 139–196. On the archaeological and inscriptional evidence that indicates his residence at Pera, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 119.13.

[100] *CC* 1: 44–46. On Lomellino, Pera, and the *Porte*, cf. *PaL* 2: 134–136.

[101] *CC* 1: 44, indicates a lacuna at this point in the text.

[102] It is quite possible that among the Genoese flotilla that escaped at about midnight of May 29 was the ship of Giustiniani carrying his competent band and the wounded warlord away from Constantinople. No source explicitly states exactly when or how Giustiniani's ship left Constantinople. We know that it was not among the Venetian galleys, as Barbaro mentions all ships that left with the Venetian flotilla. It is also possible that aboard the same ship with Giustiniani was Bishop Leonardo, who also reached the safety of Chios after he had been ransomed and after he had the opportunity to purchase a few valuable books the Turks were selling for pennies. Further, Lomellino's testimony that the Genoese ships were able to sail away by midnight on the 29th further underscores the fact that the pillage was still going on and the Ottoman crews still lacked all semblance of discipline and organization. The only other eyewitness source to make reference to the exodus of the Genoese is Nestor-Iskander, who presents a few vague statements, as he was in the city that was being ravaged and not in Pera. In general, Nestor-Iskander is ill informed about the developments in the harbor, as he clearly had been stationed in the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector by the western walls. Cf. Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 79 (pp. 88–89): Оставшїи же стратиги и боляре вземъ царицю и благородныхъ дѣвицъ и младыхъ женъ многыхъ, отпустиша въ Зустунѣвы карабли и катарги во островы и въ Амарію къ племянамъ, "the *strategoi* and great lords who remained took the empress, the noble maids, and the many young women, boarded the ships and galleys of Justinian [Giustiniani] and [went] to the islands and the families of the Morea." Barbaro also noted that there were fifteen Genoese ships within the harbor; eight of those were able to depart under the cover of darkness, and they were, no doubt, under the command of those captains who disobeyed Lomellino and roused the anger of the victorious sultan. Cf. Barbaro 65 [*CC* 1: 37]: *Dentro dal porto ne romaxe nave quindexe de Zenovexi e del imperador e de Anconitani, e tute le galìe del imperador che fo cinque, le qual si iera dexarmade, e cusì si romaxe tuti altri fusti che se trova a esser in porto, le qual nave e galìe non pote scampar, tute si fo prexe da Turchi. Ma oltra queste quindexe nave ne scampò sete de Zenovexi, le qual si iera a la cadena, e una de Zorzi Doria, zenovexe, la qual si iera acosto de Pera de botte doa milia e quatrozento; questa insieme con le sete si scampa, verso la sera.*

[103] Barbaro 58 [*CC* 1: 36].

[104] Barbaro 56 [*CC* 1: 36].

[105] Tetaldi *Caput XLI*: *ille Iacobus Tetaldi… qui duabus fere horis super muros civitatis sese cum populo sibi subiecto viriliter defenderat post introitum Turcorum. Tandem refluxum maris adeptus exspoliavit se vestibus et misit se in illud, natando pertingens usque ad praedictas galeas et petens ut ab eis assum<p>tus posset aliquatenus perduci illaesus ad ripam: quod et factum est.* The French version, 28, reads as follows: *Jacques Tetaldy, qui estant sur le mur en sa garde de la part où entrerent les Turcs, senti leur entrée bien deux heures après. Ainsi gagna la mer, & se dépoüilla, & entra jusques aux galliües, qui le receurent.* Tetaldi's account receives confirmation in a letter by Doge

Francesco Foscari, dated August 5, 1453: *Exponunt nobilis vir prudens Jacobus Tedaldi de Florentia quod erat in civitate Constantinopolitana quando imperator Turcorum eam expugnavit et vicit, et, volens servare personam suam, se in mari proiecit et ad galeas nostras transnatavit <?> et evasit impetum et favorem infidelium* (*NE* 5: 99 [no. 19]). This document is discussed *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," sec. III, text with nn. 61–64.

[106] Tetaldi *Caput XLI*; the French version, 28, reads as follows, omitting the number: *Les gallées Venitiennes de voyage de Romanie, & de Trapesonde demourerent là jusques à midy, attendans pour sauver aucuns Chrestiens, dont il en est venu ung.*

[107] His house evidently included a tower; cf. Doukas 39.26: Ὁ δὲ μέγας δοὺξ εὑρὼν τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣν γὰρ ἀσθενοῦσα, ἐν τῷ πύργῳ κεκλεισμένους καὶ κωλύοντας τοῖς Τούρκοις τὴν εἴσοδον. For a discussion of this incident, cf. *supra*, ch. 4: "Myths, Legends, and Tales: Folk History," nn. 181 ff.; n. 186 discusses the epigraphical and archaeological evidence for the location and the remains of Notaras' house.

[108] *Maius* 3.8.

[109] *Ibid.*, 3.4.

[110] Paspates, Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, p. 101.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] *Ibid.*

[113] Browning, "A Note on the Capture of Constantinople in 1453," p. 385. Other scholars have been troubled by this passage of Pseudo-Sphrantzes, as its topography seems impossible to understand. Pears, p. 363, presents a complicated hypothesis, which seeks to harmonize Paspates' inscription and identification with the text of Pseudo-Sphrantzes: the Cretan crews near the Horaia Gate abandoned their sector during the sack and fled south to the Kontoskalion; there they ascended the towers of Basileios, Leon, and Alexios and continued the struggle. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 222, accepts Paspates' identification, while Browning ("A Note on the Capture of Constantinople in 1453," p. 386) expresses reservations and urges caution: "The matter cannot be settled on the present evidence."

[114] For examples, cf. *supra*, ch. 3: "A 'Chronicle' and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes," sec. III.

[115] In this instance, the motives of Pseudo-Sphrantzes for the invention and insertion of such an incident are unclear. The family of the Melissourgoi-Melissenoi had connections in Crete and Makarios' own great grandfather had settled there; in fact, we do not know at what point this family returned to mainland Greece. Further research on the ties of Makarios with Crete needs to be carried out before this puzzle of his motivation can be resolved. For the Cretan connections of this family, cf. Khasiotes, Μακάριος, Θεόδωρος, καὶ Νικηφόρος, p. 23.

[116] With regard to this report by Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos, cf. Manoussakas, "Le derniers défenseurs Crétois," p. 340: "… cet épisode… a été depuis longtemps contesté et consideré comme interpolation postérieure…. Malgré sa beauté et sa vraisemblance, tant qu'il ne sera pas confirmé par d'autres sources moins suspectes, nous devrons plutôt le ranger dans le domaine des légendes." While Manoussakas would have us believe that we are dealing with legends and folk tales, it is more probable that Pseudo-Sphrantzes is actually the fabricator of this incident.

[117] Barbaro does not mention Sgouros in the exodus. But Sgouros' ship was clearly a member of the flotilla, because he reached Crete along with Hyalinas and Philomates. It is so recorded by the scribe at Ankarathos:

ἔτε<ι> αυνγʹ, ἰουνίου κθʹ, ἡμέρα ϛη, ἦλθαν ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν καράβια τρία Κρητικά, τοῦ Σγούρου, τοῦ ῾Υαλινᾶ, καὶ τοῦ Φιλομάτου. Perhaps this is a lapse in memory on the part of the reliable Barbaro, who knew that Sgouros had participated in the siege, e.g., 20 [not in *CC* 1]: *el Guro de Candia de botte 700*.

[118] The text of this note was first published in Arabatzoglou, no. 3 (p. 108); and then *TIePN*, p. 213: *con qualche errore di lettura*. It was republished, with short discussion, by Browning, "A Note on the Capture of Constantinople in 1453," pp. 379–387; and with Italian translation in *TIePN*, p. 214. This note has been quoted, translated, and discussed, *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, A Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," n. 62.

[119] Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," nn. 36–39. On Grioni, cf. *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 95.

[120] Barbaro 58–59 [*CC* 1: 36]. This passage has already been quoted and translated; cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," n. 75.

[121] Barbaro 58–59 [*CC* 1: 37].

[122] For the arrival of the fleet in Venice and Diedo's report to the authorities, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," text with nn. 75–78.

[123] On Diedo's tomb and on this inscription, cf. *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," esp. n. 42; and *infra*, Appendix IV: "Some Defenders and Non-Combatants," no. 55.

# Chapter 9

# Land Operations: The Main Targets

# I. Artillery Deployment and Bombards

The sultan devoted the winter of 1452/1453 to feverish preparations for his final assault upon the city,[1] in sharp contrast to the imperial court in Constantinople that spent a great deal of time launching appeals to European courts and arguing with the Italians in Constantinople. All Constantine XI could show for his efforts by the end of January 1453 was the employment of a contingent of mercenaries led by Giovanni Giustiniani that moderately reinforced the imperial forces. The emperor appears to have placed hope for survival on his ancient fortifications, especially the Theodosian land walls, which the sultan, with the help, advice, and expertise of his military engineer, Urban, hoped to reduce to dust with a few days of constant bombardment.

We do not know how Urban was engaged in the months preceding the actual siege but he must have been busy designing transport for his bombard and for the other artillery pieces that he had cast. The bombard finally began its long and arduous journey to Constantinople:[2] *magna cum difficultate ductam testantur*, "[it was transported] with great difficulty, testimonies state." Receiving information from Cardinal Isidore, Lauro Quirini states that great attention was devoted to its transport:[3] *quingentis videlicet hominibus et viginti curribus*, "apparently, [it was moved] by five hundred men and twenty wagons." According to Doukas,[4] the bombard began its slow journey from Adrianople at the beginning of February 1453. He emphasizes that the accompanied effort was an unhurried careful journey for Urban's monster, whose likes had never been seen in the Balkans. An army of laborers, skilled carpenters, and engineers who constructed bridges for its passage over rough terrain surrounded it:[5]

> ζεύξας ἁμάξας τριάκοντα εἷλκον αὐτὴν ὄπισθεν οἱ ξ´ βόες, λέγω βόες βοῶν· καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς χωνίας ἄνδρες σ´, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἓν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἕτερον, τοῦ ἕλκειν καὶ ἐξισοῦν αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ ὀλισθήσῃ τοῦ δρόμου· καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁμαξῶν τέκτονες ν´, τοῦ κατασκευάζειν γεφύρας ξυλίνους εἰς τὰς ἀνωμαλίας τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἐργάται σὺν αὐτοῖς σ´.

> He yoked sixty oxen, what am I saying? I mean oxen of oxen, to thirty wagons and they pulled it [*sc.* the bombard] behind them. Next to the bombard there were two hundred men, on each side, to pull and steady it so that it would not slip from its carriage. Fifty builders to construct bridges over uneven ground preceded the wagons. Two hundred laborers accompanied them.

Leonardo also speaks of the difficulties encountered during the transport of the bombard:[6] *quam vix boum quinquaginta et centum iuga vehebant*, "which could hardly be moved by one hundred and fifty pairs of oxen." The train finally reached the vicinity of Constantinople and halted at a five-mile distance.[7] It was in due time deployed before the walls, on April 11 according to Barbaro:[8] *A dì undexe pur de april, el signor Turco si fexe impiantar le sue bombarde per mè le mure da tera*, "on April 11 the Turkish lord positioned his cannon against the walls of the territory." The Turkish vanguard had already arrived before the walls on April 5:[9]

> *A dì 5 del mexe de april a ora una de zorno, Machomet bej messe campo a Costantinopoli…. A dì 6 pur de questo, el signor Turco sì se ridusse con la mitàe de la sua zente uno mìo luntan da le mure de la tera.*
>
> On April 5, the first hour of the day, Mehmed Beg encamped before Constantinople…. On the sixth of the same month, the Turkish lord came with half of his people to a distance of one mile from the walls of the territory.

The high command of the Ottoman forces then distributed its batteries against points that had been determined to be the weakest, as indicated by Barbaro.[10] Urban must have played a role in the planning and actual deployment of Ottoman batteries, since he was quite familiar with the fortifications of Constantinople. The most succinct description of their deployment is provided in Barbaro's narrative. He further states that the weakest sector in the entire perimeter was the Gate of Saint Romanos, that is, the area from the Gate of Saint Romanos (Top Kapı) northward to the Fifth Military Gate, the Pempton (Hücum Kapısı):[11]

> I. *tre bombarde per mezzo del palazo del serenissimo imperador*, "three bombards by the middle of the palace of the most serene emperor."
> II. *tre altre bombarde messele per mezo la porta del Pigi*, "three other bombards against the Pege Gate [Pege/Selybria, Silivri Kapı]."
> III. *do altre bombarde messele a la porta del Cresu*, "two other bombards against the Cresu Gate [Adrianople/Kharisios, Edirne Kapı]."
> IV. *e altre quatro bombarde bombarde messele alla porta de San Romano*, "another four bombards against the Gate of Saint Romanos [Top Kapı, or rather the Pempton/Fifth Military Gate (Hücum Kapısı)]," *dove che sun la più debel porta de tuta la tera*, "the weakest gate of all in the entire territory."

Most eyewitness authors agree with Barbaro, but their statements are not well organized. Isidore fails to mention the general disposition of artillery and only states, in his letter to Cardinal Bessarion, that the sector of the Kaligaria Gate [Eğri Kapı], north of the Kharisios Gate, was the weakest:[12] *totius enim circuitus pars illa debilior erat*, "for that sector was the weakest in the entire periphery." Leonardo explains that its weakness had to be attributed to a lack of heavy fortifications and to an absence of an outer wall.[13] Both Isidore and Leonardo state that the largest bombard (presumably Urban's) was positioned at first opposite the Kaligaria sector. Kritoboulos, who was not an eyewitness, speaks in general about the deployment, but goes on to specify that the Mesoteikhion was the main target of the three largest Ottoman bombards, adding that the sultan had erected his headquarters in the same area:[14]

> Μεχέμετις δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, …κελεύει τοὺς μηχανοποιούς, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸ Μεσοτείχιον, οὗ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶχεν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ αὐτῷ, τρεῖς ἀπολεξάμενος τὰς μεγίστας τε καὶ ἰσχυροτάτας ἐπιθεῖναι παίειν τὸ ταύτῃ τεῖχος καὶ κατασείειν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους προσάγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιλεξαμένους.

> Mehmed the king [sultan]…ordered his engineers to target the area of the Mesoteikhion, where he had pitched his tent. He selected three [bombards], the greatest and most powerful, which he directed to strike and shake the wall. The rest he distributed, according to his plans, against the entire periphery of the walls.

It appears that the Ottoman Turks selected targets[15] stretching from the Selybria/Pege/Silivri Gate[16] to the Kaligaria/Eğri Gate, that is, from the middle of the land fortifications northward to the end of the line, at a point where the fortifications angle eastward and downward toward the Golden Horn. The distance from the Pege Gate to the Gate of Saint Romanos is about 1.8 kilometers; from the Saint Romanos[17] to the Kharisios-Adrianople-Edirne Gate the distance is approximately 1.25 kilometers with the Fifth Military/Pempton/Hücum Gate standing midway,[18] immediately to the north of the Lykos River; from the Adrianople Gate to the Kaligaria-Eğri Gate[19] the distance is just under 1 kilometer (about 870 meters). Thus the total sector under heavy fire from the Ottoman batteries measured about 3.9 kilometers in length. The weakest point in the entire sector (as Barbaro and other eyewitness have remarked) was the Pempton/Hücum Gate (which modern scholars have incorrectly identified as the "military" Gate of Saint Romanos[20]). The Pempton occupies the lowest elevation in the entire line of fortifications, which elevation begins to drop at the Gate of Saint Romanos/Top Kapı (pl. 31). The terrain then slowly rises again northward to reach the highest point in the periphery (the peak of Constantinople's Sixth Hill at 77 meters) in the Adrianople/Edirne sector. Traditionally, and even previously, the sector of the Pempton (the modern Sulu Kule area) had been viewed as the weakest link in the land fortifications. In the siege of 1422 Sultan Murad II, Mehmed's father, had also concentrated his efforts on this area and had launched his main assault against this lowest point.[21] The topography of the general area has been little altered since the *quattrocento*, in spite of the presence of modern buildings, and a visitor might surmise that the Ottoman army occupied the bluffs (on the Seventh Hill across the modern avenue of Savaklar Caddesi), which provide suitable high points for the deployment of stationary artillery. These bluffs constitute a commanding position opposite the low-lying sector of the Pempton/Hücum Kapısı. The locations of the Ottoman batteries had become so well known that they even appear in popular poetry, as an anonymous Venetian lamentation testifies.[22]

It must have been early on in the siege, while Urban's bombard was still aimed at the Kaligaria sector, that it exploded, cracked, or was damaged in some other way. Specific details are lacking and we encounter vague statements in our sources. Leonardo records the following:[23] *Horribilem perinde bombardam quamquam maior alia confracta fuit, quam vix boum quinquaginta et centum iuga vehebant*, "that terrifying bombard, which one hundred and fifty pairs of oxen could hardly move, shattered." The circumstances surrounding this accident have never been made clear. Another eyewitness, Nestor-Iskander, placing the bombard opposite the sector between the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton, suggests that it was not a mere accident but the result of a careful operation by the defenders. He specifically cites the efforts of Giovanni Giustiniani, the commander of the defense at the Mesoteikhion sector:[24]

Зустунѣя же навадивъ пушку
свою, удари въ тое пушку, и разсѣдеся у ней зелейникъ,

"Justinian [= Giustiniani], however, aimed his cannon, struck that [great] cannon, and cracked its chamber." It is clear that Giustiniani's professional band was well equipped with weapons and well supplied with cannon, as Barbaro stresses:[25]

> *…a san Romano, dove iera el più debele luogo de la tera…nui avevemo messo per bon secorso de quel luogo homeni trexento ben in ordene de tute sue armadure, i qual homeni tuti si iera forestieri, e non griego niuno, per esser lor griexi vil d'anemo, e questi trexento homeni si i avea apresso de si de bone bombarde, e de boni scopeti, e balestre asai e d'altre cose per questo fatto.*

> …for the protection of Saint Romanos, the weakest part in the

> periphery of the land walls…we had stationed three hundred men in good order with all their armament. These men were foreigners, without a single Greek among them (as the Greeks showed no spirit). These three hundred possessed good bombards, good firearms, crossbows, and numerous other things for their purposes.

As a cautionary note, however, we should remember that on the eve of the final assault, Giustiniani felt the need for additional cannon in his sector and in vain he tried to requisition them from the naval sector of Loukas Notaras. Their verbal confrontation degenerated into an exchange of curses, and may have resulted in a loud quarrel between the two men.[26]

The fortuitous shot that struck Urban's bombard is not out of the question. Chronology, however, complicates this issue, because Nestor-Iskander does not provide a specific date in his narrative for this event. This incident follows a paragraph that mentions[27] "on the thirtieth day after [their] first arrival,"[28] while Leonardo implies that it occurred early on in the siege. While chronology is not the strongest element of Nestor-Iskander's account, it seems curious that other witnesses have also failed to mention such a spectacular success on the part of the defenders. It appears more probable that an accident was responsible for the damage, perhaps because the bombard's barrel had not cooled sufficiently after a firing, or because the bombard had been set too firmly in the ground without adequate room for recoiling. Kritoboulos speaks of the cumbersome and primitive manner with which the Ottoman Turks attempted to stabilize Urban's bombard. Clearly, its great size and considerable weight had rendered it troublesome to handle and the cannon could only be mastered with difficulty. Most likely, the personnel assigned to it could not predict its behavior:[29]

> μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τρέψαντες τὴν μηχανὴν πρὸς ὃ παίειν ἔμελλε καὶ σταθμήσαντες αὐτὴν μέτροις τισὶ τεχνικοῖς καὶ ἀναλογίαις πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἐπεφόρουν ἔπειτα κεραίας μεγάλας ξύλων αὐτῇ κάτωθεν ὑποστρωννύντες καὶ καλῶς ἐφαρμόζοντες καὶ λίθους ἐπετίθουν παμμεγέθεις βαρύνοντες αὐτὴ καὶ κατασφαλίζοντες ἄνωθέν τε καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν καὶ πανταχόθεν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ῥύμης καὶ τῷ σφοδρῷ τῆς φορᾶς τῆς οἰκείας ἕδρας παρατραπεῖσα πόρρω ποι τοῦ σκοποῦ βάλῃ.

> Then they turned the engine [bombard] toward its target; they stabilized it by taking certain engineering measures and calculations. They then positioned it against the target and placed beams under it that were arranged carefully together and further added, to weigh it down, very large rocks. They secured it on top, bottom, behind, and from every side, so that it would not slip from its spot and miss its target by the force of the explosion and the

momentum of the projectile.

After a firing, swift steps had to be taken to ensure proper cooling of the bombard's chamber. Doukas devotes an entire paragraph of his narrative to the method employed by the Turks to cool the bombard. They accomplished this by pouring hot oil into the barrel;[30] this undoubtedly was one of the primary reasons that limited its operation and explains why the great cannon could only be fired once every three hours.[31] There is clearly a great amount of understandable confusion in our sources regarding the role of this bombard during the siege; occasionally, it is confused with other cannon. Nestor-Iskander admits that opposite the sector of the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton, the Turks also had a cannon that fired a stone shot that was knee-high.[32] It would have been difficult for the defenders to identify the different artillery pieces, given that they were at a distance and the clouds of smoke that accompanied each discharge made observation difficult. Their confusion, reflected in the narratives, could have been compounded if and when the Turks repositioned their batteries under the cover of darkness.

Leonardo even suggests that Urban's massive bombard was moved around within the area of the Mesoteikhion. It was first deployed against the Kaligaria/Eğri Kapı but, when it failed to produce spectacular results, it was moved south and targeted the sector of Saint Romanos (probably the sector stretching from the Pempton/ Hücum Kapı southward to the Gate of Saint Romanos, that is, Top Kapı, where it performed in a more satisfactory manner, and where its 1200 pound missile struck and destroyed a tower, according to Leonardo.[33] The fortifications in this area had been constantly exposed to water damage caused by the Lykos and because the general area is situated low, the bombard on the hills opposite the walls commanded a greater advantage:

> *Bombarda praterea illa ingens, eo quod Caligaream strenue reparatam adversus non proficeret, inde dimota alium locum Baccatureae turris iuxta Sancti Romani portam, lapide mea existimatione mille ducentarum librarum, interdiu collidit, collisum concutit, concussum exterminat.*

> That huge bombard, which had achieved nothing against the strongly reinforced Kaligaria, was then moved to the vicinity of the Saint Romanos Gate, and it struck and destroyed, with its stone of 1200 pounds, in my estimation, another place of the Baccaturean Tower.[34]

This is, in fact, the only specific attestation about the destructive force of Urban's bombard relative to the siege.

Leonardo returns to the damaged bombard once more and repeats the same word, *confracta*/shattered, to describe its damage:[35] *Inde quia maior confracta regis animum afflictavit, ne tristitia in tanto certamine afficeretur, iussit mox aliam longe maioris formae conflari*, “when that great bombard shattered, it affected the mood of the king [= sultan]. He ordered that another, even bigger, bombard be cast soon.” But it had taken Urban three months to cast the original bombard,[36] and its successor would have had to be manufactured at the campsite for the siege. Obviously, it could not have been finished in time to be used in the operations, which were presumed not to last to the end of May. Mehmed had anticipated a speedy conquest of Constantinople.[37]

After the bombard was damaged, Nestor-Iskander claims that it was repaired and redeployed with disastrous results. The Turks tried to strengthen and reinforce its cracked barrel with iron hoops; upon firing, it thoroughly shattered:[38]

> Днемъ же минувшимъ 25, тако бьющеся по вся дни, паки безбожный повелѣ прикатити ону пушку велію, бѣ бо увазана обручи желѣзными, чаяху укрѣпити ю. И яко пустиша ю впервіе, абіе разсядеся на многыя части.

> Twenty-five days passed; for all these days there was fighting. Once more the godless one [*sc*. Mehmed II] commanded them to roll up the great cannon, which had been bound with iron hoops. They had hoped to strengthen it but, when they first fired it, it cracked immediately into many parts.

It is only in modern literature that we encounter statements to the effect that the bombard was repaired and continued its deadly work during the siege, an opinion that cannot be supported by contemporaneous eyewitness accounts.[39] The destruction of the bombard (if it actually occurred) did not seem to make much difference in the daily operations. Mehmed II possessed numerous cannon, large and small pieces, to maintain his heavy and ceaseless bombardment of the land fortifications. The reliable (although not an eyewitness) text of Antonio Ivani da Sarzana, composed in the autumn of 1453, includes the following observation:[40]

> *Post haec mirae magnitudinis sex et triginta aeneas bombardas ad moenia obruendum rex opponit, quae continuos decem dies murum accerrime quassant labefactantque ac plerisque in locis solo adaequant.*

> The next biggest cannons, after that wonderfully large one, were thirty-six bronze bombards, which the king [= sultan] deployed to destroy the walls. They heavily bombarded the wall, without a respite, for ten days and turned it to ruins; in many places they

razed it.

Moreover, Urban’s monster was more of a psychological threat to the population and the defenders of Constantinople than an assault weapon. Pusculo also notes the psychological impact of artillery:[41]

> *tonuit subito bombarda fragore, / Improvidos animos turbans, et moenia supra / Urbiculae fumum involvens densum aëra rumpit.*
>
> The bombard thundered suddenly with its explosion and disturbed the minds of those who were unfamiliar with it. It produced dense smoke through the air, over the walls, and the neighborhoods of the city.

Khalkondyles adds that it could only be fired a small number of times:[42] ἠφίει δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ τηλεβόλος λίθους ἑπτά, καὶ ἕτερον τῆς νυκτός, “the cannon fired seven stones in the daylight and one at night.” In addition, it could not be aimed accurately. Nestor-Iskander reports that a spectacular hit demolished upon striking the wall of a neighborhood church after the projectile had missed the walls and towers:[43]

> И яко утрудиша стѣну, навадивъ стрѣлиша изъ большіе пушкы, уже чаяху разорити стѣну. И Божіимъ велѣніемъ пойде ядро выше стѣны, токмо семъ зубовъ захвати. И ударися ядро по церковной стѣнѣ и распадеся ако прахъ.
>
> As they broke down the wall, they directed fire from more rifles. With a shot from the great cannon they attempted to fatigue the wall with the hope of destroying it. Through the will of God, the shot passed above the wall, grasping only seven teeth [= battlements]. The shot struck a church wall and fell apart as dust.

Nestor-Iskander does not make clear which church the projectile had struck.[44] The medieval remains in the neighborhood of Sulu Kule have not been investigated thoroughly, even though the area has not changed that much since 1453.[45] Only John Kananos, in connection with Murad II’s siege of 1422, speaks of a Saint Kyriake, but its exact location remains problematic:[46]

> ...ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος καὶ σοῦδα καὶ πύργος πλησίον Κυριακῆς τῆς ἁγίας, μέσον ῾Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τῆς Χαρσῆς τε τὴν πύλην, καὶ πλησιέστερον τούτων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Λύκον.
>
> …there was near the place a moat, and a tower, near Saint Kyriake, halfway between Saint Romanos and the Kharsia [= Adrianople]

> Gate, very close to the river called Lykos.

His description would place the church somewhere between Top Kapı and the Fifth Military Gate/Hücum Kapısı, but to the north side of the Lykos (that is, to the north side of the Vatan Caddesi) just before the Pempton/Fifth Military Gate. But this seems improbable, as we have previously noted, in part because this was a flood plain and there is no evidence of residential habitation along the river.

More effective must have been the continuous fire from the combined artillery pieces, as Tetaldi notes:[47]

> *Insuper illic fuerunt decem aut duodecim fundae pensantes mille ducentas et octo libras in pondere; singulis diebus praeparatae ad iaciendum lapides, octoginta sive centum vicibus qualibet die; et hoc 50. diebus continue.*

> In addition [that is, to Urban’s famous bombard], there were also in the same place ten or twelve cannon firing [missiles] weighing twelve hundred and eight pounds. Every day stone projectiles were readied for firing, eighty or one hundred. And this went on without respite for fifty days.

Other authors also cite Mehmed’s major bombards. Barbaro makes it clear[48] that each major bombard was assisted by smaller pieces, all directing fire at specific points within a perimeter. In all likelihood, that is what Benvenuto, the Anconan consul, implies in the following observation:[49] *Item quod erat una bomberda que simul emittebat tres lapides inequales*, “item: there was one bombard that fired three stones of different weight at the same time.” Clearly, Urban’s bombard or any other bombard did not and could not fire three missiles of unequal weight and size at each discharge. What is meant here is that three separate cannons deployed as one battery fired three projectiles simultaneously.

This fragment of information should be linked to a puzzling reference in Doukas’ narrative. He reports that during the siege an embassy from John Hunyadi arrived in the Turkish camp. Its real mission, he states, was to demand the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of Turkish forces. Instead, the ambassadors demonstrated to the Turks a more effective way of aiming their cannon in order to achieve greater and more impressive results through a primitive form of triangulation, that is, not firing head on but at an angle. These instructions enabled the Turks to damage severely the ancient fortifications.[50]

It should be stressed that our sources never mention Urban’s monstrous cannon by itself, but always in association with smaller bombards and Mehmed's other artillery. Benvenuto, thus, describes a triple battery deployed against one particular sector:[51]

> *Item, quod erat una bomberda quae simul emittebat tres lapides inaequales; item, quod lapis maior erat ponderis 1300 librarum; item, quod lapides alii duo erant ponderis 600 librarum pro quolibet 300 librarum.*
>
> Item: there was one bombard that fired three stones of a different weight at the same time. Item: the greatest stone weighed 1300 pounds. Item: there were another two stones that weighed 600 pounds and 300 pounds each.

Two Greek refugees who made their way to Germany provide a report of the operations and mention the artillery pieces, specifying three large pieces and one smaller, that had targeted the gate they call "Salgaria" [Kaligaria/Eğri?].[52] While Cardinal Isidore, in his letter to the pope, mentions the famous bombard, he also observes that most of the destruction was caused by the artillery as a whole and not by Urban's bombard alone.[53]

The fate of the famous bombard must remain in doubt. It may have survived undamaged, if Doukas is correct.[54] Alternatively, it may have cracked and subsequent attempts to effect repairs may have rendered it inoperative. Its ultimate fate, like the fate of its builder, Urban, remains shrouded in mystery and doubt.[55]

It is quite possible, if not probable, that Mehmed II depended upon Urban's bombards and especially upon Urban's masterpiece to demolish the ancient fortifications with ease and to bring the siege to a swift conclusion, before the Christian powers, especially Venice or Hungary, could mobilize and dispatch help to the beleaguered city. There is no question that serious damage had been inflicted upon the walls, but the Ottoman bombards failed to produce any anticipated spectacular results. The Mesoteikhion suffered the most concentrated damage and its condition became a major concern for the defense. Again and again eyewitness accounts mention the numerous problems and the difficulties of making repairs. Sections of the walls were demolished without doubt. Such is the testimony of Isidore, in a private letter to Cardinal Bessarion, dated July 6, 1453, that is, as soon as Isidore arrived in Crete and the events were still fresh in his mind with minimum elaboration. Isidore reports that smaller cannon failed to bring down the walls but a triple Ottoman battery (Isidore does not specify which one), managed to bring down sections of the walls in various sectors through combined bombardment:[56]

> *Cum autem reliquas omnes minores* [*sc. bombardas*] *densitas et*

> *fortitudo murorum substinerent, vires illarum trium* [*sc. bombardarum*] *et verbera crebro et assidue concutientium moenia tollerare non potuerunt: ad secundum enim ictum pars deiecta est atque decussa murorum cum ipsis turribus.*
>
> Although the thickness and strength of the walls could resist all of the smaller [bombards], the walls proved unable to endure the might of those three [bombards] that maintained incessant, constant bombardment: with the second strike a part of the walls collapsed and was destroyed together with the towers themselves.

In the same letter, Isidore comments on the condition of the critical sector of Saint Romanos, which was in ruins by the end of May:[57]

> *Vigesimo itaque nono die mensis Maii proxime peracti aurora illuscente… invadentes Turci ad eam partem maxime semiruptam circa Sanctum Romanum assiluerunt…. Facilis autem erat in ea parte ad moenia ascensus, quia, ut dictum est, quasi tota erat bombardis illisa ac prope decussa.*
>
> At the dawn's early light of the twenty-ninth day of last May…the Turks launched their attack and assault, concentrating on the sector of Saint Romanos, which had been practically demolished. In those parts the assault against the walls was particularly easy, because, as I have stated, it was almost destroyed by the missiles of the bombards.

Nine days later, in his letter to the Pope Nicholas V, Isidore again emphasizes the success of the triple batteries and concludes by repeating the same observation.[58]

As it is still evident upon modern inspection, the sector of the Mesoteikhion did suffer a great deal of damage. The outer wall does not exist at all, with the exception of a few low sections. The inner greater fortifications, however, suffered less, even though towers were damaged and the great wall itself sustained heavy bombardment. The decision had been made before the beginning of the siege to man and defend the outer wall (which Leonardo designates *antemurale* and *vallum*), because the defenders were too few to distribute themselves effectively at both lines. This situation was further aggravated after the transfer of the Ottoman fleet over land into the Golden Horn, which, in effect, necessitated that the defenders spread their forces out even more as Leonardo states:[59] *propugnaculis impares numero agebant*, "the defenders did not equal the number of battlements," since more attention then became imperative in the harbor sector:[60]

> *Angustia igitur hac afflictus imperator, dispositis in propugnaculis militibus, quoad potuit, antemurale solum urbis vallumque sat videbatur tutari posse.*
>
> Beset by this scarcity, the emperor distributed the soldiers behind the battlements as effectively as he could, and the ground by the outer wall seemed to be protected.

Elsewhere in his narrative Leonardo repeats the same information and declares, with proverbial hindsight, that this strategy had been flawed from the outset of the conflict.[61] In his opinion, the inner wall should have also been manned and defended:

> *Operosa autem protegendi vallum et antemurale nostris fuit cura; quod contra animum meum semper fuit, qui suadebam, in refugium muros altos primos non deserendos: qui si ob imbres negligentiamque vel scissi, vel intermes propugnaculis essent, a principio dum propositum guerrae intervenit, reparari potuissent, reparandi custodiendique erant: qui ne deserti, praesidium urbi salutis contulissent.*
>
> The protection of the outer wall became troublesome for us. I had never condoned this [strategy], and I tried to argue that the high [inner] wall should not have been abandoned; it could have provided us with shelter. The [inner] wall had been damaged by storms and neglect and its battlements were not fit for battle. They could and should have been repaired at the very start when they were considering a plan for the war. Had this wall not been abandoned, it would have provided a bulwark of safety for the city.

This criticism of the general defensive strategy has been generally overlooked by modern scholarship.[62] It seems unkind on the part of Bishop Leonardo to dismiss so abruptly the entire strategy, which proved effective for almost two months. He was an ecclesiastic and perhaps had neither sound knowledge of nor experience with military strategy. In our view, the defense of the outer and lower wall was more efficient as a strategy precisely because it was easier for the defenders to organize sorties and to harass the enemy continuously. In all likelihood, the Byzantine high command, under the guidance of Giustiniani, had realized that western techniques of fighting were more effective against an imposing Turkish army than a simple passive strategy of providing monolithic defense behind a stationary wall. It is more likely that Giustiniani's professional band of well-armored men,[63] along with other effective warlords such as the Bocchiardi brothers and Maurizio Cataneo, employed tactics that are familiar to us from other western fighting bands in the Levant, such as the Hospitallers in Rhodes who proved successful in repelling Mehmed's army from their island in 1481. The Knights of Saint John in Rhodes, as well, employed an effective method of fighting. A heavily armored knight, wielding a two-handed sword, wore chain mail and metal plate armor, which protected him in hand-to-hand combat against arrows, lances, stones, axes, and swords. He was the center point in any sortie, as he was surrounded by a small band of lightly armed soldiers carrying crossbows and small firearms. These soldiers generally used the knight as their defense, taking shelter behind his armor as he advanced, much in the same way as modern infantry advance behind tanks and armored vehicles in twentieth and twenty-first-century warfare. Such small units egressing from fortifications could cause a great deal of confusion among the enemy and wreak havoc among the attacking regiments of the sultan that were not well armored with plates nor protected by chain mail. Kritoboulos recognized the superior armor of the Italians, which allowed them more maneuverability without being overly concerned about wounds to their body:[64]

> Ἰουστῖνος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ (οὗτοι γὰρ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τὰ παρερρηγμένα τοῦ τείχους, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς) κατάφρακτοι ὄντες οὐδεμίαν ἐδέχοντο βλάβην παρά τε τῶν βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ᾽ εὐρώστως ἠγωνίζοντο μαχόμενοί τε γενναίως.
>
> Giustiniani and his men (for they had taken their positions at the ruined walls with many Romans [= Greeks]), were wearing body armor and sustained no injury from arrows and other missiles. They fought bravely and with force.

Frequent sorties of this type would explain why the outer wall was manned instead of the mighty inner bulwark. Doukas states that the troupe of Giustiniani fought not only behind the walls, but also made sorties into the open fields before the moat and walls:[65]

> ...ἐμάχοντο ἡρωικῶς οἱ Λατῖνοι σὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐξερχόμενοι ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἱστάμενοι ἐν τῷ ἐξωκάστρῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ. Πολλάκις καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς τάφρου ἐκπηδῶντες ἐσυνεπλέκοντο τοῖς Τούρκοις Ῥωμαῖοι.
>
> ...the Latins [= the Italians] with Giovanni [Giustiniani] fought heroically, as they came out of the gates of the city and took their places on the outer fortifications and within the moat. Many times the Romans [= the Greeks] advanced beyond the moat and skirmished with the Turks.

It is not quite clear what Doukas intended by fighting "in the moat." He probably means within the area behind the moat, the περίβολος, that is the grounds or walkway between the moat curtain and the first line of walls.[66]

There is indirect evidence that Mehmed's father, Murad II, successfully utilized a variation of this tactic in the previous siege of Constantinople. Khalkokondyles suggests that in 1453 the Byzantine high command, aware of Ottoman military strategies, consciously repeated the defensive strategy that had proved so successful during the siege of Murad II:[67]

> Τῷ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι βουλευομένοις ἐδέδοκτο παρατασσομένοις ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τεῖχος ἀμύνεσθαι, οἷα τῇ τάφρῳ ὑπερκείμενον, κατὰ τὰ πρὶν δεδογμένα σφίσιν ἐπὶ Ἀμουράτεω, ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πόλιν.
>
> To the emperor and the Hellenes [= the Greeks] it seemed that they should take their defending position on the outer wall, which is situated beyond the moat, as this strategy had been decided in the days of Murad, when he laid siege to the city.

The general details about the siege of 1422 are clear.[68] The city was invested, its environs were raided by Turkish vanguards, and, after the arrival of Murad, skirmishes were fought in the vicinity of the walls and about the moat. At some point during the onslaught one of Murad II's minor allies deserted and presented the Greeks with valuable intelligence information, but his defection would not have made much difference in the Ottoman camp or in their grand strategy. Murad ordered a general assault but was repelled, at which point he lifted the siege.[69] The Greek defenders were convinced that a divine miracle had taken place and the city was delivered from certain servitude.[70] The eyewitness reporter of the siege was John Kananos, who suggests that a miraculous intervention occurred, as the Turks seemed to have won the upper hand and were about to overrun the outer wall when they were turned away by the appearance of a woman dressed in a violet garment who instilled fear in their hearts. But for the majority of Greeks, at least, there was the impression that some sort of divine intervention had occurred at a crucial moment in the battle. Kananos states that the Turks became alarmed and the Greeks suddenly gathered courage and pushed them off the fortifications.[71] One may not be justified to speculate that at the beginning of the general assault the Greek defenders pulled back on purpose, under a comprehensive pre-planned maneuver, and then simply rallied their forces at key points in a counter attack. Yet, some strategy must have been in place.[72] The fact is that we have no definite information on this important point and we do not know the formal defensive plans that had been approved and put into operation by the imperial high command.[73] Kananos asserts that the cowardly Greeks suddenly became brave and repelled the assault. He does not imply that their timidity had been feigned, in accordance with a pre-arranged plan. But again Kananos was not a member of the high command and would not have been privy to any tactical information.

In 1453, the defender's strategy seems to have relied on frequent sorties to harass the enemy camp through constant skirmishing. A strategy of this sort, which actively avoids a static defense behind stationary fortifications, requires easy access to the area outside the walls. Clearly, then, the inner great wall could not have been defended if this elastic strategy were to be enforced. The dynamic strategy of the sultan demanded constant changes in his tactics, from artillery bombardment to undermining the walls or employing old-fashioned mobile siege towers. The Constantinopolitan defenders reacted with an elastic response, employing sorties and easy access to the area between the moat and the first line of fortifications. As we will examine presently, it was through a massive sortie of this type that the defenders were able to neutralize an enormous siege tower employed by the sultan against the *Pege* sector. Moreover, the sorties of the defenders were known in contemporary literature, as Doukas also refers to them:[74]

> Πολλάκις καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς τάφρου ἐκπηδῶντες ἐσυνεπλέκοντο τοῖς Τούρκοις Ῥωμαῖοι, ποτὲ μὲν ἀφέντες ποτὲ δὲ λαμβάνοντες.

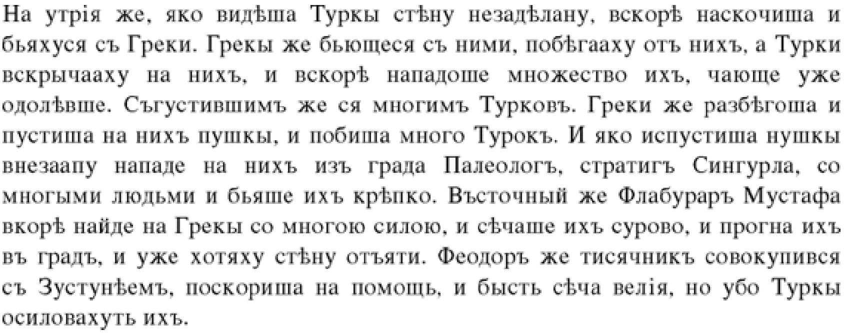
> Often the Romans [= Greeks] went over their moat to skirmish with the Turks. Sometimes they lost men; sometimes they captured prisoners.

The eyewitness narrative of Nestor-Iskander offers three specific instances of fighting at close quarters that can only be explained in terms of sorties conducted by the defenders and of their hand-to-hand combat outside the fortifications. Among the notable and detailed examples of sorties that were conducted in early May, he relates first:[75]

> Флабураръ же паки западныи, Амаръбей съ своими полкы нападе на Грекы, и бысть сѣча велія. Такоже изъ града Рахкавѣю стратугу со многими людьми преспѣвшу на помочь Грекомъ, бъяшесь крѣпко съ Турки, и прогна ихъ даже до самаго Амарбѣа.

> Again the standard-bearer of the west,[76] Amarbeg,[77] attacked the Greeks with his regiment. There was great slashing. So also Rhangabes the *strategos* succeeded, with many men, in aiding the Greeks outside the city, as they were vigorously fighting the Turks. He routed all of them, including Amarbeg himself.

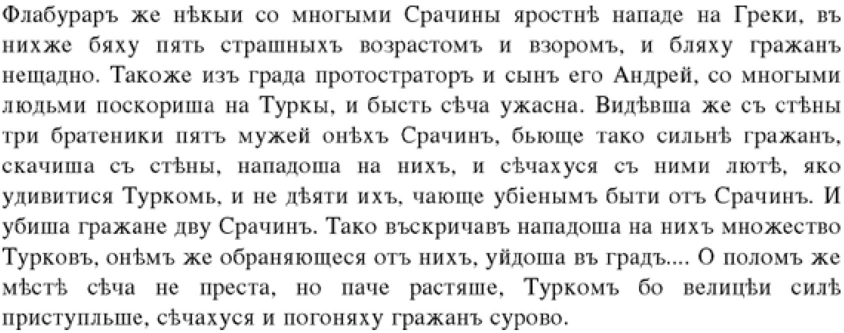
Between the Julian calendar dates of May 3 and May 6, we are told of another sortie, which had more disastrous consequences for the defenders:[78]



На утрія же, яко видѣша Туркы стѣну незадѣлану, вскорѣ наскочиша и бьяхуся съ Греки. Грекы же бьющеся съ ними, побѣгаахy отъ нихъ, а Турки вскрычаахy на нихъ, и вскорѣ нападоше множество ихъ, чающе уже одолѣвше. Съгустившимъ же ся многимъ Турковъ. Греки же разбѣгоша и пустиша на нихъ пушкы, и побиша много Турокъ. И яко испустиша нушкы внезаапу нападе на нихъ изъ града Палеологъ, стратигъ Сингурла, со многыми людьми и бьяше ихъ крѣпко. Въсточный же Флабураръ Мустафа вкорѣ найде на Грекы со многою силою, и сѣчаше ихъ сурово, и прогна ихъ въ градъ, и уже хотяху стѣну отъяти. Феодоръ же тисячникъ совокупився съ Зустунѣемъ, поскориша на помощь, и бысть сѣча велія, но убо Туркы осиловахуть ихъ.

> The next morning the Turks saw the unblocked wall; soon they rose up and fought against the Greeks. The Greeks went to battle but were occasionally routed. And the Turks raised a cry against them; soon they launched their attack, expecting at once to overwhelm [them]. As the ranks of the Turks thickened, the Greeks dispersed and shot cannons at them, killing many Turks. As the cannons fired, suddenly *Strategos* Palaiologos Singkourlas,[79] with many men from the city, attacked and fought firmly against them. Mustafa, the standard-bearer of the east,[80] came upon the Greeks with a large force soon thereafter and pitilessly put them to the sword. He drove them into the city and even wanted to start out for the wall. Hurrying to his aid, Chiliarch Theodoros[81] joined [forces with] Justinian [Giustiniani]. There was great carnage, but in the end the Turks subdued them.

Even in the final days before the fall of the imperial city, individual defenders did not hesitate to launch skirmishes outside the walls. Nestor-Iskander relates such an effort:[82]



Флабураръ же нѣкыи со многыми Срачины яростнѣ нападе на Греки, въ нихже бяху пять страшныхъ возрастомъ и взоромъ, и бляху гражанъ нещадно. Такоже изъ града протостраторъ и сынъ его Андрей, со многыми людьми поскориша на Турки, и бысть сѣча ужасна. Видѣвша же съ стѣны три братеники пятъ мужей онѣхъ Срачинъ, бьюще тако сильнѣ гражанъ, скачиша съ стѣны, нападоша на нихъ, и сѣчахуся съ ними лютѣ, яко удивитися Туркомь, и не дѣяти ихъ, чающе убіенымъ быти отъ Срачинъ. И убиша гражане дву Срачинъ. Тако въскричавъ нападоша на нихъ множество Турковъ, онѣмъ же обраняющеся отъ нихъ, уйдоша въ градъ.... О поломъ же мѣстѣ сѣча не преста, но паче растяше, Туркомъ бо велицѣи силѣ приступльше, сѣчахуся и погоняху гражанъ сурово.

> A certain *flaburar* with many Saracens furiously fell upon the Greeks. Among them there were five of dreadful age and look. The

> townspeople were unsparing. Similarly from the city, the *protostrator* and his son Andrew hurried with many men against the Turks; there was frightful slashing. Three first cousins saw from the wall five of their own men, strong townsmen, fighting the Saracens. Leaping from the wall, they fell upon them and slashed at them ferociously. The Turks observed this [development]. Yet they [the cousins] did not retreat, even though they expected to be killed by the Saracens. And the townsmen killed two Saracens. Uttering a cry, a multitude of Turks attacked them. After they were wounded, they returned to the city…. At the open place [before the Pempton Gate] the slashing did not stop and even expanded, for the Turks mustered a great force, slashed harshly, and put the townspeople to flight.

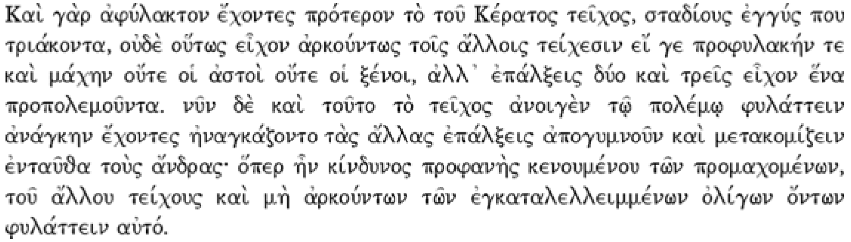
Yet even this elastic defensive strategy utilizing harassing tactics through sorties probably subsided as the siege prolonged. The defenders could not afford additional casualties in subsequent sorties, especially after the sultan transferred boats into the harbor and forced the defenders to transfer forces from the land walls to the Golden Horn sector. Doukas provides an observation that argues in favor of this view:[83]

> Πλὴν τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπᾷδον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις· καὶ γὰρ εὔκολον ἂν εἰπεῖν εἶναι ἕνα Ῥωμαῖον πρὸς εἴκοσι Τούρκους. Τί ἐδύναντο καταπροσωπῆσαι καὶ ἐξελθεῖν…. Πλὴν ἡ βουλὴ ἐδίδοτο, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀντιμαχεῖν ἐκ τῶν τοίχων διὰ τῶν προμαχώνων, οἱ μὲν διὰ τξαγροβολικῶν βελῶν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τοξικῶν, ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ μολυβδόλων ἀπολυομένων διὰ βοτάνων πέντε καὶ δέκα ὁμοῦ, σμικρὰ ὡς κάρυα Ποντικὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀποτελοῦντα δύναμιν τρήσεως, ὡς εἰ τύχῃ ἐν σιδηροφόρῳ σώματι, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ σῶμα διατρήσας ἐξέρχεται καὶ εἰς ἄλλο μεταπηδᾷ, εἰ τύχῃ εἶτα ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἕτερον, ἕως οὗ ψυχρανθῇ ἡ δύναμις τῆς βοτάνου· καὶ διὰ μιᾶς προσβολῆς δυναται ζημιῶσαι δύο καὶ τρεῖς. Ἔμαθον οὖν καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ χρῶνται καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ ἐπέκεινα.

> Be that as it may, such [an approach] did not favor the Romans [= the Greeks]. It was easy to reckon that one Roman had to face twenty Turks. What would be achieved then with hand-to-hand combat and sorties? An order was issued that the Romans were to fight from within the walls and bulwarks; some were to use crossbow bolts and others bow arrows. Yet others were to use lead bullets (fired with [gun] powder). These bullets are small, the size of walnuts from the Pontus [= Euxine], which possess great power of penetration, as five or ten are fired at the same time. If they happen to strike an armored man, they will go through shield and body, and will come out to strike someone else who happens to be within their trajectory and they will continue to do so until the force of the [gun] powder cools down. It is possible to injure two or three men with one shot. The Turks also learned to use similar and

more effective tactics.

This change in tactics would have come at a time when the defenders were obliged to thin out their scanty forces. The most likely period must have been the days immediately after the transfer of the Ottoman boats into the Golden Horn, which necessitated a radical change in the deployment of defenders. Undoubtedly, this alternate stratagem of transferring boats and thinning the defenders was one of the objectives of the sultan in mounting the operation, but it did not give him absolute command of the harbor. And this brilliant stroke of strategy on the part of the sultan was recognized for what it was at that time.[84] Kritoboulos analyzes the situation as follows:[85]



Καὶ γὰρ ἀφύλακτον ἔχοντες πρότερον τὸ τοῦ Κέρατος τεῖχος, σταδίους ἐγγύς που τριάκοντα, οὐδὲ οὕτως εἶχον ἀρκούντως τοῖς ἄλλοις τείχεσιν εἴ γε προφυλακήν τε καὶ μάχην οὔτε οἱ ἀστοὶ οὔτε οἱ ξένοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπάλξεις δύο καὶ τρεῖς εἶχον ἕνα προπολεμοῦντα. νῦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ἀνοιγὲν τῷ πολέμῳ φυλάττειν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες ἠναγκάζοντο τὰς ἄλλας ἐπάλξεις ἀπογυμνοῦν καὶ μετακομίζειν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὅπερ ἦν κίνδυνος προφανὴς κενουμένου τῶν προμαχομένων, τοῦ ἄλλου τείχους καὶ μὴ ἀρκούντων τῶν ἐγκαταλελλειμμένων ὀλίγων ὄντων φυλάττειν αὐτό.

> Earlier [= prior to the transfer of the Ottoman boats to the Golden Horn], there was no need to guard the walls of the Horn, about thirty stades in length. Even so, they did not have sufficient soldiers, either residents of the city or foreigners, to man the other walls; and so each soldier defended two or three battlements. But now even these walls [of the Golden Horn] were open to attack and had to be guarded. Necessity obliged them to strip the other battlements of their defenders and to transfer these men to this sector. The danger was manifest: the outer walls were emptied of the defenders and the few that remained were not sufficient to guard the abandoned walls.

Thus one may conclude that Leonardo’s criticism was not a realization of the shortcomings of the defense. Leonardo did not understand the strategy. Probably, he was not at the Mesoteikhion, where the skirmishing initiated. Since he was an ecclesiastic and a devoted friend of Cardinal Isidore, he must have served next to his friend at the sector of Saint Demetrios/Kynegon,[86] by the Tower of Anemas, the sections of the walls that the cardinal had restored at his own expense[87] and whose neighborhood he defended in the siege. In this area, the modern day Aivansarai, the walls do not present two lines of an outer and inner wall. This area is almost adjacent to the Golden Horn and is protected by a single line of massive walls (pl.

59). Here, the terrain is not suitable for sorties and clearly none took place here.

It should be observed, nevertheless, that the defense of the Mesoteikhion proved successful, in spite of the uninterrupted bombardment in the Saint Romanos sector. The Ottoman bombardment may have, in fact, assisted the efforts of Giustiniani's professional band. Early on in the siege, the defenders discovered severe limitations in the deployment of their own artillery, which proved impractical, cumbersome, and ineffectual. The cannons' recoil and reverberations weakened and damaged the outer walls and their towers; besides, gunpowder was scarce:[88]

> *Pulvis erat nitri exigua, tela modica; bombardae, si aderant, incommoditate loci primum hostes offendere, maceriebus alveisque tectos, non poterant. Nam si quae magnae erant, ne murus concuteretur noster, quiescebant.*

> There was not much gunpowder, small quantities of it, and average weapons. Our bombards, the few that we had, could not injure the enemy because of the terrain and because they were covered and protected in their huts and trenches. Our bigger bombards were silent, so that they would not shake our wall.

Further, the defection of Urban appears to have traumatized the defenders, who became suspicious of their own artillerymen, even though no convincing proof of collaboration with the enemy could be secured, as Khalkokondyles testifies:[89]

> οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὴν ἀρχήν...ἠφίεσαν καὶ οὗτοι λίθον ἕλκοντα τρία ἡμιτάλαντα σταθμόν, καὶ ἔβαλον ἐς τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τηλεβόλον. ἀλλ᾽ ἐσείετο μὲν τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐβλάπτετο σφίσιν, οὐ μέντοι ἤνυον οὐδέν. καὶ ὁ μὲν μείζων τηλεβόλος διερρήγνυτο αὐτίκα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἠφίετο. καὶ τὸν τηλεβολιστὴν ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχον ὡς διεφθαρμένον ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀπῆγον θανάτου· οὐ μέντοι γε φανερὸν εἶχον σημεῖον, ὡς κολάζειν, καὶ ἀπέλυσαν.

> In the beginning the Greeks…also fired a stone weighing three half talents and targeted the king's [= sultan's] bombard. But their walls shook and were damaged and they accomplished nothing. Then the largest piece shattered as soon as it was fired. They blamed the gunner and said that he had been corrupted by the king [= sultan]. They took him away to execute him but released him when no tangible proof was produced.

It must be observed, nevertheless, that on every occasion when the Turkish artillery successfully brought down sections of the walls in the Mesoteikhion, the defenders quickly made repairs, or even replaced the collapsed sections with improvised barricades and stockades, which the Turkish forces on foot were unable to storm:[90]

> *…sed locus versus portam S<ancti> Romani…faciliorem adversariis praebebat transitum. Illic quoque muri minus erant fortes, quorum non minima pars diebus praeteritis fuerat ab adversariis comminuta. Itaque specula quaedam illuc iactu fundae ad terram prostrata est; media quoque pars murorum illius lateris per spatium fere ducentorum passuum deiecta. Erant quippe illic tot fundae atque colubri in aere volitantes, in tanta copia, ut sua densitate aerem viderentur obnubilare. Illi vero qui de civitate erant, prout poterant, muros suos reparando erigebant obstruentes eos terra et vasis ac lignis.*
>
> …but the place opposite the Gate of Saint Romanos…offered an easier passage for our adversaries. There the walls were also less strong; our adversaries had lowered a great section of them in the past days. Also the middle of those walls, to a space of almost two hundred paces, had been brought down. There were also cannon and colubrids(?) firing so many projectiles into the air that the atmosphere seemed obscured. There were some people from the city there, trying to repair and re-erect the wall with the earth, barrels, and timber.

In these collapsed sections the defenders were able to deploy artillery, without fear of further damaging their own fortifications. In fact, on the eve of the general assault, Giustiniani needed to deploy additional pieces to his sector about the Pempton, but his requisitioning attempts were thwarted by the grand duke Loukas Notaras. The incident resulted in a serious altercation between the emperor's *generalissimo* and prime minister, which further degenerated to an exchange of curses and insults:[91]

> *Interea capitaneus generalis Johannes Justinianus…petivitque sibi a Chirluca* [that is, Κὺρ Λουκᾶ (Νοταρᾶ)]*…communes urbis bombardas quas contra hostes affigeret. Quas cum superbe denegasset: "Quis me, capitaneus inquit, o proditor, tenet ut gladio non occumbas meo?"*
>
> Meanwhile, the captain general Giovanni Giustiniani…requested from Lord Loukas…bombards that belonged to the city to deploy them against the enemy. When he rejected his request with contempt, the captain said: "Traitor: Who will hold me back from killing you with my sword?"

It is to the defenders' credit that they were able to resist all attacks during the long siege, even though their fortifications had been seriously damaged. The engineering skills of Giustiniani's band seem to have caught the attention of Mehmed II and evidently the sultan was impressed by the tenacity of the defenders; at least such rumors reached Leonardo within the city. Leonardo reports that the sultan complained bitterly about the help that the Greeks were receiving from the Italians:[92]

> *Itaque Teucrus demolitum, quam primum restauratum ut conspexit murum: Non Graecorum, inquit, sed Francorum hoc ingenium est, ut tanta resistentia fiat, tanta pugna: quos nec innumerae sagittae, nec machinarum ligneorumque castrorum horror, nec intermissa obsessio deterret.*
>
> And so, when the Turk saw that the wall had been repaired so swiftly, he said: "What is at work here is the skill of the Franks [= westerners] and not the Greeks, that results in such resistance and such fighting. They have no fear of innumerable arrows, of cannon, or of wooden castles, even though there is no respite to the siege."

The defenders voiced an identical complaint, as they firmly believed that the Turks were receiving substantial help from westerners and specifically from the Genoese of Pera. Leonardo was extremely upset by the conduct of western Christians and of his Genoese compatriots in Pera and expressed his disappointment a number of times in his narrative.[93] Leonardo states that Mehmed was very much in awe with the defense at the Saint Romanos sector that he tried to lure Giustiniani away from Constantinople.[94] A number of sources repeat this information.[95] It is not improbable that the sultan may have attempted to bribe Giustiniani and his competent mercenaries to join forces with him.

The Ottoman bombards seem to have targeted the Mesoteikhion, the Saint Romanos sector from the Gate of Saint Romanos (Top Kapι) to the Pempton (Hücum Kapιsι). It was precisely in this area that the defenders erected stockades and barricades in front of the inner wall as replacements for the collapsed fortifications of the outer wall. Their efforts were invariably crowned with success and the Ottoman forces prior to May 29 repeatedly failed to penetrate these hastily improvised bulwarks. The Ottoman batteries had not fared better at the sector of the Kaligaria Gate (Eğğri Kapι), their initial target. This gate commands high ground and any bombardment would have been confronted with greater targeting difficulties. The problem of the precipitous slope of the terrain and the strength of the fortifications probably obliged Mehmed to transfer his large bombards from Kaligaria southwards to the valley of the Lykos. A battery opposite the Selybria/Pege/Silivri Gate, further south from the Gate of Saint

Romanos, as well proved to be ineffective.

In general, then, the strategy to employ gunpowder and bombards failed to realize its primary objective to open up wide breaches within the curtain walls for an infantry assault against the defenders who would have been deprived of their primary cover. The engineering skills and the harassing tactics of the defense, especially the trained *condottieri* of Giustiniani, as well as the effective repairs that were accomplished neutralized the threat presented by Ottoman bombards.

## II. A Change of Tactics: Mines and Siege Towers

When it became obvious that the overrated artillery could not perform as had been planned and even promised by Urban, the sultan had to rely on more traditional military methods that were available to him. His first approach consisted of mining beneath the fortifications and this method created serious problems for the defense. Mines and counter-mines were a recognized form of siege warfare and defense in the *quattrocento*. Ultimately, this method derives from Roman warfare and is even discussed by Marcus Pollio Vitruvius.[96] The objective of digging tunnels was to undermine the foundations of a wall or a tower by excavating directly underneath the structure, which would then collapse into the tunnel. Alternatively, a mine could be utilized to gain entry into a city by bypassing the fortifications and emerging into the interior. The Turks seem to have had both objectives in mind.[97] Barbaro was sufficiently impressed with this tactic and with the mining expertise of the Turks to include a general description of the method they utilized. He relates:[98]

> *Ma azochè vui intendiadi, queste cave si se cavava el teren, e andavase pontelando el teren de sora, con ponte grosse de boni legnami, e vignia cusì cavando per in fina a le fondamente de la tera, e poi cavava de soto via le fondamente, e vignia referir dentro de la tera, e a questo muodo lor si feva le sue cave.*
>
> So that you may understand better, the Turks excavated these mines by digging underground. Then they supported the mines with scaffolding and thick bridges made of tough timber. In this way they approached underground the foundations of the land walls. Then they continued their tunneling under these foundations and made their way into the territory. That is the way the Turks constructed their mines.

To detect counter-mines the defenders would usually place vats filled with water on the fortifications and watch for water movement as a suitable warning. If a mine had been detected, the defenders would dig a counter-mine; if an enemy mine were encountered, the enemy miners would then be destroyed. Opposing forces fought on occasion battles underground.[99] Our most reliable sources on the siege of 1453 devote more extensive passages to the mines than to the Ottoman artillery and to Urban's bombards. The probable implication is that these mines presented a greater threat than the Ottoman artillery.

Cardinal Isidore notes this change in tactics in his letter to Cardinal Bessarion and enumerates five mines, their approach to the wall, and the counter-mines dug by the defenders:[100]

> *Alium et tertio modum aggressus contra urbem versus portam Caligariorum a longe cuniculos quinque et subterraneos dolos effodit, per quos in urbem additus pateret. Cumque ad murorum usque ac turrium fundamenta applicuissent…nostri pariter intus ex amussim de directo correspondentes cuniculos effoderunt.*
>
> In the third place he [*sc*. Mehmed II] employed another tactic against the city, targeting the Kaligaria Gate: from far away he dug five tunnels and subterranean passages, to open, through them, an avenue into the city. When they reached the foundations of the walls and of the towers…our side from within dug counter-mines directly upon them.

Isidore alludes to the tunnels in his report to Pope Nicholas V:[101] *alibi autem caveas faciebat sub terra*, "elsewhere he dug mines under the earth." As usual, the most informative comments come from the pen of Leonardo, who reports that the sultan had summoned for this purpose expert sappers from Serbia.[102] Moreover, Leonardo links this change in tactics to the failure of the artillery to destroy the replacement stockades:[103]

> *Nam quanto hostis mole ingentis lapidis muros conterebat, tanto hic animosius sarmentis, humo vasisque vinariis intercompositis reparabat. Qua de re Theucrus delusus cogitavit non cessandum ab ictibus machinarum, sed fortiore cura subterraneis cavis furari urbem.*
>
> As the enemy destroyed the walls with the bulk of his enormous stones, with greater determination, he [*sc*. Giovanni Giustiniani] made repairs and filled in the gaps with crates, earth, and wine barrels. In disappointment the Turk kept up the bombardment but decided to enter the city in secret by digging with greater care subterranean tunnels.

Lauro Quirini, who had spoken with Isidore upon the latter's arrival in Crete, states that the Serbian sappers of the sultan had dug thirteen mines (*caveas tres ac decem*).[104] Leonardo provides details and makes it clear that John Grant, Giustiniani's military engineer,[105] was responsible for frustrating this approach:[106]

> *Lignis instrumentisque advectis solerti cura, uti imperatum, actum est ut mox per cuniculos tentarent fundamenta suffodere et penetrareque*

> *omnifariam urbis murum. At cum fundamentis – o rem mirabilem! – primum iam vallum antequemurale mirando cum silentio subcavassent, Johannis Grande Alemani…industria et sagacitate opus detectum est exploratumque….*

> They brought wooden implements with great care, as they had been instructed, and proceeded without delay to undermine and penetrate the foundation of the city walls in many spots. What a miracle! When they had begun the excavation and had even reached the curtain and the outer wall with an admirable absence of sound, the first line walls, …with the perseverance and wisdom of John Grant, the German…they detected and explored [the mines]….

Pusculo also devotes a section of his narrative to the "secret mines" (*secretos cuneos*) and describes how they were built.[107] He speaks of the mines that were dug about the Kaligaria sector and of the efforts by which they were neutralized through counter-mines by burning and burying alive the enemy sappers, after their tunnels had been detected through vibrations and tremors:[108]

> *Ast alios murum juxta Calygaria Teucros / Moenia subruere intellectum, et vertibus ima / Fundamenta quati; cives tremor occupat ingens / … Altum / Defodiunt properi cuneum, tacitique cavernis / Succedunt imis… / Exustisque cadit lignis, impletque cavatam / Terra viam. Teucrum pauci jacuere sepulti… / Et tandem laeti cives redduntur ad auras.*

> They realized that other Turks were undermining the walls by the Kaligaria [Gate] and that they shook from their very foundations. Enormous fear invaded the citizens…. They dug a deep mine and silently moved into the deep caverns without making noise…. They burned the timber; the ground collapsed and filled the excavated mine. A few Turks were buried…at long last the citizens returned to the air in joy.

Similar is Tetaldi's testimony:[109]

> *…qui in exercitu suo plurimos habuit viros gnaros diversi generis metalla fodiendi ex terra. Hi ergo capitanei sui sagacitate et calliditate inducti subtus muros civitatis fodere coeperunt…ad deiiciendum ac destruendum et annihilandum ipsos muros; sed Christianis intra urbem ex adverso longe a muris identidem attentatibus et eis obviantibus contigit eos interdum insimul convenire aliquando multosque Turcorum fumo et foetore cadaverum periclitari et extingui et vita sub terra privari. Interdum etiam aquae violentia nostri illos ad interitum compulerunt et*

> *sic conatum eorum impedierunt.*

> …in his [*sc.* Mehmed's camp] there were many men who knew how to mine all sorts of metals from the earth. Their captains led them, with cleverness and cunning, and they began to dig…to bring down and destroy the walls. But the Christians from within the city dug a counter-mine, met the Turks at some point, and killed them with smoke; they lost their lives underground with the stench of corpses. Our side even drowned them with water and prevented them from accomplishing their task.

Even though Barbaro was aboard Venetian vessels in the harbor, he provides the most detailed information on the mines and on the countermeasures that the defenders employed. He includes a number of details on the construction of the mines and countermines, on the fighting underground, and on the detected positions along with dates. He seems to indicate that this approach to gain access into the city intensified in the latter part of May. He records that the first mine was detected on May 16:[110]

> *In questo zorno de sedexe mazo, da tera si segui questo soto scrito. Turchi si avea fabricada una cava per vignir dentro de soto via le mure, e fola trovada in questo zorno questa tal cava; turchi si comenzò a cavarla ben mio mezo lutan da le mure, e vignia a vegnir de soto via le fondamente de la tera, ma i nostri de la tera, senti la note a romper, zoè a cavar questa cava, che zà i avea pasado le fondamente de le mure, e de prexente come fo sentido a romper, subito lo mega duca si fexe asaver questa cossa al serenissimo imperador, e a lui fo narada la condition de questa cava, meraveiandose forte l'imperador de questa cosa; ma el serenissimo imperador, prestamente si fexe far bone provixion de questa cava. Subito fo mendà a cercar per tuta la tera tuti i maistri che fea cave soto tera; trovado che fo i maistri, quali prestamente fo mandadi dal mega duca, e lì el dito mega duca si fexe cavar a questi maistri una cava dentro da la tera, la qual vigna a trovar quela del turco, e scontrosse cava con cava per modo, che la nostra si trova la soa, e i nostri si fo presti, subito caza fuogo in la sua, e vene a bruxar tuti i legnami de quela, i qual si iera apuntadi in quela cava, e bruxando in ponteli de quela, la tera vene a cazer zoxo, e vene a sofegar tuti i turchi, li qual si iera soto questa cava, over queli si se bruxava in nel dar del fuogo. – Questa cava si fo trovada a uno luogo, el qual se chiama la Calegaria, e questo cavar che fexe i turchi in questo luogo si for perchè lì no ve iera barbacani. Questa cava si fexe gran paura a la tera, dubitando che una note i non desesse qualche assalto per queste suo cave, sì che per questo zorno turchi si ave el mala no….*

> On the same day of the sixteenth of May, the following event occurred: the Turks built a mine underground, through the walls to enter into the territory. On this day their mine was detected. The Turks had begun their excavation about a half-hour at night [when] our defenders heard the noise of their excavation, because they had already gone beyond the foundations of the walls. As soon as they heard this noise, the grand duke [= Loukas Notaras] reported the event to the most serene emperor and explained to him the specifics of this mine. The emperor was astonished at what was happening. Immediately the most serene emperor took effective countermeasures. Without delay he summoned from the territory all the master miners who could dig underground. Once the masters were identified, they were sent to the grand duke and the aforementioned grand duke directed the masters to dig a mine into the earth in our territory to find the mine of the Turk, so that our mine would come opposite their mine. Our masters worked swiftly and set their mine on fire. All the timber structure of their mine was set on fire and the supports were incinerated; the ground gave in. Consequently, all the Turks in the mine suffocated, or burned in the fire. – This mine was detected in a place called Kaligaria; the Turks dug there because there were no outer defenses. This mine created panic in our territory, as all feared that the Turks would use the mine to gain entry at night. Yet, on that day the Turks were punished severely.

At noon on May 21 another mine, which caused less concern to the urban defenders, was discovered and neutralized in the Kaligaria sector.[111] The next day about suppertime a third mine was detected about Kaligaria, near the mine that had been destroyed the previous day.[112] More troublesome proved a fourth mine, as the defenders had failed to detect it and they learned of it only after it had collapsed from its own weight.[113] A fifth mine near the same area was discovered on May 23 and on this occasion the defenders were able to take prisoners; under interrogation and torture they revealed the location of other mines that were in the progress of construction:[114]

> *A dì vinti tre pur de questo mexe de mazo al alba del zorno si fo trovà una cava ala Calegaria, a presso dove che iera sta trovà le altre, e azò sapiate, questa Calegaria si xe apresso del palazo de l'Imperador; abiando nui trovada questa cava, subito nui de la tera desemo fuogo dentro, e tuta tosto fo bruxada e bruxada che la fo, subito quela si cazete, e sofegò soto alcuni turchi che se trovò esser soto, e fone tolto do de queli, vivi, fuora de la cava, i qual si iera i maistri de quela cava. I diti do maistri si fo tormentadi da griexi, e confessò queli, dove che iera le altre cave….*

> On the twenty-third of the same month, at daybreak, a mine was discovered by the Kaligaria, near the area where the other three had been detected. So that you may know, this Kaligaria is situated near the palace of the emperor [= Blakhernai]. As soon as we located the mine, we immediately applied fire to its interior and incinerated it. As it was burning, it collapsed and some Turks who were underneath were suffocated. Two master sappers who were in the mine were taken alive. The two aforementioned masters were tortured by the Greeks and revealed the locations of other mines….

By then frustration and despair ruled the day. An atrocity was then committed when the prisoners were decapitated and their remains were ejected over the walls to the extreme indignation of the Turks.[115] On May 24, yet another mine was discovered in the Kaligaria sector, which intended to undermine the walls by excavating under a tower and to open a breach. The imperial sappers fortified the tunnel from below and were able to prevent the intended collapse.[116] Again, on May 25, another mine was neutralized in the Kaligaria area. This proved to be very dangerous, as the target had been large sections of the curtain walls that were to be collapsed by the tunnels beneath them in order to create a breach.[117] It appears that this was the last Turkish attempt at mining. No further mines were detected and this tactic was abandoned four days before the final assault was launched.[118]

Elsewhere in the periphery, the Ottoman battery against the Selybria/Pege/Silivri Gate did not prove effective and again the sultan had to rely on more traditional approaches. He put together a wooden tower on wheels, a “city-taker” or ἑλέπολις, as it was known in the Middle Ages.[119] In spite of its old-fashioned nature, this engine impressed the defenders, presented a major danger, and is mentioned with awe by our major eyewitness sources. Tetaldi makes reference to it:[120]

> *Sangambassa fieri constituit fortalitium castri lignei, magni, ampli, firmi et alti, adeo ut murorum civitatis celsitudinem excedere videretur.*
>
> Sangan Pasha [Zaganos Pasha?] decided to put together a strong, big, wide, firm, and tall wooden castle that seemed to surpass the height of the city walls.

Barbaro provides a date, May 18, when this mobile castle was put into operation, and twice calls it a *mirabel*/“miracle,” and even claims that the imperial train had lost hope when the tower was deployed.[121]

Leonardo states that this mobile tower was protected by hides but was valiantly opposed by the Genoese Maurizio Cataneo and two hundred crossbowmen:[122]

> *Mauritius inde Cataneus, vir nobilis Genuensis, praefectus inter portam Pighi, id est Fontis, usque ad Auream cum ducentis balistariis commixtis etiam Graecis contra ligneum castrum, pellibus boum contectum, oppositum accurate decertat.*
>
> Maurizio Cataneo, a Genoese nobleman in charge of the Gate of Pege (that is, "Fountain"), fought skillfully with two hundred crossbowmen (with some Greeks among them) against the wooden castle, as far as the Aurea Gate.

Ubertino Pusculo was also impressed with the sultan's mobile wooden tower and further notes its threatening presence for the defense.[123] Yet, in a basic disagreement with Leonardo, Pusculo[124] assigns different commanders to this sector of the Pege Gate: *Haec loca servabant fortis Stornadus, et audax / Mollisrus, Venetus primus, Genuensis at alter*, "these places were guarded by Stornado the strong, and the audacious Molisrus; the former was a foremost Venetian, the latter a Genoese."

Pusculo is the only source to describe the fighting in this area and the eventual destruction of the wooden tower. His narrative bears the stamp of an eyewitness and one may hypothesize that the poet had been stationed somewhere in the immediate vicinity, and perhaps participated in the struggle against this tower. Pusculo is our only eyewitness to describe the desperate hand-to-hand combat around the tower,[125] until the defenders finally prevailed and resisted a counter-attack from the Turkish camp to extinguish the fire:

> *Turrim ipsam rapidis flammis exurere laeti / Accingunt propere, et coeunt Graecique Latini / Unanimes conferre manum: flammaeque coruscant. / Improvidae actutum Teucris; per liminae parvae / Erumpunt portae tales ignota per usus; / … / Diffugiunt subito custodes turris; at illi / Subjiciunt ignem tabulis, atque arida circum / Nutrimenta ignis congestant. Flama repente / Excita surgebat passim, et per robora sicca / Serpebat. Phrygiis* [= Turcis] *e castris millia magno / Cum clamore ruunt, Machmetto urgente feruntque / Ardenti auxilium turri. Non territa tanto / Incursu hostili junctis umbonibus adstat / Firma phalanx longe turrim complexa viamque / Fossarum cingens, hostes atque excipit, alta / Corripiat dum flamma furens tabulata, ruatque / Turris humo….*
>
> Happily, the flames rapidly consumed that tower. Greeks and Latins [= Italians] quickly approached and moved their forces around it; the flames were bright. The Trojans [= Turks] had not foreseen this

> event. Its gates were forced open, unused to this action, and through the short steps…the garrison of the tower fled without delay. They applied fire to its section and flames quickly consumed the dry material all around. Suddenly, the strengthened fire broke out everywhere and was slithering through the dry material. One thousand Phrygians [= Turks] rushed out of their camp shouting, as Mehmed urged them on to assist the burning tower. Our phalanx, without fear of the enemy attack, joined shields and stood its ground for long around the tower and before the road to the moat. It resisted the enemy while the raging fire broke the structure and the tower collapsed to the ground….

Clearly in his Vergilian hexameters, Puscolo describes an organized sortie by the defense, whose forces in a disciplined formation routed the enemy as the tower was burning:[126]

> *Teucri seriem diffringere certant / Christicolum crebris assultibus, ac modo ferro / Praefixis longis hastis, nunc ensibus instant. / Stant contra ut murus cives, nec ab ordine cedunt: / Et sane exesa nisi flammis turre, tulissent, / Retro pedem nunquam.*

> The Trojans [= Turks] were convinced that they would break the ranks of the Christians with frequent attacks and pressed on with weapons and long lances. Then they resorted to their swords. Against them the citizens stood their ground, as if they were a wall, and maintained unbroken formation. They did not take a step back until the tower had been completely incinerated.

Finally, the hand-to-hand combat came to an end with the collapse of the tower, whose dismantled parts were being devoured by fire. Underscored by poetic imagery, this realistic description of combat in close quarters during the siege is unique among our sources. The mobile tower left its mark upon the defenders and the survivors of the siege of 1453 vividly remembered it thereafter.[127] The legend of the mobile tower even made its appearance in popular songs, as an anonymous Venetian lamentation upon the fall testifies.[128]

## III. Giustiniani and the Final Assault (May 29)

Urban's bombards and Mehmed's artillery had in general failed to disperse the defenders, even though the outer wall had suffered considerable physical damage. Another approach, the traditional method of mining beneath the walls and towers, had also failed. Finally, the fire started by the defenders destroyed the mobile tower. By mid-May the sultan, apparently, was having second thoughts about the advisability of continuing the siege of the imperial city and widespread rumors throughout his camp suggested that he was preparing a withdrawal. These rumors even reached the defenders within the city and were probably augmented and amplified by imperial agents and provocateurs within the Ottoman army, who also spread disturbing rumors and disinformation that the Venetian fleet had been sighted and that Hunyadi and his army were expected to arrive any day:[129]

> *Vox inter haec ex castris exploratorum relatu fit quod triremes navesque aliquot in subsidium ab Italia mitterentur, et Johannes, Pannonum dux exercitus, Blancus vulgo nuncupatus, ad Danubium contra Theurcum congressurus, adventasset.*
>
> A spy in the camp reported to us that the triremes [= galleys] and other ships were being sent as substantial help from Italy to us and that John, the lord of the army of the Pannonians [Hungarians/Transylvanians], commonly known as 'the White' [= John Corvinus Hunyadi, *le Blanc*], was at the Danube, preparing to attack the Turks.

Languschi-Dolfin simply embellishes this statement and adds that at that time the Venetian armada was still at Negroponte (that is, Khalkis in Euboea) and in Modon (Methone in the Morea).[130] The fact is that no immediate help was within reach of the beleaguered city. The Venetian fleet that had been ordered to aid in the relief of Constantinople was under the command of Jacopo Loredan, the captain general of the sea (*capitanio generale da mare*). The fleet had delayed its departure and then made slow headway through the Aegean.[131] By mid-May, it was nowhere near Constantinople. Francesco Foscari, the doge of Venice, in a letter dated July 27, 1453 (*in nostro ducali palatio die 27. mensi Iulii indictione prima 1453*), states that the relief column eventually encountered in the Aegean the refugee ships from Constantinople, weeks after the sack.[132] Barbaro reports that the city had dispatched a vessel on May 3 to search for the Venetian galleys. Unable to locate the fleet the vessel returned to the city with sad news:[133]

> *E subito in questo zorno de tre de mazo fo armado uno bregantino de homeni dodexe…e si quela armada lo la trovasse, el dovesse dir a misser Jacomo Loredan capetanio de quela, che tosto el dovesse vegnir a Costantinopoli…. Questo bregantin si andò a bon viazo senza recressimento niuno, e andòsene per in fina l'Arzipelago, e nula potè sentir de la nostra armada…e tornò a Costantinopoli.*
>
> Without delay, on that day of May 3, a brigantine was equipped with twelve men…and if found this [Venetian] armada, they were to tell Sir Giacomo Loredan, its captain, to come quickly to Constantinople…this brigantine had a good voyage without any problems and came out to the mouth of the Archipelago [that is, the Aegean], but could not detect any sign of our armada…and returned to Constantinople.

Thus the high command was clearly aware that no help was approaching the city. It was probably imperial agents who had spread these rumors in the Ottoman camp simply to create diffidence and spread panic, especially after the recent Ottoman failures at the Kaligaria and the Selybria Gates, where the Turkish mines and the mobile tower had been neutralized. These failings were dark hours for the Turks and the Ottoman command must have had doubts about the future success of the siege. The moment was opportune for the defenders to begin intelligence operations and further to demoralize the Ottoman troops. But at the same time a Turkish council of the high command, *divan*, was convened and the sultan and his advisors decided after considerable debate to launch a general assault early on the morning of May 29. Spies and defectors/traitors to the defenders immediately communicated this decision.[134] The main target of the Ottoman assault was to be the "Achilles heel" in the defenses: the sector northward beginning at the Gate of Saint Romanos to the Pempton. Both sides prepared for the general assault and the upcoming battle that would spell either doom or survival for Constantinople.

The defenders may have received some reinforcements from Pera, individual volunteers and companies of men who crossed the Golden Horn in secret and came to assist Giustiniani and his beleaguered sector in their hour of need. Leonardo elatedly admits this spontaneous decision by his compatriots:[135]

> *Graeci ad sex milia bellatorum non excedebant, reliqui, sive Genuenses*

> *sive Veneti, cum iis qui ex Pera clam ad praesidium accesserant, vix summam trium milium aequabant.*
>
> The Greeks numbered up to six thousand warriors and no more. The rest, whether Genoese or Venetians, together with those from Pera who secretly came to reinforce the garrison, hardly made up the sum of three thousand.

Among the volunteers from Pera was Imperiale, the nephew of the *podestà*, who was captured in the assault, became a renegade, and was "absorbed" into the Porte and rose in time to become one of its officials.[136] Lomellino also writes of the volunteers from Pera:[137]

> *Ad defensionem loci misi omnes stipendiatos de Chio et omnes missos de Janua et in maiori parte cives et burgenses de hic, et, quid plus, Imperialis noster et famuli nostri.*
>
> For the defense of that place I sent all the mercenaries from Chios and those dispatched from Genoa and, to a great extent, citizens and townsmen from here [= Pera], moreover, my [nephew] Imperiale and my retinue.

Cardinal Isidore also emphasizes the aid that was given to the defenders by the Perenses and summarizes the complicated situation in a letter from a later period, from February 22, 1455:[138]

> *…nec deerant nobis Ianuenses, qui omni conatu Urbem ipsam tutati sunt, et quamquam simulatu cum Teucro viverent hocque fieret statuto consilio, tamen noctu clam ad nos eos quos valebant ac poterant viros et sic subsidia mittebant.…*
>
> We also had help from the Genoese [from Pera], who with all their efforts protected the city. Even though they pretended to live with the Turk [in peace], in accordance with their official decision, nevertheless, at night they secretly sent to us those men strong enough and able to assist.

In the same letter Cardinal Isidore points out that, in general, the defenders were too few in number for the size of the perimeter:[139] *Nam cum pauci essemus, diu rem bellicam, quoad valuimus, gessimus*, "we were few and yet we managed to fight, as long as we possessed strength."

The general assault of the Turks was launched at some point between midnight and early dawn on Tuesday, May 29. Skirmishes had been fought throughout the evening and the night of May 28, for the reason that the sultan wished to grant no respite to the exhausted defenders. The overall condition of the ancient fortifications was deplorable. Stefano Magno emphasized in general the dire condition of the defenses:[140]

> *Erano i muri de grande altezza, ma, per vetustà et puocha cura de Greci, nudi di propugnaculi, ma de antemurali opportunamente puunida* [*? pruvida, provveduta?*], *nelli quali Greci messero la sua salute et armadi militi infra i muri et antemurali sostegnir decrevettero. È la cittade in forma triangolare, due in mare, con muriazi a propulsar l'empito navale, et quello da terra, dapoi i muri et antemurali, da una grande fossa e terra.*
>
> The walls were very tall but old age and the minimum of care applied by the Greeks rendered the walls empty of battlements. Yet the outer defenses were fittingly provided for, on which the Greeks had placed all their hopes and they had decided to distribute over these outer walls the armed soldiers. The city has a triangular form: two sides face the sea, with walls to repel naval attacks; the third side comprises of the [inner land] wall and the outer wall and of a great moat and territory.

Cardinal Isidore elaborates on the condition of the Saint Romanos sector on the eve of the final assault:[141] *Facilis autem erat in ea parte ad moenia ascensus*, "in that part the assault against the walls was easy"; and returns to the same subject in his letter[142] to Pope Nicholas V: *per ipsam muri devastationem*, "through the very devastation of the wall." The professional band of Giustiniani was well equipped, perhaps the only defensive contingent possessing good armament, as his soldiers seem to have been protected by plate armor:[143] εἶχε γὰρ ἄνδρας καταφράκτους, "for he had cataphracts [that is, soldiers with body armor]." Moreover, the morale of his band seems to have been high:[144]

ἐνόπλοις νέοις Γενουίταις ἀρεϊκὸν πνέοντας θυμόν,

"the young Genoese in body armor with Ares-like spirit." The other defenders were not as well armed.

Lauro Quirini, in his *Epistola ad beatissimum Nicolaum V pontificem maximum* [Letter to the most blessed Nicholas V, highest priest (= pope)], is probably the earliest scribe to provide us with a concise description on the deployment of Ottoman forces for the assault of May 29:[145]

> *…ordinem vero belli huiusmodi fuisse affirmant: terrestres copias intres diuisisse partes, quarum uni praefecit Beilarbeim totius Graeciae praefectum, alteri Sarazanum bassa, ipsum vero Teucrum mediam*

> *cepisse partem cum Chali bassa; quem locum magna illa terribilisque bombarda diruisse paulo ante diximus. Ex parte quoque maris maritimas copias ordinasse ita ut undequaque et terra et mari Civitas oppugnaretur. Omnibus itaque dispositis die vigessimo octavo Maii, prima noctis hora, ex parte terrae incepisse proelium gregariis praemissis militibus pugnasseque per totam noctem. Verum enim vero illuscente tandem die ipse ille terribilis pestis Teucer cum aurato curru prope moenia veniens cum veteranis militibus more iam italico armatis auream sagittam in Urbem emisisse civitatemque diripiendam pollicitum fuisse. Quo viso auditoque tanto et clamore et alacritate ardoreque animi hostium concitati et scopetorum et sagittarum infinito paene numero ita repente moenia expugnasse dicunt, ut instar avium muros evolaverint*.
>
> …they confirm that his order of the assault was as follows: the land forces were divided into three parts. The Beglerbeg,[146] the lord of all of Greece [= the Beglerbeg of Rumeli], was in charge of the first [unit] and Saraca Pasha headed the third. The middle [unit] the Turk [= Mehmed] kept under him with Halil Pasha. The area to be attacked had been in ruins, as it had been bombarded by that great horrible bombard, which I have mentioned earlier. He arranged his naval and maritime forces in such a way as to attack the city from every side, land and sea. With the entire army so arranged, on May 28, in the first hour of the night, he began the attack with his regular soldiers, who fought all night long. When finally daylight came early on, the Turk [Mehmed], that terrible monster, approached the walls on a gilded chariot; his veterans who are nowadays armed in the Italian manner accompanied him. He released a golden arrow into the city and promised that it would be plundered. When his arrow was seen and his promise was heard, they all shouted; the enemy soldiers were charged with intensity and war fever. Immediately innumerable arrows and missiles suddenly fell upon the walls. They say that they were like flocks of birds flying over the walls.

The first wave of the assault consisted of the sultan’s expendable irregulars, the *basçibozuk*. Included in their ranks were numerous poorly trained and inadequately armed Christian renegades and adventurers from Serbia, Hungary, Germany, Transylvania, and Greece, attracted by the prospect and the promise of booty. Supervised and cruelly urged on by the sultan’s military police, they were meant to harass and exhaust the defenders. This first wave was easily beaten back and nearly annihilated by Giustiniani’s professionals. The second assault consisted of the sultan’s regular Anatolian regiments, which, despite an orderly assault, were also repelled with heavy losses. Before the defenders could recover, the third wave came upon them with deadly precision: the dreaded janissaries,[147] the elite corps of the Turkish forces, who had advanced in silence and in an orderly formation.

The report of Antonio Ivani, composed in the early winter of 1453, provides additional details that are not discovered elsewhere: the plan of the defense, the role of Constantinople's women and children in the last battle, and the use of boiling oil as a deterrent to the advancing enemy:[148]

> *Sex milibus Graecorum totidemque auxiliarium ab ea parte qua hostium castra erant oppositis, quinque milia delectorum militum in media urbe collocat, qui quo eos clamor advocasset eo utique ad resistendum occurant, reliquam multitudinem navali pugnae resistere iubet. Rex omnibus copiis ad oppugnandum paratis, duabus circiter ante diem horis, imminente luna, naves moenibus admoveri iubet, ipse quoque tripartito exercitu pluribus simul in locis ancipiti terrore urbem aggreditur quam terrestri navalique proelio undique corona cingit, inque locis ubi moenia dirruta sunt ad murum subeunt, alii ignem, alii scalas, alii alia, quibus Graecos terreant, importat, quibus multo labore lassis alteri itidem illico succedebant; mari etiam naves prealtis propugnaculis in proram erectis missilibus et sagittis acerrime impugnabant, Graeci iaculis, sagittis, saxis fortiter obsistunt, igne etiam plerumque aqua atque oleo fervido hostem submovebant. Tum foeminae puerique sedulo adsunt oppugnantibus, tela ministrant, saxa gerunt, quare saepe a muris repellebantur Teucri.*

> Six thousand Greeks and as many auxiliaries were stationed in the area opposite the enemy camp. Five thousand of the best soldiers were positioned in the middle of the city, to assist wherever the alarm summoned them and strengthen the defense. The rest were ordered to resist the attack from the sea. The king [= sultan] prepared his troops for the attack and two hours before daylight, while the moon was shining, he ordered his ships to move against the walls. He, himself, with his army in three waves, inspired by attacking several places, as he had placed a noose around the city from every side, land and sea. His forces attacked the areas where the walls were in ruins. To terrify the Greeks, they advanced against the walls carrying fire or ladders, all sorts of things; when some became tired, others immediately took their places. At sea, the ships had been equipped with high battlements on their prows and were releasing arrows. It was a most bitter battle. The Greeks resisted bravely with spears, arrows, and rocks. They attacked the enemy mainly with water and with boiling oil. Both women and boys industriously assisted the defenders by attending to the weapons and by carrying rocks. And so the Turks were repeatedly repelled from the walls.

This was by far the most serious phase of the final assault, but the defenders were able to hold on until the moment that Giustiniani was wounded. At this point the defense collapsed. There is no doubt that Giustiniani's wound (or wounds?) and his subsequent withdrawal and departure from the sector, accompanied by his entire surviving professional band,[149] constituted the main turning point in this battle and the long siege. The departure marked the doom for Constantinople. Prior to this crucial event, the defenders had managed to repel two major attacks. It even appeared that they would be able to maintain their vigorous defense successfully and to survive the third wave of the janissaries, but with the warlord's departure the defense degenerated into a rout.

The nature of Giustiniani's wound(s) remain(s) in doubt, for there is no agreement among the sources. No eyewitness author had been present in the sector of Saint Romanos, with perhaps the exception of Nestor-Iskander. In the ensuing rout and disaster practically all defenders had perished. The following passages are the collected testimony of contemporary, near contemporary, and early sources that discuss this incident in various degrees of detail:

1. **Leonardo**:[150]

> *Inter haec, malo urbis fato, heu!, Johannes Justinianus sagitta sub assella configitur, qui mox inexpertus iuvenis sui sanguinis effusione pavidus perdendae vitae concutitur et ne pugnatores, qui vulneratum ignorabant, virtute frangatur, clam medicum quaesiturus ab acie discessit.*
>
> In the midst of this, for the bad luck of the city, alas!, Giovanni Giustiniani was transfixed by an arrow under the armpit. The inexperienced young man soon saw his own blood pouring out and feared for his life. He did not wish to break the spirit of the warriors, who did not know that he had been wounded, and he secretly left the battle to look for a physician.

As predictable, Leonardo's text is paraphrased into the vernacular by Languschi-Dolfin, who adds nothing new.[151] Leonardo's Latin text (or Languschi-Dolfin's vernacular version) found its way into the immensely popular printed work of Sansovino in the sixteenth century.[152] The Greek followers of Leonardo also discuss the decisive moment in the battle, but they are not quite true to their prototype, for Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos) shifts the location of the wound, as does the *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle* of the early seventeenth century. Pseudo-Sphrantzes relates:[153]

᾽Ιωάννης ὁ ᾽Ιουστινιανὸς ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπλήγη τόξου βέλει ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα. Αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔμπειρος ὢν πολέμου καί, ὡς εἶδε τὸ αἷμα ῥέειν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αὔτοῦ, ὅλος ἠλλοιώθη καί, ἣν προέδειξεν ἀνδρείαν, ἐκ τοῦ φόβου ἔχασε καὶ ἀνωφελῶς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραξεν. ῝Ος ἀνεχώρησεν.

Giovanni Giustiniani, the general, was wounded on his legs, on the right foot. Since he did not have much experience in warfare, as soon as he saw his own blood running out of his body, he was affected and fear made him lose all his former bravery, and he was of no use afterwards. He departed.

The *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle* is more faithful to its prototype:[154]

Καὶ ἡ κακὴ τύχη ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐλαβώθη ὁ καπετάνιος Γιουστουνιᾶς μὲ μιά σαϊττέα εἰς τὰ σαγόνια, καὶ ἔτρεχε τὸ αἷμα εἰσὲ ὅλο του τὸ κορμί. Καὶ ἐσκιάχτη νὰ μὴν ἀποθάνη, καὶ δὲν ἐμίλησε λόγον νὰ βάλη ἄλλον εἰς τὸν τόπον του, μόνε ἄφησε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἔφυγε κρυφά.

Bad luck dictated that Captain Giustiniani be wounded by an arrow on his jaw; blood ran all over his body. He feared for his life. He said not a word about placing someone else at his station but left the battle and departed secretly.

2. **Pusculo**:[155]

*Lucifer aurorae venientis pallidus ortum / ducebat, portans urbi casumque diemque. / Joannes abiit percussus glande lacertum / ac se subripuit pugnae navesque petivit, / sive metu Teucrum, seu vulnere abactus, acerbo / deseruit locum, trepidantia agmina liquit.*

The fading morning star was leading the approach of the dawn, bringing day and doom to the city. Giovanni was hit by a bullet on his arm and departed. He removed himself from the battle and went to his ships. He was compelled to do so either through fear of the Turk or by his wound, abandoned his post, and left the shaking battle line.

3. **Barbaro**:[156]

*Vedando questo, Zuan Zustignan, zenovexe da Zenova, se delibera de abandonar la sua posta* [*in margine* by the hand of Marco Barbaro: *per esser ferito de frezza*] *e corse a la sua nave, che iera stà messa a la cadena; e questo Zuan Zustignan, l'imperador si l'avea fato capetanio da tera; e scampando questo che iera capetanio, vignando el dito per la terra criando: 'Turchi son intradi dentro da la tera'; e menteva per la gola, che ancora i non iera intradi dentro.*

Seeing this, Giovanni Giustiniani, a Genoese from Genoa, decided to abandon his station [on the margin by the hand of Marco Barbaro: because he had been wounded by an arrow] and went to his ship, which was by the middle of the chain. The emperor had made this Giovanni Giustiniani commander-in-chief of the land forces. As he fled, this captain shouted throughout the territory: “The Turks have entered our territory,” but he was lying through his teeth, because the Turks had not yet entered.

4. **Eparkhos and Diplovatatzes**:[157]

*Item: der Genuessen Haubtman, der daz Loch inen het, er stellet sich sam er erschossen wer, und ging wek, und als sein Volck ging mit im hinwek; do daz die Turcken sahen, do stellen sie da selbst hin ein.*

Item: the chief of the Genoese, who was at that spot, was shot and went away; with him went his people. When the Turks saw this, they entered at that spot.

5. **Benvenuto**:[158]

*Item quod XXVIII Maii de nocte incepit bellum per mare et per terram circumcirca civitatem, et resistebant optime inexistentes ipsi Turco, sed pos<t>quam dictus Justinianus affugit, adveniente die XXIX Maii media hora die<i> capta fuit civitas Constantinopolitana.*

Item: on May 28 a night attack from sea and by land was launched all around the city and there was strong resistance to the Turk. But after the aforementioned Giustiniani left early on May 29, the city of Constantinople was seized in the middle hour of the day.

6. **Tetaldi**:[159]

*His ita se habentibus, praefatus dominus Ioannes Iustiniensis congressu cum hostibus iactu colubri cuiusdam graviter vulneratus est; qui statim letalis quodammodo vulneris ictu sequestrans se ab exercitu cui capitaneus fuit deputatus, ad medicandum ocius properavit suam commendans custodiam et populum sibi subiectum duobus aliis viris nobilibus Ianuensibus. Et ecce dum unius mortis causa sollicitatur, plurimorum salus periclitatur, ut ex his quae sequuntur evidenter comprobatur. Denique dum haec aguntur, intempesta nocte iam lucis initia vix attingente, ex improviso Turci muros civitatis alacriter conscendunt, videntibus his qui intra civitatem erant, custodientes vigilia noctis. Absente igitur praefato domino Ioanne Iustiniensi qui curationis necessitate diverterat ab exercito suo, hi qui subtractionis eius causam ignorabant putantes eum fugae metusve occasione declina<vi>sse ac* *praesentiam suam subtraxisse fugae praesidium et ipsi quaesierunt, non praeavisati se defendere contra insultus adversariorum, absente capitaneo suo.*

In this situation the aforementioned Lord Giovanni Giustiniani was seriously wounded by a missile from an enemy colubrine. As soon as he received the impact of the lethal wound he separated himself from the army, in whose charge he had been placed, and hastened swiftly to take care of his wound, entrusting the defense and his subordinate warriors to two other Genoese nobles. And thus, while there was concern over the cause of the death of one individual, the safety of the majority was in danger, as it becomes clear by the subsequent events. Finally, as these events were occurring, the stormy night was about to end and the early light of dawn had appeared, when suddenly the Turks energetically began to mount the walls of the city, in full of view of those who were inside the city and keeping the night watch. And so with the departure of the aforementioned Lord Giovanni Giustiniani, who was forced to leave the army in order to take care of his wound, those who were unaware of the reason for his withdrawal formed the impression that he was fleeing or that he had succumbed to fear and thus took himself out of the conflict; they themselves looked for a reason to flee, as they had not been forewarned that they would have to defend themselves against the enemy assault without their captain.

7. **Antonio Ivani**:[160]

*Longus Iustinianus, Ianuensis vit bellicae disciplinae haud indoctus, qui ubi plurimum periculi videbatur praepositus erat, e loco cedit sive quod impetum sufferre non posset, sive quod salutem sibi fuga quaereret, cuius exemplo auxiliares milites ad naves confugiunt ac maxima pars sese fugae mandat.…*

Giustiniani Longo, a Genoese well experienced in the art of war, who had been placed in charge of what seemed to be the most dangerous spot, left his station, either because he could not resist the attack or because he was looking to find safety in flight. His example was followed by the auxiliary soldiers who fled together to the ships. The vast majority joined the flight.…

8. **Lomellino** (the Genoese *podestà* of Pera):[161]

*In summo mane Johannes Justinianus cepit in…mentum <vulnus tremendum?> et portam suam dimisit et se tiravit ad mar, et per ipsam portam Teucri intraverunt, nulla habita resistentia.*

Very early in the morning Giovanni Giustiniani received [a terrible wound?] left his gate and went to the sea. Through the very same gate the Turks entered, as there was no resistance.

9. **Tursun Beg**[162] states that "the enemy commander" was wounded in the belly.

10. **Stefano Magno**[163] (probably echoing Leonardo and/or Languschi-Dolfin):

*…fù ferido Zuanne Zustignan da Pera, che i superiori zorni solo pareva havesse diffeso la cittade et, abbondandoli il sangue, cercando il medico acciò gli altri non si pavissero, ascosamente si levò, má lo imperator… pregò non abbandonar la pugna, mà quello, nihilo magis flexo, avrir la porta commandò, quia curaturus vulnus nella città ritorni.*

…Giovanni Giustiniani from Pera was wounded. In past days he had supervised the defense of the city but, with his blood profusely flowing, he went to find a physician. So that the others would not lose heart, he left quietly. But the emperor…begged him not to leave the battle but he was adamant and ordered the gate to be opened to return to the city and take care of his wound.

11. The testimonies of Nikolaos Sekoundinos and Nestor-Iskander are similar and should be considered together, as, surprisingly enough, the Greco-Venetian scholar and the Russian are in remarkable agreement.

**Sekoundinos**:[164]

*…Januensis quidam Joannes Longus, vir profecto magni pretii, qui cum ducentis circiter nautis – nam onerariae navis praefectus, stipendio imperatoris conductus, partem illam moenium suscepit tutandam, cui maximum videretur periculum impendere, quave hostis, postquam crebris tormentorum ictibus moenia demolitus solo propemodum adaequasset, sibi aditum patefacere studio ardentissimo temptaret – is, inquam, Joannes, ubi vidit hostem acrius solito urgere et invalescere, propugnatores vero contra sensim deficere, quippe quorum alii interempti, nonnulli saucii, reliqui perterriti et fugati, salutem Urbis desperare coepit duobusque acceptis vulneribus, imperatorem adiit, cui tristissimum attulit nuntium et devolvendum nihil virium amplius, nihil spei esse relictum, quo hostis impediatur, quin Urbem vi capiat et victoria potiatur, polliceri se proinde imperatorem ipsum navi sua incolumem ad locum devecturum salutis.*

…a Genoese, Giovanni Giustiniani, a valuable man and a captain of

> a cargo vessel, with about two hundred sailors, was hired by the emperor and undertook the protection of that place which seemed to be in the greatest danger, where the walls had been demolished and razed to the ground by the incessant enemy bombardment, in their efforts to open an avenue into the city. When this man, Giovanni, saw that the enemy was pressing harder and was growing stronger, while the defenders were losing spirit, some were killed, others were wounded, and the rest were terrified and fleeing, he began to lose hope about the city and he received two wounds. He went to the emperor and brought the very sad news and as there were no further reinforcements and all hope was lost, with the enemy certain to win and seize the city, he offered to lead the emperor unharmed to safety on board his ship.

This account receives surprising confirmation in the Slavonic text of Nestor-Iskander, whose author was, after all, an eyewitness to the siege. Giustiniani was struck by a stone shot on the chest, lost consciousness, and fell to the ground. He was then treated extensively throughout the night but he failed to recover:[165]

> …но прилетѣвъ исъ пушкы ядро каменное на излетѣ, и ударивъ Зустунѣа по персѣмъ, и разрази емы перси. И паде на землю, едва его отольяша и отнесоша и въ домъ его…. Врачеве же чресъ всю оную нощь тружахуся о поможенiи его, и едва исправиша ему грудь, вшибленое мѣсто отъ удара.

> …yet a stone shot, a spent ball, flew from the cannon, struck Justinian in the chest, and shattered his bosom. He fell to the ground. They just managed to escape and bore him away to his home…. They treated him all night long and labored in sustaining him. Little did they mend his chest, as it had been crushed by the hit. Immediately his wound made him lose consciousness.

Nestor-Iskander then reports that Giustiniani issued orders to be carried back to the battlefield:[166]

> Зустунѣя же пакы повелѣ себя нести тамо…,

“Justinian anew commanded to be carried there….” He then relates that the commander-in-chief was struck on the right shoulder by a missile from a *sclopus* and collapsed. Only then was he carried away from the field and his Genoese troops retreated to their ships in the harbor:[167]

> …прилетѣвшу убо склопу, и удари Зустунѣа и сразн ему десное плечо, и паде на землю аки мертвъ. И надоша надъ нимь боляре его и людiе, крыча и рыдаш, и поношаше его прочь, тако и Фрягове вси пойдоша за нимъ.

> …there came flying a *sclopus*, which struck Justinian on the right

shoulder. He fell to the ground as if dead. With cries and sobs his noblemen and men fell upon him. They carried him away. He was followed by all of the Franks.

12. An *opusculum* of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), titled *De Captione Urbis Constantinopolis Tractatulus*:[168]

> *Ioannes Iustinianus apud Genuam Ligurum metropolim nobili loco natus, qui superioribus diebus solus urbem defendisse videbatur, in hoc certamine vulneratus, ubi luitare sanguinem suum animadvertit, ne ceteros deterreret medicum quaerens, clam sese pugnae subtraxit. Sed imperator ut abesse Iustinianum cognovit, quo ierit percunctatur. Inventumque rogat ne pugnam deserat. Ille nihilo magis flexus, aperiri portam iubet, qua curaturus vulnus in urbem redeat. Erant enim obseratae urbis ianuae, quibus ad antemuralia patebat iter, ne qua fugiendi facultas militi esset, ac propterea fortius hosti resisteret; fit interea remissior defensio, quod Turci animadvertentes, acrius incumbunt. Et quoniam pars muri iam tormentis aeneis disiecta, fossam magna ex parte oppleverat, per ruinas ipsas scandentes, antemurale conscendunt, Graecosque loco deturbant. Porta quae Ioanni patuerat omnibus aperta, fugam profusiorem reddit.*

> Giovanni Giustiniani, who had been born a nobleman in Genoa, the capital of the Ligurians, had seemed, in the previous days, to be the sole defender of the city but he was wounded in this battle. When he saw himself bleeding, he searched for a physician and secretly withdrew from the battle, without deterring anyone else from doing so. When the emperor discovered that Giustiniani had left, he tried to locate him. He found him and asked him why he retreated from the battle. But his mind was made up and he ordered to open the gate so that he could take care of his wound within the city. The gates of the city to the outer defenses had been barred in order to deny the defenders an avenue of retreat so that they would fight against the enemy more forcefully. Meanwhile the defense became lax, a fact that did not go unnoticed by the Turks, who attacked with a greater force. And since the bronze cannons had already demolished part of the wall and the moat had been partly filled, they climbed over the very ruins, overran the outer defenses, and forced the Greeks to flee.

13. A Venetian chronicle in Milan's Ambrosian Library, *R 113, Sup.*, fol. 185$^{v}$–186$^{r}$:[169]

> *Adì 29 mazo…et circa do hore avanti zorno fuo ferido da una freza el patron genoese, capetanio a la guardia de lo riparo, e se parti. Visto la*

*soa zurma restar senza capo, se abandonorono detto riparo et fugite verso le soe nave.*

On May 29…about two hours before daylight an arrow wounded the Genoese chief, the captain of the garrison at the stockade and he departed. When the company saw that there was no one in charge, they themselves left the stockade and fled to their ship.

14. **Adamo di Montaldo**:[170]

*Johannes Justinianus…cum deficere iam pugnantes circumquaque intueretur seque mortaliter percussum…invalescere hostem videbat, peremptorum summis iam moenium cumulum coaequatis, pro laesione vulnerum gravi, copiaque tormentorum et pugnantium, a proelio, pro se altero substituto, abscessit.*

When Giovanni Giustiniani…who had suffered a lethal wound himself, noticed that his warriors were tiring…and that the enemy was becoming stronger and was already climbing on top of the walls, on account of the serious nature of his wounds, the number of cannons and fighters, he left the battle after he placed someone else in charge.

15. **Hieronimo Giustiniani**:[171]

*A pena il Giustiniano havea finito a mezzo il raggionamento, i fu costretto disponersi a diffendersi, il qual mentre che combateva strenuamente hebbe una ferita mortale…. Il Giustiniano nondimento cascò in terra trasmortito, il qual subito ne fu trasportato da' suoi negli allogiamenti. Gli soldati havendo visto il capo quasi morto stetero attoniti et mezzo persi. I quali veggendo aummentarsi la numerosa multitudine de' nemici, a ritirarsi si preparorno da un muro all' altro, per haverne essi superato il primo. Il Giustiniano tuttavia, mentre se si portava, riprese un pocco di fiato, ma non molto li valse. Et considerato il pericolo de' suoi, provede salvarli….*

Giustiniani had scarcely finished half of his speech, when he was forced to go and defend himself. While he was bravely fighting, he received a mortal wound…. Giustiniani fell to the earth half-dead and without delay he was carried by his men to his lodgings. Having seen their captain almost dead, the soldiers stood astonished and half lost. And seeing the numerous crowd of the enemy growing, they prepared to retreat from one wall [= the stockade] to the other [= the inner wall], as the first one had been overrun, Yet Giustiniani regained consciousness, as they were carrying him, but

> remained weak. He considered the dangerous situation of his men and made preparations to save them….

Hieronimo Giustiniani during the sixteenth century summarized the few facts known about the warlord’s career. He may have utilized some documents or, more likely, oral traditions then in circulation at Chios to provide a summary evaluation of the performance of this band of soldiers that has never been taken into account by modern scholarship:[172]

> *Ioanne Giustiniano magnanimo et esperto capitano, andò in Costantinopoli con una grossa nave, in compania di quella dello Imperatore, la qualle in dispetto dell’ armata nemica salvò nel porto di esso luogo, insieme con la sua, il qual per la sua prodezza, fu eletto generale di latini dallo Jmperatore Costantino, ultimo, in diffesa dello imperio et della città, assediata all’hora dal tiranno Mehemet Jmperatore de’ Turchi. Questo Giustiniano, dicono le historie, era tanto valoroso, che per gli suoi maravigliosi fatti et stratagemati di guerra, facea maravigliosamente stupire l’infideli. Per la qual cosa Mehemet solea dire, che ne facea più di conto del Giustiniano solo, che del tutto il resto della città. Havea ei in sua compania trecento huomini valorosi genovesi, et una banda de scioti. Et tutti questi bravi soldati, trovandossi sempre in tutte le fattione, faccendo cose, che agl’ infideli eranno tenute per impossibile, onde a que’ soli l’animo fusse tanto forte, volerne far testa a tanta potenza turchesca et con il solo nome et la sola vista loro, all’ hora non solamente harrebbeno spavventato quel pocco numero ma tutto il mondo, come certo haveanno sempre fatto. Che udendo i christiani il nome turco, sgomentati et attoniti molto longi fugivansi per salvarsi, tanto gli era horrendo, nondimeno il Giustiniano faccendo ufficio di buon capitano, in tutte le zuffe non perse mai animo, essortando et ammonendo di continuo gli suoi portarsi valorosamente*.

> Giovanni Giustiniani, a magnanimous and expert captain, went to Constantinople with a large ship, together with a ship of the emperor, which, in spite of the enemy armada, he rescued in the port of this place along with his own. And for this deed he was elected general of the Latins [= Italians] by Emperor Constantine to defend the empire and the city, which was then under siege by the tyrant [= sultan] Mehmed, the emperor of the Turks. This Giustiniani, histories say, was so brave that by his marvelous deeds and stratagems in the war, he stupefied the infidels [= Turks]. Because of this, Mehmed used to say that he thought more of Giustiniani alone than of all the rest of the city. He had in his company three hundred brave Genoese and a band of Chians. Finding themselves in all sorts of situations, performing deeds

> considered impossible by the infidels [= Turks], and desiring to confront the great Turkish power both in name and in appearance, these men would have inspired fear not only to that small [place] but to all the world, as they had certainly always done. Hearing even the name “Turk,” the Christians were inspired with fear, were dismayed, were astonished, and fled to the ends of the earth to save themselves. Nevertheless, Giustiniani, acting as a good captain, never lost spirit in any fight and he continuously urged and admonished his men to act bravely.

Hieronimo Giustiniani goes on to quote the only exhortation-speech on record that the warlord supposedly made to his troops during the siege.[173] Giustiniani, it is clear, was mortally wounded and died soon after his withdrawal. Numerous survivors of the siege and the sack placed blame for the loss of Constantinople squarely on his shoulders. As it becomes evident in the literature just cited, it is not certain that Giustiniani was accompanied by all of his troops when he abandoned his post.[174] Some sources suggest that the situation became critical precisely because no one was placed in charge of the remaining soldiers after his retreat.[175] Others state that he took his entire band with him and that the dangerous section of the walls was left without any protection at a critical moment in the conflict. It is, therefore, practically impossible to reconstruct the actual sequence of events.

Bitter charges, levied against Giustiniani, appeared soon after the fall. George Scholarios, an opponent of church union who was subsequently selected by Mehmed II and his Greek circle of supporters and officials to be the first patriarch (assuming the name Gennadios II) of the captive Greeks implies a possible “act of treason” but avoids any direct mention of Giustiniani by name. Scholarios, of course, had never exhibited any affection for the Catholics, and his Orthodox bias may be at work here. Furthermore, throughout the siege he had advocated passive resistance and he, with many of his numerous followers no doubt, had not actively assisted in the defense of the city:[176]

> Ὁ πόλεμος ἐνεστήκει, καὶ μόνος ἢ κομιδῇ σὺν ὀλίγοις ὑπολειφθείς, οὗπερ ἐτέταξο, πολλοῖς τραύμασιν, ἃ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐδέξω καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ, αὐταῖς ταῖς κλίμαξι τοὺς δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνελθεῖν, πεπειρωμένους συγκατεσπάσατε, ἕως ὑμεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ θαλάττης οὐδὲν παρήκατε πράττειν ὧν ἐπεθύμουν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, δι᾽ ἐρήμου κατεληλυθότες τοῦ τείχους, πάντα ἐσκύλευον, φυγῇ προδεδωκότων τῶν φυλάξειν ὑποσχομένων.

> The battle began and you were left alone with few. At the very spot you had been stationed, you received many wounds on your arms and face, while you were fighting off those who tried to climb on ladders upon the walls. You, on the sea side, performed your

> assigned duties. They [the enemy] on the landside came over the deserted wall and began their widespread looting, because those who had promised to guard the spot had fled.

Early on after his escape, Cardinal Isidore seems to have entertained doubts about the conduct of the warlord, and he may have held him responsible for the disaster. Thus in his letter to Cardinal Bessarion he refuses to discuss the incident but seems to imply that there had been questionable activities:[177]

> *Erat autem cum imperatore illo ductor quidam nomine Joannes Justinianus, quem multi incusant primam fuisse causam tantae captivitatis et excidii: sed omittamus*.
>
> With that heroic emperor there was a certain warlord by the name of Giovanni Giustiniani, who, in the estimation of many, was the primary cause of such destruction and captivity. Let me omit this.

Cardinal Isidore hastens to add that that particular sector of Saint Romanos was practically indefensible.[178] Pusculo also speaks of desertion:[179] *deseruitque locum, trepidantiaque agmina liquit*, "he [*sc*. Giustiniani] deserted his station and dismissed the trembling warriors."

Moreover, in time it was reported, at least by Greek authors, that it was a defender who had wounded Giustiniani. Thus in the anonymous *Ἔκθεσις Χρονική*, composed in the patriarchate in the early sixteenth century, we encounter the following Constantinopolitan rumor:[180] Ἐφημίσθη οὖν ὅτι ἔνδοθεν τοῦ κάστρου δέδωκαν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ οἶδέ τις ὅπως γέγονεν, "it was whispered that someone from inside the city wounded him, but one cannot discover how it happened." Another source, close to the patriarchate, also reports the same rumor recorded in the verse chronicle by Hierax:[181]

> Πρὸ πάντων δὲ ἦν πρόμαχος αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς χαλάστραις,
> ὡς ἔδει τε ἐμάχετο στερρῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ·
> ἀλλά γε βάσκανος ἀνήρ τις διὰ τουφεκίου
> βάλλει ἐπὶ τῷ ἥρωι καὶ πλήττει τὸν γενναῖον,
> καὶ φόνον ἐπροξένησεν εἰς ἄνδρα τηλικοῦτον.
> Λέγεται δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς Ρωμαίων ἦν ὁ δράσας
> τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα κατὰ τοῦ Γενοβίου,

> φθόνῳ τρωθεὶς, ὥς εἴθισται, πάντοτε τοῖς βασκάνοις.
> Εἰς δὲ τὰς νῆας εἰσελθὼν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς πατρίδα,
> πνέων ἔτι ὁ δυστυχὴς τὰ λοίσθια θανάτου.

> Above all, he was the bravest defender at the breach; / he fought firmly as he should throughout the conflict. / Yet a spiteful individual with a firearm / took aim and struck him, / bringing about the valiant hero's death. / It is said that one of the Romans [= Greeks] from the interior / committed this wicked deed upon the Genoese man, / because he had been wounded by envy, as is usually the case with spiteful individuals everywhere. / He boarded his ships and departed to his homeland; / already the unfortunate man was breathing his last.

On the morning of May 29, the situation at the sector of Saint Romanos must have been chaotic. It is not implausible that a stray arrow, bullet, bolt, or missile of some sort, perhaps from the inside of the Great Wall, had struck Giustiniani. Treachery also cannot be ruled out, for Giustiniani had been the right hand of the emperor and must have made a score of enemies among the Greeks and the Venetians, and especially among the antiunion and pro-Turkish fifth column within the city.[182] Reports of an unlucky accident even reached the west, as Richer/Riccherio indicates:[183]

> *Accidit ut inter pugnandum cum irrumpenti hosti fronte, adversa obsisteret, telo suorum infoeliciter in hostem misso, graviter incautus vulneratur. Cruoris extemplo e dorsi vulnere manentis abundatiam intuitus, nolens ut, demum praedicabat, commilitonibus perturbationi interpellationique esse, si quempiam eorum accersitur medicum dimitteret, clanculum se praelio subduxit.*

> It so happened that in the battle, as the front line broke and the enemy fell upon the defenders, unhappily he [*sc*. Giustiniani] was wounded by a missile directed at the enemy by his own side. He immediately saw blood pouring in abundance from the wound on his back. He placed in charge one of his men (as he did not wish to upset and confuse his fellow warriors while he searched for a physician), and quietly left the battle.

In this account Richer appears to be thinking of an accident and not of an act of treason, as the adverb *infoeliciter*/"unhappily" suggests. It was in the sixteenth century that an early, perhaps the earliest, defense of Giustiniani's conduct appeared in print, in Hieronimo Giustiniani's work that includes scholarly references:[184]

*Hora, acciochè ogni uno sappia l'intentione degli historici di quanto sopra ciò per il Giustiniano hanno scritto addure per la giustificatione di tanto grand personagio contra la malvagia invidia d'alcuni le ragione in questo luogo. Laonico Chalcocondila, famoso historico, facendo mentione del Giustiniano adduce queste parole. Arivò in Costantinopoli un personagio genovese, chiamato Giovanni Giustiniano, il qual pervienne in soccorso della città con una grossa nave et con trecenti soldati, al quall'Jmperatore dette a guardare il luogo, nel quale il Gran Turcho con i gianizzari volea dare lo assalto, sforzandossi guagliardamente opponere a loro, non molto discosto dallo Imperatore, il qual ancora lui fortissimamente si deffendeva. Et più sotto dice, che i genovesi dalla gran forza de' turchi furono mossi da loro luogo per forza, et il Giustiniano loro capitano ne fu ferito in una mano da un colpo d'artigliaria, gli altri armati non potendo resistere dalle ferite, a pocco a pocco abbandonando il luogo, i genovesi si salvavanno, i quali i turchi seguitando ammazzavanno. Et rittirandossi il Giustiniano gli soldati lo seguitavanno. Ma lo Jmperatore intesa la retirata de' genovesi corse prestamente verso loro, riccercando, dove ci andavanno. Al qual il Giustiniano respose, che se n'andava in quel luogo, nel quale Iddio appriva la porta a' turchi. Ma la Historia Politica racconta d'un' altra maniera. Capitò a quei tempi, dice, un personagio nobile genovese, il cui nome era Giustiniano, con due grosse nave, il qual considerando il male dal quale i costantinopolitani eravanno afflitti, et che nessuno de' gentil'huomini della città ardiva opponersi al nemico, et fugendo l'uno et l'altro di qua et di là dalla paura senza volerne combatere, ei sen' appresentò dallo Imperatore et prencipi, et disse, co'l agiuto d'Iddio stare in questo luogo et ribattere l'impeto del nimico, et resistere alla sua violenza nelle rovine delle mura, per l'honore et nome di Christo, et questo disse lo voglio fare a spese mie, con nutrire i mei soldati, al qual fu grandemente rigratiato da tutti. Diffese dunque il valoroso personagio molti giorni et i turchi che guagliardamente sforzavanno intrar nella città dalle rovine regittava. Ma il peccato fu cagione che Iddio gli abbandonò. Perchiochè mentre combatteva valorosamente contra il nemico fu ferito da un colpo d'arteglieria nel piede destro, et dal gran dolore cascone in terra et si lasciò per morto. Sichè gli suoi lo portorno via di là et condutolo nelle sue navi, fecero vela et partirno dalla città, et subito che arivò in quel luogo, fu sparso il romore che fusse ferito da qualche d'uno della città, ma non si è potuto mai sapere la verità. Ecco quanto scrissero questi dui historici per il Giustiniano, però diversamente, perciò lasciaremo alla volontà di ciascuno credere quello che li piace. Tuttavia il Giustiniano non ha manchato fare l'ufficio di buon capitano per honore della fede christiana, posciachè a sua volontà et spese si sottomesse in quella impresa, esponendo la vita in difessa dello infelice jmperio; onde i più grandi et più potenti di lui, quantunque l'jmperatore*

*esclamasse et supplicasse tuta la cristianità a suo soccorso, non ardirono, non solamente andarci in persona, nè mandarci nè agiuto nè soccorso; et senza quella maledetta ferita, facilmente quela città non sarrebbe hora ne' mani d' infideli, ma perchè Iddio giusto dispone nella sua prescienza quello ch'e di sua volontà; sia rigratiato*.

Now, everyone knows the intention of historians, from how much they have written about Giustiniani, to bring the reasons for the justification of so great a personage against the wicked envy of certain people. Laonikos Khalkokondyles, a famous historian, mentioned Giustiniani and wrote: there arrived in Constantinople a Genoese, named Giovanni Giustiniani, who came to the aid of the city in a large ship with three hundred soldiers; and the emperor told him to protect the place which the Grand Turk intended to attack with his soldiers, trying valiantly to crush them, not far from the emperor, who once again was defending himself most bravely. Farther down he states: the force of the Turks moved the Genoese from their spot and their captain, Giustiniani, was wounded in the arm by artillery fire. The other warriors were unable to resist because of their wounds and they began gradually to abandon their post. The Genoese saved themselves but the Turks gave pursuit and killed them. In their retreat, the soldiers followed Giustiniani. When he found out about the withdrawal of the Genoese, the emperor ran quickly to them and asked where they were going. Giustiniani replied that they were going to that place where God had opened the gate to the Turks. The Political History tells a different story. It states that at that time came a man called Giustiniani with two ships and that he saw the evil with which the Constantinopolitans had been afflicted and that none of the city's gentlemen wished to oppose the enemy and were fleeing the city. He presented himself to the emperor and the princes and said that with God's help he would post himself at that place and repel the enemy attack and would prevent the destruction of the walls, for honor and for the name of Christ. He said that he wished to prevail by providing assistance with his soldiers, to whom everyone will be indebted. Then this great person defended the city for many days and prevented the Turks, who had forced entry into that city, from destroying it. But God abandoned them because of their sins. So, while fighting bravely against the enemy, a cannon missile wounded him in the right foot and he fell to the ground in great pain; he lay there as if dead. His men carried him, brought him to the ships, set sail, and left the city. As soon as he arrived at his place [Chios], a rumor spread that someone from within the city had wounded him but it is impossible to discover the truth. These are the two, rather different

> accounts that these two historians have written about Giustiniani and we shall let each person decide what he wishes to believe. At any rate, Giustiniani played the good captain for the honor of the Christian faith, for which purpose he committed his will and hopes in this undertaking, and gave his life in the defense of the unfortunate empire. While others, greater and more powerful than he, showed no desire to go, no matter how much the emperor pleaded and summoned all Christendom to his aid. If he had not received that cursed wound, the city would have escaped subjugation to the infidels and would now be free. But the Lord acts according to his own plans and will. Let us be thankful.

A spirited defense of the reputation of the warlord had become necessary by the time this work was printed. Sansovino's immensely popular work had made the flight of the *condottiere* well known to the general public, which came to hold the warlord responsible for the fall of Constantinople.[185] The defense by Hieronimo Giustiniani was not very successful, and the old impression persisted well into the subsequent centuries, as it is evident in an Italian report found in a seventeenth-century manuscript from Naples.[186]

The Venetian Filippo da Rimini has provided the earliest and perhaps sharpest criticism of Giustiniani and his Genoese warriors:[187]

> *Superiores erant nostri profecto ni Genuensibus excubiis credita statio temere corruisset; eius enim gentis praefecto saucio et sese a praelio avertenti †cedi† vigor voluit ut illis vestigia et abitionem eius legio sequeretur, nullis propugnatoribus per manum tradita loci custodia; sic deserta statione portas, sic vacuis pugile moenibus, nullo reluctante, foribus iam ferro et flamma correpsis locus is capitur*.

> Actually our side would have prevailed, if the Genoese troops had not left their station in fear. Their leader had been wounded and wished to leave the battle. His company followed his footsteps and departed and that spot was left without a garrison and without any fighting men. So they seized, by applying sword and flame on those afflicted spots, the gates of the abandoned sector, as there were no warriors on the walls and no one offered any resistance.

The withdrawal of Giustiniani created confusion among the few remaining defenders, which could be observed from the Ottoman line.[188] The janissaries easily assumed control of the makeshift defenses in the sector of Saint Romanos during the ensuing panic and took advantage of the rout to form a column, which proceeded in an orderly fashion to wipe out systematically all remaining pockets of resistance.[189] By then, most of the defenders were dead or were on the run, seeking safety within the city. The janissaries opened the Pempton Gate/Hücum Kapı. At the same time, another regiment opened the Gate of Adrianople/Edirne.[190] Other gates were also forced, while the inhabitants of the district Petrion, which was surrounded by its own palisade, surrendered belatedly in a pathetic effort to spare their neighborhood from harm.[191] In addition, the districts of Stoudios and Psamathia offered no resistance and admitted the victorious troops.[192] The greatest amount of slaughter took place in the early hours of the sack because the Turks were under the impression that an army was within the city and had been kept in reserve.[193] The bloodshed subsided after a few hours, as the Turks realized that there would be no organized resistance.[194]

While the sack continued and panic reigned throughout the city, Giustiniani's company embarked on their ships and eventually sailed away.[195] Barbaro remarks that among the Christian vessels that managed to sail out of the harbor, there were seven that belonged to the Genoese, stationed by the boom. They set sail as evening was setting in.[196] Giustiniani's ship most probably was among the seven. We have no information concerning the voyage to Chios. His band did not include a secretary and no member of the warlord's command has preserved for us an account of the events. What is certain is that en route to Chios, or soon after his arrival, Giustiniani died of his wound(s), although some sources claim that his death was caused by the shame that he incurred as a consequence of his retreat. Leonardo is the earliest author to make this observation. Is it possible that the two met again on Chios after their escape or was Giustiniani already dead by the time Leonardo returned to Chios? Leonardo records the fact that he himself had become a prisoner and was roughly handled by his captors:[197]

> *Qua tempestate concussus, ego quoque captus sum; et pro demeritis meis vinctus caesusque a Teucris. Non fui dignus cum Christo Salvatore configi.*
>
> In that upheaval, I was also captured; and because of my sins I was bound and beaten by the Turks. I was not worthy to be crucified like Christ, our Savior.

He provides no details on his liberation, which, unlike the circumstance of Isidore, his friend and patron, may have taken place early on, as we learn elsewhere that he was able to buy items that the conquerors were selling on the very day of the sack. Had Leonardo been forced into a long period of concealment, similar to that experienced by Cardinal Isidore, his newly acquired books would have been a serious hindrance for him.[198] In any event, Leonardo records the fate of Giustiniani:[199] *Refugit capitaneus in Peram; qui post Chium navigans ex vulnere vel tristitia inglorium transitum fecit*, "the captain fled to Pera; later, after he sailed to Chios he died without glory, either because of his wound or out of sadness." On the margin of a manuscript of Leonardo the following information is provided by an unknown hand:[200] *Cum Chium applicavisset ab illis venenum Johanni datum est quo vita functus est*, "when he reached Chios they gave Giovanni poison and it killed him." This is an interesting observation but its subject is obscure. Who were these people and why did "they" poison the warlord?

Leonardo's imitators have followed his main text faithfully on this point: cf., for example, Languschi-Dolfin:[201] *et fugissene in Pera lo qual dapoi nauigando a Chio da la ferita o piutosto da tristitia morite senza gloria*, "he [= the captain] fled to Pera; later, after he sailed to Chios he died without glory, either because of his wound or out of sadness." Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini also echoes Leonardo:[202]

> *Iustinianus in Peram cum divertisset, inde Chium navigavit, ibique seu vulnere seu maestitia morbum incidens, inglorius vitam finivit. Felix in ipsis Byzantii moenibus animam exhalasset.*
>
> First Giustiniani went to Pera and then sailed to Chios. There he died without glory, falling victim to his affliction, either because of his wound or because of depression. He would have been a happy man had he expired in Byzantium [Constantinople].

Two of Richer's sources were undoubtedly Leonardo and Piccolomini, as it becomes clear in his discussion of Giustiniani's death:[203]

> *Iustinianus verò percepta hostium victoria Paeram continuò diffugit: mox illinc haud satis confirmatus, Chium insulam Ioniae adnauigat: vbi aut vi vulneris, aut dolore confectus, quòd importunè praelio excessisset, paucis diebus comparata primùm nominis gloria incredibili orbatus, animam egit. vno certè foelix futurus, si in armis egregius propugnator ad muros Constantinopolitanos mori potuisse.*
>
> But when Giustiniani realized that the enemy was about to win, he immediately fled to Pera. Soon after he had recovered somewhat there, he sailed to the island of Chios in Ionia. There, either by the seriousness of his wound, or because he had been exhausted by grief because he had left the battle at a critical moment, as he was deprived by the incredible glory that he had earlier won in the space of a few days, he died. Certainly he would have been happy if he could perish as a singular defender at the Constantinopolitan walls.

Sansovino's popular account also presents to a sixteenth-century public in Italian dress Leonardo's statement.[204] One Greek adherent of Leonardo, Pseudo-Sphrantzes, departs from his prototype and states that Giustiniani died in Pera:[205] ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾷ περάσας αἰσχρῶς ἐκεῖ τελευτᾷ ἐκ τῆς πικρίας καὶ περιφρονήσεως, "he crossed [the Golden Horn] into Galatas [Pera] and there he died in shame and out of bitterness and contempt." Yet the phrase ἐκ πικρίας "out of bitterness" probably reflects the prototype's ablative *tristitia*/"out of sadness," while [ἐκ τῆς] περιφρονήσεως "[out of] contempt" reflects the prototype's adverb *inglorium*/"without glory." Finally, the *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle* is quite faithful to Leonardo's text:[206] Ἀμμὴ ὁ καπετάνιος ἔφυγε καὶ ἐδιάβη εἰς τὸν Γαλατᾶ· καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ ἐδιάβη εἰς τὴ Χίο λαβωμένος, καὶ ὑστέρου ἀπόθανε μὲ ἐντροπή, "but the captain left and went to Galatas [= Pera]. From there, the wounded man went to Chios and then he died in shame." There is one statement, however, that departs from Leonardo's damning sentences. The Genoese Adamo di Montaldo states that Giustiniani died aboard his ship enroute to Chios and that his ship transported numerous civilian refugees who were thus spared the atrocities of the sack:[207] *Johannes Justinianus, onerata opibus nave et ingenti hominum utriusque cohorte sexus, antequam Chium saucius pervenit, diem extremam egit*, "the wounded Giovanni Giustiniani, whose ship was loaded with possessions and a huge crowd of men and women, died before he reached Chios."

Giustiniani may have been shot on purpose by one of the defenders during the last battle. According to widespread rumors, there was a fifth column operating within the city, working on behalf of the sultan and for a Turkish victory.[208] Alternatively, he may have been hit by a stray arrow, crossbow bolt, or bullet, perhaps originating from among the defenders by accident. In the confusion and twilight of early morning, while the immediate area of the Pempton Gate was filled with smoke from cannon, bombard, culverin, and spingard discharge, the warlord may have been struck by someone from his own side. That his wound(s) was (were) serious, however, cannot be disputed.

Giustiniani's remains were interred in the Church of Santo Dominico on Chios. Paspates[209] states[210] that Déthier actually discovered Giustiniani's tombstone. Paspates then cites the Latin text of the monument (from Déthier's own work[211]):

*Hic jacet Ioannes Iustinianus inclytus vir ac Genuensis Patricius Chius*

> *Maonensis, qui in Constantinopolis expeditione Principe Turcarum Meemete Serenissimi Constantini Orientalium ultimi Christianorum Imperatoris, magnanimus dux, lethali vulnere ictus interiit*.
>
> Here lies Giovanni Giustiniani, a famous man and a Genoese patrician of the Chian Maona, who was the brave warlord of the last emperor of the Oriental Christians during the siege of Constantinople by the prince of the Turks, Mehmed. He perished when he received a lethal wound.

Three centuries before Déthier, Hieronimo Giustiniani had also quoted the inscription carved on Giustiniani's tomb. Presumably, he had examined it while the warlord's monument was still intact. His version, however, spells words differently. The punctuation is also altered, and it further presents a slightly different text. Hieronimo Giustiniani also includes the date of Giovanni's death, but with the wrong year cited. Hieronimo Giustiniani must have been aware of the chronological error on the stone, but he included it in his quotation, presumably because it was so recorded:[212]

> *Hic iacet Joannes Justinianus, inclitus vir, ac Genuensis patricius, Chijque Maunensis, qui in Constantinopolis ex pugnatione a principe Turchorum Mehemet, serenissimi Constantini orientalium ultimi christianorum Imperatoris, magnanimus Dux, lethali vulnere icto, interiit, anno a partu virginis M.IIIIV, VIII Kal. Augusti*.
>
> Here lies Giovanni Giustiniani, a famous man and a Genoese patrician of the Chian Maona, who was the brave warlord of the last emperor of the Oriental Christians during the siege of Constantinople by the prince of the Turks, Mehmed. He perished when he received a lethal wound, on the eighth day of the Kalends of August, 1455, years after the Virgin gave birth.

The same author has indentified the exact spot within the church, and this is the only description in existence of the warlord's grave.[213]

The Church of Santo Dominico later became known as Santa Maria del Castello and, after the conquest of Chios by the Turks, it was converted to a mosque in 1566. With the passage of centuries, all traces of Giustiniani's tomb have vanished.[214] Paspates states[215] that the inscription, the last remnant of Giustiniani's monument, was lost in the earthquake of 1881, but Pears in 1903 reports[216] that "[h]is monument still exists in the Church of S. Dominico at Chios with an epitaph which contains the phrase 'lethale vulnere ictus interiit'." Pears was probably overly optimistic in his statement, for the tomb had disappeared by then; nor does Pears state that he had visited and had seen or had examined the monument himself. F. W. Hasluck, a modern archaeologist, who quoted from Hieronimo Giustiniani's work because he had failed to detect any trace of the old monument or its inscription in his archaeological survey of Chios, published the inscription once more. Yet his quotation differs from the inscription recorded by Hieronimo Giustiniani.[217] One may consequently express doubts about the actual spelling, punctuation (if any), and text of the Giustiniani inscription. The inscription must have been in capital letters with little or no separation into words, a detail that is not mentioned anywhere in the literature. In the absence of the tombstone itself, a reliable and accurate text may not be restored.

Modern scholars have been at a loss to understand and to explain the conduct of Giustiniani during the final assault of May 29, especially in view of his valor and bravery during the earlier stages of the siege. Thus in 1890 Paspates[218] concluded his investigation with a contradictory statement, for he saw in Giustiniani a "brave" man, but then he speaks of his "lack of daring." Pears[219] observed in 1903: "we…may well remember that Justiniani…had…been the great organiser of the defence, and, knowing that he died of his wounds, may be charitable enough to believe that he did not desert his post except under the pressure of pain too great to be endured." His imitator Schlumberger follows Pears' judgment closely.[220] Runciman, in his popular work on the siege, offers no verdict but writes[221] in passing of "Giustiniani's nerve" being "broken." He observes that "most of [his troops]…had concluded that the battle was lost." Stacton/ Dereksen concludes:[222] "This was the most controversial moment in the siege…. At any rate he was worn out; he was, as it turned out a few days later, mortally wounded; and he did retire." Babinger comments:[223] "Severely wounded in the arm or thigh, Giovanni Giustiniani-Longo, the hero of the day in whom all reposed their hope, lost heart and abandoned his post." One modern authority, Setton, absolves Giustiniani of all charges of cowardice and questionable conduct and places the blame on the warlord's associates and soldiers[224]: "His men were stunned by the blow, and thought only of getting him aboard one of the galleys and clearing out themselves."

Thus substantial controversy surrounds and will continue to surround Constantinople's last *dux militiae*, its commander-in-chief. Giustiniani's arrival had been hailed as the advent of a hero coming to save the beleaguered capital of the Greeks. His behavior during the siege had been impeccable and he had proved his valor on a number of occasions. His post had earned him the envy and hatred of numerous powerful individuals, such as the grand duke Loukas Notaras, with whom he quarreled violently on the eve of the fall, as Leonardo and his followers have recorded:[225]

> *Interea capitaneus generalis Johannes Justinianus…petivitque sibi a Chirluca* [= Κὺρ Λουκᾶς (Νοταρᾶς)], *magno duce consulari, communes urbis bombardas quas contra hostes affigeret. Quas cum superbe denegasset: "Quis me, capitaneus inquit, o proditor, tenet ut gladio non occumbas meo?" Qua ignominia indignatus, tum quod Latinus exprobrasset eum, remissius post rei bellicae providentiam gessit.…*

> Meanwhile the captain general, Giovanni Giustiniani, asked Kyr Loukas [Notaras], the grand duke and councilor, to give him some bombards belonging to the city to use against the enemy. When he dismissed his request with contempt, the captain said: "Traitor: who is going to stop me from running you through with my sword?" He was mortified at the insult, especially since a Latin had cursed him, and afterwards he failed to pay great attention to the defense.

It has also been speculated[226] that this "argument" may have had something to do with Giustiniani's departure on May 29, which event is ultimately responsible for Mehmed's triumph.

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# Notes

[1] For a synthesis of Ottoman preparations and participants in the assault upon the imperial city, cf. M. T. Gökbilgin, “İstanbul ’un Fethi [The Conquest of Istanbul],” *İA* 53A (1959): 1185–1199; İnalcik, *Fâtih devri*, 1: 90 ff.; W. K. Hanak, “Sultan Mehmed II Fatih and the Theodosian Walls: The Conquest of Constantinople, 1453, His Strategies and Successes,” in *İstanbul Üniversitesi 550. Yıl Uluslararası Bizans ve Osmanlı Sempozyumu (XV. Yüzyıl) 30–31 Mayıs 2003. 550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University. International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth Century) 30–31 May 2003*, ed. Sümer Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), pp. 1–13; and A. Clot, *Mehmed II. Le conquérant de Byzance* (Paris, 1990), pp. 28–96.

[2] Quirini, *TIePN*, p.70.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Doukas 37: Παρελθόντος οὖν τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς καὶ τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου ἄρξαντος ἐκέλευσε τὴν χωνίαν μετακομισθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *PG* 159: 927 (*CC* 1: 130), followed faithfully by Languschi-Dolfin (fol. 315 [9]): … *la qual cum faticha era tirata da 150. para de boui.*

[7] Doukas 37: Ἐποίησε γοῦν τὸν Φεβρουάριον καὶ Μάρτιον, ἕως οὗ κατήντησεν ἐν τόπῳ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ μιλίων ε´.

[8] Barbaro 21 (*CC* 1: 14).

[9] *Ibid.*, 18 (*CC* 1: 14). Cf. Doukas 37.8: Τῇ παρασκευῇ οὖν τῆς διακαινησίμου καὶ ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ [= Mehmed II] ἐπὶ θύραις Ἱερουσαλὴμ [= Κωνσταντινουπόλεως] καὶ πήξας τὰς αὐτοῦ σκηνὰς κατέναντι τῆς Πύλης τοῦ Χαρισοῦ ὄπισθεν τοῦ βουνοῦ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Ξυλοπόρτης τῆς κειμένης ἐγγὺς τοῦ παλατίου ἕως τῆς Χρυσῆς Πύλης τῆς πρὸς νότον καὶ ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξυλοπόρτης ἕως τοῦ Κοσμιδίου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου εἰς πλάτος, ὅσον περιέφερον κάμπον οἱ ἄμπελοι· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, προλαβών, φθαρέντες παρὰ τοῦ Καρατζία. Καὶ περιεχαράκωσεν αὐτὴν Ἀπριλίῳ ς´, ἡμέρα παρασκευὴ ἡ μετὰ τὸ Πάσχα. Similar is the information supplied by Eparkhos and Diplovatazes, *NE* 2: 515: …*und er selbs, der turkisch keiser, zog in sein Stat genant Vidernopel* [= Adrianople], *vier Tag weid von dannen, und same mit 0000* (*sic*) *Man, und belegt die Stat: das ist geschehen an dem nechsten Freitag nach dem ossterlichen Tag*. Khalkokondyles presents a narrative also (*CC* 2: 198–200): …ἔπεμπε μὲν πρῶτα τὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης στρατηγὸν Σαρατζίαν παραλαβόντα τὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης στρατόν… Καὶ τότε δὴ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐπιών, ἐπέδραμε τὴν τοῦ Βυζαντίου χώραν. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπελαύνων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ χῶρον τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τὰς Χρυσέας καλουμένας πύλας ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπαν στράτευμα, ἐς δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον χωρίον κατὰ τὴν Ξυλίνην καλουμένην πύλην ὁ τῆς Εὐρώπης στρατός· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτὸς ἵδρυτο βασιλεύς, ἔχων τοὺς νεήλυδας [= janissaries] καὶ τῶν θυρῶν [= of the Porte], ὅσοι εἰώθασι περὶ βασιλέα σκηνοῦν. Kritoboulos also presents a detailed description of the deployment (I.42):

Καρατζίᾳ δὲ τῷ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὑπάρχῳ [= *beglerbeg*] καὶ ἑτέροις τῶν σατραπῶν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ξυλίνης Πύλης ἀνιόντι μέχρις τῶν Βασιλείων τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ φθάνοντι μέχρι τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Πύλης τῆς Χαρισοῦς [= Adrianople Gate] ἐγχειρίζει δοὺς αὐτῷ καί ἐγχειρίζει δοὺς αὐτῷ καί τινας τῶν μηχανῶν καὶ μηχανοποιοὺς παίειν τὸ ταύτῃ τεῖχος, ᾗ ἂν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἐπίμαχον εἴη, καὶ κατασείειν αὐτό. Ἰσαάκῳ δὲ τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρχοντι τότε καὶ Μαχουμούτει κόμητι ὄντι τὸ τηνικαῦτα, ἀνδράσι γενναίοις τε καὶ τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ θαυμαζομένοις πολλῷ, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδρίου μέχρι τῶν Χρυσέας Πυλῶν καὶ τῆς ταύτῃ θαλάττης μέρος ἐπιτρέπει. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς σύν γε τοῖς δυσὶ πασιάδες τῷ τε Χαλήλῃ καὶ Σαρατζίᾳ τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ κατ᾽ ἤπειρον τείχους καὶ ᾗ μάλιστα ἐνόμιζεν ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι ἔχων μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν [= Porte] πᾶσαν.... Fleming, p. 71, makes the claim without attribution to a source that "fourteen Ottoman cannon positions that ringed Constantinople." Certainly, Doukas 35 does not so state. She apparently is unfamiliar with the topography of the city and only the landside along the Theodosian Walls was practicable for cannon deployment.

[10] Barbaro 18 (*CC* 1: 14): *più deboli luoghi de la tera*. Doukas only concentrates on Urban's masterpiece, 38.9:

...διὰ δὲ ξηρᾶς τὴν χωνείαν ἐκείνην τὴν παμμεγέθη φέρων, ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τείχους ἔστησεν ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ πλησίον. Καὶ λαβὼν σημεῖον ὁ τεχνίτης, εἶχε γὰρ ἐκ πλαγίου φωλεὰς δύο κατεσκευασμένας, πέτρας ὡς λιτρῶν... (*sic*) αὐτοφυῶς τεχνασμένας, καὶ ὅτε ἠβούλετο ἀπολύειν τὴν μεγάλην, ἐσημειοῦτο τὸν τόπον πρῶτον, πέμπων τὴν μικράν, καὶ τότε στοχαστικῶς ἐσφενδόνει τὴν μεγίστην. Καὶ κρούσας τὴν πρώτην βολὴν καὶ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ κτύπου οἱ τῆς πόλεως, ἐνεοὶ ἐγεγόνασι καὶ τὸ "Κύριε ἐλέησον" ἔκραζον.

As Doukas, Bishop Samuel, who was an eyewitness and whose account survives in German translation, also speaks of the psychological effect of the sultan's artillery; cf. *NE* 4: 66: *...sy hetten funffczig gross Püchsen vnd funff hundert kleyner Püchsen, vnd ayne die aller grost, dy was in der Gross als ein Kueffen oder ein Vass zw sybenczehen Emern und XX Spann lank. Und, do sy mit der grossen Püchsen schussen zw der Stat, do viel aim grosser Thurn vnd die Mawr von paiden Tailen des Türns vor vnd hindern bey dreisick Ellen nyder, vnd mit der selben grossen Püchsen wurffen sy dirwhundert vnd LIj Stayn zu der Stat, sunder mit den funffhundert klaynen Puchsen schussen sy stätes an Vnderloss auf das Volckh, das Nyemant ein Aug mocht aufgehaben vnd sich beschirmen, vnd an solicher Wer mochten sy nicht zu rechten*. More organized is the account of Eparkhos and Diplovatatzes, *NE* 2: 215: *Item, als er sich* [Mehmed II] *gelegert hat, ist er kumen fur ein Pfort heist Sauroman* [San Romano/Saint Romanos], *de hat er fur gelegt* (*sic*) *Puchsen; die erst Puchs hat der Stein der dar ein gehort 12 Spann umb sich gehabt, und die andern nicht vil cleiner, auf o (sic) Schrit von der Pforten. Item, wie sie so nahent hin zu sint kumen, haben sie bei der Nacht hin zu pracht ein Katzen; dar hinter haben sie zu pracht pei 10.000* (*sic*) *Mannen; die haben die Puchsen hinter im hin zu gepracht; dar zu sind die Puchsenmeister in der Stat mit im einig gewest, die sint gewessen gewest; die haben verzogen mit dem Schiessen*. Khalkokondyles summarizes the situation as follows. *CC* 2: 202: βασιλεὺς [= sultan] μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα τάς τε μηχανὰς καὶ ἄλλας ἄλλῃ τῆς πόλεως προσέφερε, καὶ τοὺς τηλεβόλους δύο ἱδρυσάμενος ἔτυπτε τὸ τεῖχος. Ἵδρυτο δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν τηλεβόλων κατὰ τὰ ἐκείνων βασίλεια, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ καλουμένην πύλην, ᾗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς. Ἵδρυντο μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τηλεβόλοι, βάλλοντες ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οὗτοι δὲ δύο μέγιστον λίθον ἕκαστο ἠφίεσαν διτάλαντον καὶ ἐπέκεινα.

[11] *Ibid*. For a discussion of the topography of all the position, cf. *supra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications.”

[12] *CC* 1: 70.

[13] *PG* 159: 927 (*CC* 1: 130): *ad partem illam murorum simplicem, quae nec fossatis, nec antemurali tutabatur*.... His statement is duplicated by Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (9): *...da quella parte chel muro era simplice, ne hauea fosse ne antemurale*.

[14] Kritoboulos I. 31.1.

[15] Evliya Çelebi confirms in his *SeyāḤatnāme* the disposition of artillery at various points along the Theodosian Walls. He does not, however, situate them at the weakest locations. He lists the following gates: Selybria/Pege/Silivri, Rhegium/Yeni, and Saint Romanos/Top Kapı, and then adds the Adrianople/Edirne. The respective Ottoman commanders at the four gates were Teke Bay Oġlu, Aydın Bay Oġlu, Ṣarı Hān Bay Oġlu (he further adds opposite the Gate of Saint Romanos Menteša Bay Oġlu who appears to be associated with the *basilica* of Urban), and Isfendiyār Oġlu. Cf. *Pertev Paşa ms*., 1.11.

[16] On this gate, cf. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 74 ff.; and Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople: Bishop Leonard,” pp. 291–292. It is called the “Fountain Gate,” because of the Monastery of “Life-giving Fountain” (Ζωοδόχος Πηγή, Turkish: *Balıklı Kilesi*, “the Church of the Fish”), outside the walls. The role that this monastery played in the siege is not known, but Ottoman forces did not harm it, inasmuch as Mehmed II had become the champion of the intransigent Greek anti-Unionists who felt betrayed by the imperial policies of reconciliation with the Catholic Church. This monastery plays a certain part in the popular legends that accumulated around the fall of the city; cf. the folk tales collected by Polites, 1: nos. 31–32 (21–22). In 1453 this gate was ably defended by Maurizio Cataneo from Genoa and 200 crossbowmen, according to Leonardo, *PG* 159: 934: (*CC* 1: 148): *Mauritius inde Cataneus, vir nobilis Genuensis, praefectus inter portam Pighi, id est Fontis...cum ducentis balistariis*. Leonardo’s follower, Languschi-Dolfin, abandons his model in this instance and provides different information. First he mentions the Aurea Porta, which must be a confusion with either the Golden Gate or the Horaia Porta, and then he goes on to mention the commanders, fol. 317 (18): *A custodia de la qual* [*sc. aurea porta*] *era deputato lo audace Bernardo Stornado, cum Mauritio Cataneo Genoese et Battista Gritti*. According to Pusculo (*CC* 1: 206), the Pege Gate was defended by Nikolaos Goudeles and Battista Gritti: *Creduntur, Nicolae, tibi, praefecte, Gudello / cui cognomen erat, Pegaeae limina portae. / Haud illo inferior Grittus Baptista fidelis / iungitur huic socius*. Leonardo states that Goudeles was in charge of mobile reserves to assist various sectors under attack. *PG* 159: 935 (*CC* 1: 150–152), prints this troublesome text as follows: *Demetrius socer N<...> Palaeologo Nicolausque Gudelli gener praesidentes, ut decurrant urbem, cum plerisque in succursum armatis reservantur: Demetrius socer Palaeologus, Nicolausque Gudelli gener, praesidentes ut decurrant urbem, cum plerisque armatis in succursum reservantur*. Leonardo is followed by Languschi-Dolfin fol. 317 (20): *Dimitri Paleologo socero, e Nicolo Guidelli genero pressidenti, reseruato cum molti armati a correr da terra per soccorer doue fusse bisogno*. Elsewhere in his narrative, Languschi-Dolfin provides the following information, fol. 316 (17): *A la porta pagea Nicolo Guideli, apresso lui Batista Griti homo forte armato et animoso*. An anonymous Venetian lamentation from this period agrees, in general terms, and also places the Bocchiardi brothers at the Pege sector (*CC* 2: 241–244 [304]): *Fra quisti al Pighì <ben> se vedeano La giente Catanea forte tenersi, E senza departirsi Vidi Bo<ch>iardi far grande defesa*. Leonardo expresses deep admiration for the Bocchiardi brothers but places them further north, between the Pempton and the Adrianople Gate (*PG* 159: 934 [*CC* 1: 148, presents an

abbreviated extract]): *Paulus, Troilus, Antonius de Bochiardis fratres, in loco arduo Miliandri, quo urbs titubabat, aere proprio et armis…nunc pedes, nunc eques defendunt, ut Horatii Coclitis vires repulsis hostibus aequare viderentur…aeternam sibi memoriam vindicant*, with an echo in Languschi-Dolfin fol. 317 (20): *Paulo Troilo Antonio di Buzardi fratelli in loco arduo miliadro, doue pareua la cita piu debole*. These testimonies may not be irreconcilable, as assignments were changed during the siege, according to circumstances.

[17] The Turkish name for this gate, Top Kapı, retains the memory of Urban's bombard, as it means "the Gate of the Cannon." In general, the Turkish names in this sector have retained memories from the siege. Immediately to the north, the Pempton (the Fifth Military Gate) is still known as Hücum Kapısı, "the Gate of the Assault." That the Turkish names quickly came into general use is evident even in Greek texts. Hierax, who composed a verse chronicle in the sixteenth century, is the earliest Greek source known to us to use the Turkish name for the Saint Romanos Gate. This work has been published twice: *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων Βασιλείας*, ed. Sathas, in *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 1: 243–268; and *MHH* 21.1: 354–399; cf. l. 611 (Sathas, p. 265): τοῦ νῦν ἁγίου Ρωμανοῦ, ἣν Τόπκαψι καλοῦσιν. This gate, the Gate of Saint Romanos, was defended by John and Andronikos Kantakouzenos, according to Pusculo (*CC* 1: 206): *Romani ad portam divi domesticus adstat / Cantacusinus, erat Joannes nomen ab ortu, / Andronicusque, senes ambo*. Languschi-Dolfin departs from Leonardo and provides the following statement, fol. 317 (17): *A la porta de Sacto Romano Joanne Catacusino et Andronico Longino, ma perito principal conseglier del Re*. On the possible relationship between the two narratives, cf. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani," pp. 211–225.

[18] A plaque on the outside of the Kharisios Gate commemorates, in Ottoman and modern Turkish script, the entry of Mehmed II into the conquered city. In 1453 this gate was defended, according to Pusculo (Leonardo does not mention it), by Leontaris Bryennios and Fabruzzi Corner (*CC* 1: 208): *Charsaeam servans Lontarius gente Briena / gaudet de socio clara de gente, Fabruci, / Cornaria. Hic Venetus Cretem generosus habebat*. For prosopographical observations concerning some defenders, cf. now the meticulous study by Ganchou, "Le Mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène," pp. 245–272. On Leontaris Bryennios and his family's contribution to the renovation of the fortifications, cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege," n. 43. The testimony of Doukas in regard to the Gate of Adrianople/Kharisios is quoted, *supra*, n. 9.

[19] The Kaligaria Gate, which came under heavy bombardment (Leonardo states that it was *concussa*), was bravely defended by Theodoros Karystenos, Theophilos Palaiologos, and John Grant, according to Leonardo (*PG* 159: 934 [*CC* 1: 148]): *Theodorus Charistino, senex sed robustus Graecus, in arcu doctissimus, Theophilusque Graecus, nobilis Palaeologo, litteris eruditus, et ambo catholici, cum Johanne Alemano ingenioso, Calegaream concussam reparant proteguntque* (echoed in Languschi-Dolfin's text, fol. 317 [19]: *Daltra parte Theodoro Caristino uechio ma robusto arciero peritissimo, cum Theophilo Paleologo*, etc.). Isidore, in his letter to Bessarion, supplies similar information and adds that Karystenos fell defending his post (*CC* 1: 70): …*et alteram quae Caligariorum appellabatur, apud quam dum accerrime pugnaretur fortissimus ille Theodorus Carystenus irrumpentibus in urbem hostibus se opponens generose ac summa fortitudinis gloria occubuit*.

[20] For the constant confusion in our sources between the purported "civil" Gate of Saint Romanos/Top Kapı, and the Fifth Military Gate/Hücum Kapısı (which some scholars incorrectly label the "military" Gate of Saint Romanos), cf. *PaL* 2: 115–116,

n. 28; Pears, pp. 238–245, 429–435; and *FC*, *passim*. In addition, cf. our discussion, observations, and comments, *supra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications.”

[21] John Kananos 462 is the only author of the Middle Ages to provide the name of the river Lykos, currently under the avenue Vatan Caddesi, which pierces the fortifications between the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton: ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος καὶ σοῦδα καὶ πύργος πλησίον Κυριακῆς τῆς ἁγίας, μέσον Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τῆς Χαρσῆς τε τὴν πύλην, καὶ πλησιέστερον τούτων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Λύκον.

[22] *CC* 2: 301: *Ai, lasso me! che la notte e ’l giorno / De gran<di> petre era salutato, / Romano sventurato / Caligarea, Pighi e la Criséa*.

[23] *PG* 159: 927 (*CC* 1: 130); Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (9): *Accade che la bombarda grande al principio se rompette, le qual cum faticha era tirata da 150. para de boui*.

[24] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 25 (pp. 42–43).

[25] Barbaro 40 (not in *CC* 1). Cf. *supra*, n. 15.

[26] On this incident, cf. Philippides, “Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani,” pp. 51–53.

[27] Nestor-Iskander, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 24 (pp. 40–41): Въ 30-й же день по прьвомъ приступѣ.

[28] *Supra*, n. 27. This could imply either about 1 May, hence thirty days after the artillery unit had arrived before the Land Walls, or toward the end of May, thirty days after the unit was redeployed to the sector of the Gate of Saint Romanos and the Pempton.

[29] Kritoboulos I.30.6.

[30] Doukas 38.9: Μετὰ τὸ σφενδονισθῆναι τὴν πέτραν, τῆς χωνείας ζεούσης ἀπὸ τῆς θερμότητος…παρευθὺς κατέβρεχεν αὐτὴν ἐλαίῳ καὶ σὺν τούτῳ ἐπληροῦντο τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῆς ἀερώδη πάθη καὶ οὐκ ἐνήργει τὸ ψυχρὸν λεανθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου θερμότητος καὶ ἐβάσταζεν τὸν κόπον εὐκόλως. Stacton/Dereksen, p. 182, is in error when he mentions that “[t]he gun was water-cooled, water being poured into the bore after each firing and then drained off.” This application of water on hot bronze would probably weaken the structure of the bombard and could even shatter it into fragments. Doukas is more accurate in analyzing the effects of applying oil on hot bronze.

[31] Khalkokondyles, 204 (385), Book 8, p. 151.

[32] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 24 (pp. 40–43): Въ нихже пушкы бяху 2 велице, ихъ ту сольяны: единой ядро въ колѣно, а другой въ поясъ……, “among them, there were two great cannons employing a shot that reached the knee and a shot that the reached the girdle….”

[33] *PG* 159: 929 (*CC* 1: 134, produces the correct form of the tower’s name that in previous editions appears erroneously as *Bactatinea turris*). *PG* reads this passage as follows: *Bombarda praeterea ingens, eo quad Caligaream strenue reparatam adversus non perficeret, alium locum Bactatineae turris, juxta Sancti Romani portam, inde dimota, lapide in ea aestimatione mille ducentarum librarum interdiu collidit, collisum concutit: concussum exterminat*. Also, cf. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (11): *la bombarda grossa che lauoraua ala Calegaria non facendo frutto per esser ben riparata transporto alla torre baccatura alla porta de San Romano*. In all likelihood, Khalkokondyles must have the same tower in mind, but he only speaks in generalities, *CC* 2: 208: Καὶ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας τοῖς τηλεβόλοις ἔτυπτε τὸ τεῖχος ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ κατέβαλε μέγα μέρος, πύργους τέσσαρας καὶ ἐπιπύργια. Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐς τὸ μέγα τεῖχος τούς τε πύργους κατέβαλεν.

[34] There is no precise information, neither textual nor archaeological, on the exact

location of this tower. The assumption is that it was in close proximity to the Gate of Saint Romanos.

[35] *PG* 159: 927 (*CC* 1: 130); Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (9): *El romper de la qual dette affano al Signor, et subito ordeno fusse butada un altra mazor dela prima*.

[36] Doukas 35: ἐν τρισὶν οὖν μησὶ κατεσκευάσθη.

[37] Leonardo reports (with the careful qualifier “as they say”) that the influential vizier of Mehmed II, Halil Candarlı, created obstacles and successfully blocked the casting of this bombard, *PG* 159: 928 (*CC* 1: 130): *quam* [sc. *bombardam*], *ut aiunt, industria Calilbasciae* [that is, Halil Pasha] *consularis baronis, Graecorum amici, artifex nunquam ad perfectum conduxit*. Also, cf. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (9): …*la qual per industria de Callibassai*, [that is, Halil Pasha] *amico de Greci, el maistro mai condusse a perfection*. It was widely believed at the time of the siege that Halil was friendly towards the Greeks (*MCT*, pp. 45–46); and it was even whispered that he was in the pay of the Greek emperor, trying his best to inform the Byzantine command of the sultan’s decisions concerning the operations. None of these statements can be authenticated but the fact remains that relations between Mehmed II and Halil had been strained since the days of Murad II. Moreover, Halil seems to have been the head of the peace faction at the Porte while Mehmed had come under the spell of the more aggressive party headed by Zaganos, who was not a member of an old Ottoman family but had Christian origins and had risen to his post through the mechanism of the Janissary system. Halil was arrested on May 30, the day after the fall of Constantinople, as is noted in a confused and emotional report to Genoa (dated *1453, die 23 iunii. Pere*) by Angelo Giovanni Lomellino, the Genoese *podestà* of Pera, who accepted an *aman-name* (signed by Zaganos) from Mehmed II immediately after the fall of Constantinople (*CC* 1: 42–51) 46: *recessit ista nocte dominus* [*sc. Mehmed*] *pro Andrinopoli; in quo loco conduci fecit Calibassa* [*sc.* Halil Pasha], *a quo habuit summam maximam monete*. The date of Halil’s execution is discussed by İnalcik, in his review-article of Babinger’s book, “Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time,” *Speculum* 35 (1960): 408–427, esp. p. 412. İnalcik concludes that the execution took place in August or September of 1453, while *MCT* believes that Halil was executed on July 10. It is curious and noteworthy that İ. H. Uzunçarşili, “Çandarlı,” *İA*, 3 (1945): 351–357, esp. 355, does not furnish a specific date for Halil’s execution. Further, it is perhaps significant that in Lomellino’s account the arrest of Halil precedes the list of the executions of Constantinople’s most notable defenders captured during the course of the sack. The subject of intelligence and counter-intelligence activities, movements, and planted rumors in connection with the siege of 1453 deserves its own separate study. There was considerable movement by spies before and during the siege. There were widespread rumors in circulation, implicating the most important personalities involved in the drama. It was not only Halil that was believed to be a “traitor.” The sultan had his own spies within the Greek camp and it was suspected, perhaps unjustly, that Loukas Notaras, the last grand duke of Constantinople, holding the position of “prime minister” in the administration of Constantine XI, was too friendly with the Turks and quite inimical to the Venetians and the Genoese who were defending Constantinople. After the fall, rumors about Notaras proliferated and many survivors accused him of treasonous behavior. Future generations have not been kind to the last grand duke and his figure is still surrounded by considerable controversy, for some scholars see in him a traitor and others a patriot who sacrificed his life in depressing circumstances. Some have even transformed him into a martyr for Neohellenism. The truth surely lies somewhere in the middle of these extreme views.

[38] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 33 (pp. 48–49).

[39] Cf., e.g., *FC*, p. 116: “During the first days of May Urban’s great cannon had been out of order. By May 6 it was repaired.” More cautious is *PaL* 2: 114, n. 23: “Urban’s cannon is said to have exploded…and required recasting, but the sources are inconsistent in their reports.”

[40] *TIePN*, p. 156. Paolo de Dotti, in his letter of June 11, 1453, makes mention of the numerous cannons (*CC* 2: 15): *bombardarum machinas excessivas, innumerabiles et fulgu fulminarias* (*quas scopeterios dicunt*). Of course, all eyewitness accounts express admiration for the number of artillery pieces that the sultan had deployed. Isidore, e.g., spoke of *bumbardas plurimas, quam mille* in his letter to Pope Nicholas V (*CC* 1: 94). This statement is repeated by Henry of Soemmern (*CC* 2: 82) almost verbatim: *Bombardas plures quam mille*, who then adds: *alias magnas et colubrinas infinitas*.

[41] 4.488–490 (p. 70) (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1).

[42] Khalkokondyles 204 (385), Book 8, p. 151.

[43] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 24 (pp. 40–42).

[44] For discussion of this problem, cf. *supra*, ch. 5: “The Land Fortifications,” the sections dealing with the churches of Saint Romanos and Saint Kyriake.

[45] Cf. the observation in Paspates. *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις*, p. 126, n. 33: "Οἱ Ὀθωμανοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν οὐδέποτε ἐπεσκεύασαν τὰ πεσόντα τείχη. Ἔφραξαν ὀπάς τινας, ἵνα κωλύσωσι τὰ λαθρεμπόρια."

[46] Kananos 462.

[47] *Caput II*. The equivalent French text (IV) reads: *les autres tirans dix ou douze centenars; lesquelles bombardes tiroient chascun jour de cent à six-vingt coups, & dura cecy conquante-cinq jours*.

[48] Barbaro 18 (*CC* 1: 14).

[49] *TIePN*, p. 4. Cf. Doukas’ testimony with regard to the triple battery, which he seems to think operated on a primitive form of triangulation, 38.9: ὁ τεχνίτης, εἶχε γὰρ ἐκ πλαγίου φωλεὰς δύο κατεσκευασμένας, πέτρας ὡς λιτρῶν… (*sic*) αὐτοφυῶς τεχνασμένας, καὶ ὅτε ἠβούλετο ἀπολύειν τὴν μεγάλην, ἐσημειοῦτο τὸν τόπον πρῶτον, πέμπων τὴν μικράν, καὶ τότε στοχαστικῶς ἐσφενδόνει τὴν μεγίστην. Khalkokondyles also discusses the same subject, *CC* 2: 202–204: Ἠφίεντο [οἱ λίθοι] δὲ οὕτω. Πρῶτα μὲν ἐλάττους τηλεβόλοι δύο παρὰ τὰ πλάγια τοῦ μεγάλου ὄντες ἠφίεντο, λίθον ἐπαφιέντες ἡμιτάλαντον. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ δύο λίθοι φερόμενοι ἐδῄουν τὸ τεῖχος. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δύο λίθους ἠφίετο καὶ ὁ μέγας λίθος, τρία τάλαντα ἐν σταθμῷ ἔχων, καὶ μέγα μέρος κατεβάλλετο τοῦ τείχος· ὁ γὰρ λίθος δαιμονίᾳ φερόμενος ῥύμῃ καὶ φορᾷ ὑπερφυεῖ ἐλυμαίνετο ἀνηκέστως. Another refugee, who survived the sack, Bishop Samuel, provided a report on August 6, 1453: *Geben an dem sechsten des Monätz Augusti, anno Domini MoCCCCoLIIJo*); on the siege and the sultan’s artillery, *NE* 4: 66: *Sunder es war Nyemant der do Rat oder Helf gab vns durfftigen vnd verdebten, vnd dye Turkken vmbgaben vnser Stat zu Landt vnd zw Wasser uberall und zy Ryng umb ringen sy uns; sy hetten funffczig gross Püchsen vnd funff hundert kleyner Püchsen, vnd ayne die aller grost, dy was in der Gross als ein Kueffen oder ain Vass zw sybenczehen Emern vnd XX Spann lank. Und, do sy mit der grossen Püchsen schussen zw der Stat, do viel ain grosser Thurn vnd die Mawer von paiden Tailen des Türns vor vnd hindern bey dreysich Ellen nyder, vnd mit der selben grossen Püchsen wurffen sy dirw hundert vnd Llj Stayn zu der Stat, sunder mit den funffhundert klaynen Puchsen schussen sy stätes an Vnderloss auf das Volckh, das Nyemant ein Aug mocht aufgehaben vnd sich*

*beschirmen, vnd an solicher Wer mochten sy nicht zu rechten*. His account was published in *NE* 4: 65–68; an Italian translation without the German original in *CC* 1: 228–231.

[50] Cf. the discussion *supra*, ch. 6: “Prelude to Siege of 1453,” nn. 34–38.

[51] *TIePN*, p. 4.

[52] This valuable, though neglected by modern scholarship, *relazione* (contained in the *quattrocento ms. Monac. lat*. 5274) was published in *NE* 2: 514–518 [*CC* 1: 234–239, offers only an Italian translation without the original German text]; cf. *NE* 2: 516: *Item ein ander Pfort, hat geheissen Salgaria; do haben sie fur gelegt IIII Puchsen, 3 gross und I clein, und haben aber hinter ein Polberck funff Locher gemacht und hin zu gegraben und haben daz unterpolczt. Nu haben sie in der Stat auch ein Loch gemacht, und wolten herauss zu in, und sind kumen, daz die Locher an ein ander komen; nu prachten die Turcken vil Puchsen und Dings; also namen dis auss der Stat und wurfen Feur darein und verprenten ir etwann gar vil. The names of the eyewitnesses are mentioned at the conclusion of their account, along with the translator: Disse Ding hat gesagt Herr Thomas Eperkus, ein Graf auss Constantinopel, und Josu Deplorentatz, eins Grafen Sun, und Thutro de Constantinopel, der ir Krichisch in Weilisch prach hat, und Dumita Exswinnilwacz, und Mathes Hack von Utrecht, der ir Welisch in Teutsch hat pracht*. It is quite possible that behind these forms the Greek names Eparkhos and Diplovatatzes are hidden.

[53] *CC* 1: 94–96: *Sed omnes aliae bumbardae nullam intulerunt laesionem, nisi solum illae tres quae lapides magnos prope iam septingentos proiecerunt et maximum detrimentum egerunt; per eas enim illa miserrima Urbs per dies quinquaginta <et> unum terribiliter impugnabatur, cuius pro maiori parte muros in superficiem terrae ruptavit et devastavit; per quorum ruinam murorum capta et expugnata est. Aliae autem bombardae nullam egerunt laesionem, ut supra allegatum est, licet ac magnae ac validae etiam illae essent*.

[54] Doukas 38.9: ἄχρις οὗ ὑπούργησε τὸν ὄλεθρον τῆς Πόλεως· καὶ ἔτι μετὰ ταῦτα φυλάττεται σῶα [*sc*. ἡ χωνεία] καὶ ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ τυράννου θέλημα. Cf. our observations, *supra*, ch. 7: “A Castle and a Bombard,” nn. 127 and 128.

[55] On Urban’s possible transfer to the harbor and his activities there, cf. *supra*, ch. 8: “Naval Maneuvers,” nn. 73 and 74.

[56] *CC* 1: 70. Isidore links the destruction of the walls by artillery to a prophecy that predicted the fall of Constantinople: *Tunc autem intelleximus perfectum esse atque impletum vetus oraculum*. It is a little known fact that Cardinal Isidore had an interest in astrology and the occult, evident in his work as a copyist of ancient manuscripts. His choices of works and authors illustrate his interests; notable, among them, are oracles and astrology (while he copied Ἡλιόδωρος, Ἀστρολογικά, and Ψευδο-Πτολεμαῖος in *Vatic. 1698*), medicine (*Vatic. Barb. 127, Vatic. Chisianus F159*), and rhetoric (*Vatic. Urb. 110*, fols. 3–13, 119$^{r}$–122$^{r}$). For his activities in these fields, cf. Patrinelis, “Ἕλληνες Κωδικογράφοι τῶν Χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως,” pp. 63–124, esp. p. 87. Cardinal Isidore himself wrote an explication of a popular prophecy that was in wide circulation in the decade previous to the siege; he addresses the present work to a “lady who loves literature,” and who had requested his exegesis of the oracle. This work (included in the Greek *codex 1852* of the Vatican, fols. 105, 106), has never been edited nor published in its entirety. The pertinent text on the oracle has been published by Zakythinos, “Μανουὴλ Β΄ ὁ Παλαιολόγος,” pp. 45–69. The precise date of the oracle’s composition is the subject of a scholarly dispute: cf. S. P. Lampros, “Τὰ

Τείχη τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Κορίνθου κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Αἰῶνας," *NH* 2 (1905): 435–489; and *idem*, "Προσθήκη εἰς τὰ τῶν Τειχῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Κορίνθου κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Αἰῶνας," *NH* 4 (1907): 20–26, who believes that it was composed c. 1443. E. W. Bodnar, "The Isthmian Fortifications in Oracular Prophecy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 64 (1960): 165–171, has attempted to show that most of the oracle existed earlier. This matter has not been conclusively settled thus far and Father Bodnar, when he wrote his article, was unaware of the existence of Cardinal Isidore's explication or of his introduction to the text of the oracle. For a translation of this oracle and of Isidore's exegesis, cf. Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, Appendix I.

[57] *CC* 1: 74–76. Cf. Eparkhos and Diplovatazes, *NE* 2: 515: *Item, als er sich gelegt hat, ist er kumn fur ein Pfort heist Sauroman* [= Saint Roman<os>], *de hat er fur gelegt…* (*sic*) *Puchsen; die erst Puchs hat der Stein der dar ein gelort 12 Spann umb sich gehebt, und die andern nicht vil cleiner, auf 0* (*sic*) *Schrit von der Pforten. Item, wie sie so nahent hin zu sint kumen, haben sie bei der Nacht hin zu pracht ein Katzen*….

[58] *CC* 1: 96: *pro maiori parte muros in superficiem terrae ruptavit et devastavit; per quorum ruinam murorum capta et expugnata est. Aliae autem bumbardae nullam egerunt laesionem, ut supra allegatum est, licet ac magnae ac validae etiam illae essent*. On the triple battery against the Saint Romanos sector, cf. Doukas 58: τὴν χωνείαν ἐκείνην τὴν παμμεγέθη φέρων ἄντικρυ τοῦ τείχους ἔστησεν ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ πλησίον. καὶ λαβὼν σημεῖον ὁ τεχνίτης, εἶχε γὰρ ἐκ πλαγίου φωλεὰς δύο κατεσκευασμένας, χωρούσας πέτρας ὡς λιτρῶν... (*sic*) αὐτοφυῶς τεχνασμένας. On the triple battery against the Saint Romanos sector and the issue of triangulation, cf. the testimonies of Doukas and Khalkokondyles quoted *supra*, n. 48. In connection with these texts, we should recall that Doukas, in an obscure passage, accused a number of Hungarian ambassadors of instructing the Turks in a better method of triangulation. Cf. our comments on this incident, *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege," text with nn. 38–39. If this event has any credence, it must imply that the Hungarians were able to demonstrate to the Turks a more effective way of triangulation. It appears that the triple batteries of Mehmed operated in the following manner: the first two shots from smaller cannons struck the walls directly, head on, and the third shot from the great bombard also struck the same spot in the same manner, once the range had been deduced. By the end of the siege this method was improved (either by trial and error or by direct help from the Hungarian ambassadors): the projectiles struck the wall at an angle and not a straight line, thus weakening the targeted structure more effectively.

[59] *PG* 159: 933 (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1). Languschi-Dolfin fol. 316 (17): *et sopra i muri erano pochi, et faceuano come poteuano*.

[60] *PG* 159: 934 (*CC* 1: 146–148). Languschi-Dolfin fol. 317 (19): *Da tali angustie afflicto lo imperator disponeua i militi sopre le torre et muri, et al poter suo lantemurale cum la fossa parea ben defesso*.

[61] *PG* 159: 936 (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1). Languschi-Dolfin fol. 318 (22): *Gran cura et diligentia metteuano in fortir l antemurale cioe, la barbarchana, contra l opinion de molti li quali suadeuano metter el suo refugio in conseruar el muro grande, lo qual in ogi euento se poteua reparar et custodir*.

[62] The exception is *OGN*, which provides a highly imaginative, but an inaccurate version of Byzantine strategy. Thus *OGN*, p. 197, suggests that in the last days of the siege the defenders may have withdrawn to the great inner wall, abandoning their positions at the remnants of the outer barrier that had been repaired with barricades and stockades. This view contradicts Leonardo's testimony, ignores his criticisms, and finds no support whatsoever in the sources. The fact is that the last battle took

place in the critical sector of the Pempton and the Ottoman forces assaulted the stockades; the defenders were not on the inner wall. The inner wall played no part in the siege. The Turks, mounting the improvised defenses and encountering no opposition, penetrated and overran these structures before the inner wall.

[63] All sources are impressed with the armament and tactics of Giustiniani's small band of professionals, who were able to maintain a spirited defense until the very end. Doukas compares the armor of Giustiniani to the armor of Achilles, 38.10: τὴν σιδηρᾶν χλαμύδα, καὶ ἥτις ὑπῆρχε ὡς τὰ τοῦ ᾿Αχιλλέως ὅπλα. Khalkokondyles always refers to the *condottieri* as ὁπλῖται. ῾Οπλίτης is, of course, the medieval Greek term for the Latin *miles*, or armored knight. Kritoboulos describes their armament by using the old-fashioned term "cataphracts" to indicate their plate armor. Cf. Kritoboulos I.25: εἶχε [*sc.* Giustiniani] ὑπ᾿ αὐτόν...καταφράκτους ἄνδρας τετρακοσίους, which is a repetition of the same phrase that he used a few sentences earlier. Emphasis here is placed squarely on the armor that Giustiniani's men wore. For a recent investigation of Turkish armament (with a comparison to contemporary European armor), cf. A. Williams, "Ottoman Military Technology," pp. 363–399.

[64] Kritoboulos I.36.

[65] Doukas 38.2.

[66] Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, p. 212, in his translation of Doukas renders this phrase as "on the outer fortifications and at the fosse."

[67] Khalkokondyles, *CC* 2: 202.

[68] There is no monograph that treats this siege and the text of John Kananos has never been translated into English. The Greek text of this account can be found in its entirety in the *CSHB*, the volume containing the *Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes: Bonn, 1838 [= *PG* 156: 61–81]. For a more recent edition of Kananos (with Italian translation), cf. E. Pinto, ed., *L'assedio di Costantinopoli* (Messina, 1977). For another Italian translation, cf. M. E. Colonna, "Sulla Διήγησις di Giovanni Cananos," *Università di Napoli, Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofie* 7 (1957): 151–166. Kananos was obviously an eyewitness and composed his account with anticipation of an unexpected victory over the Ottomans and the events still fresh in his mind. His text begins with a quotation from the biblical *Apocrypha* (Tobit 12) and, after a short introduction he presents a highly readable account of the events and of the general assault. The most detailed investigation of this siege can be found in Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 359–366. In addition, cf. the brief comments on the siege in Bartusis, p. 117. This siege is investigated in Philippides, *Constantine Dragaš Palaeologus*, ch. 4.

[69] The day of the general assault is given in *Minus* 10.2, as August 22. It seems more reasonable,however, to accept August 24 as the actual date of the assault on the face of other evidence. Cf.?Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. 364, n. 115. August 24 is also accepted by *PaL* 2: 12, and n. 32;and by *LCB*, p. 348. Cf. in addition P. Schreiner, *Studien zu den* Βραχέα Χρονικά, Miscellanea?byzantina monacensia 6 (Munich, 1967): 172–175.

[70] Even the prosaic Sphrantzes, *Minus* 10.2, seems to hint that a miracle had been performed: ἀπῆλθεν ἄπρακτος [*sc.* Murad II] ἀπὸ τῆς Πόλεως βοηθείᾳ θεοῦ. For other similar instances of divine intervention that were believed to have delivered other Greek cities in the Middle Ages, including Athens, cf. *PaL* 2: *passim*. For the Virgin as the divine protector of

Constantinople, cf. N. H. Baynes, “The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople,4” *Analecta Bollandiana* 7 (1949): 165–177 [= N. H. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), pp. 248–260]. In this instance, the “miracle” became famous and we find echoes of it among westerners and even among Slavonic sources. A legend was created and even later heard by the Castilian Pero Tafur who had visited Constantinople in 1437–1438. Tafur 179–180 relates an interesting yarn that combined the “miracle” and historical circumstances in 1422 with other ancient tales: “Dizen que vino el Turco á la çercar é la tuvo en grant estrechó…é toda vía el Turco continuando en su propósito, dizen que vieron por ençima del muro andar un onbre á cavallo, é preguntó á un griego, que allí tenia preso, ¿qué maravilla era aquella que cada noche veyen aquel cavallero por ençima de las almenas yr corriendo á cavallo é armado? Dixo: señor, los griegos dizen que creen que, quando Constantino edificó esta yglesia, andavan en la lavor della muchas gentes…é que un dia…quel maestro mayor mandó á un niño…aguardar las ferramientas; é que, quendando allí, le aapresçió un onbre á cavallo muy fermoso é le dixo: …anda, non ayas miedo, que yo te prometo que yo guarde la yglesia é la çibdat fasta que tú vengas; é qué niño se fué, é despues, con miedo que uvo de amenaças que le fizieron, nunca bolvió, ansí que quedó el cavallero en guarda de la promesa que fizo. É este se dize que es el Angel, they say that the Turk [Murad II] came and greatly oppressed the city…and as the Grand Turk went on with his attempt, they told him that they had seen a man riding a horse on the wall and he then asked a Greek captive what this marvel which they saw every night, an armed horseman riding on the fortifications. He said: ‘Lord: so the Greeks say, when Constantine built his church, he used many people as his laborers and one day the master-builder ordered a child who was there to guard the implements.’ He did as he was told. A very handsome man on a horse appeared to him [the child] and said: ‘Go without fear and I promise you that I will guard the church and the city until you return.’ The child did so, and a very handsome man on horseback appeared and the child left but did not return at all, because he feared punishment. And so the horseman remained in accordance with the promise that he had made. And they say that he was an angel….” Tafur composed this account long after his visit and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. He concludes this passage with an indirect comment on the siege of 1453: “…pero poderse ía dezir agora quel niño era venido, é el Angel avíe dexado su guarda, pues todo es tomado é ocupadó pero por aquella vez el Turco se partió…, …yet it can be said now that the child had come back and that the angel has left his post, for the city has been captured and is under occupation, but back then the Turk departed….” On Tafur and his visit to Constantinople, cf. Vasiliev, “Pero Tafur,” pp. 75–122, esp. 110; and Bravo Garcia, pp. 39–47. This story that Tafur reported was well known throughout the Christian world and the angel in question is most often identified as the Archangel Michael. The tale is often mentioned in Slavic texts. One of the earliest versions by an anonymous author is edited and translated by Majeska, pp. 128–131; it is titled:

*Сказание о святых местех,*

*О Констянтинеграде и о святых мощех спасшихся во Иерусалимѣ, а собраных*

*Костянтином царемь в нарецаемыи Царьград*

[Tale of the Holy Places of the City of Constantine, and the Holy Relics Preserved in Jerusalem and Collected by the Emperor Constantine in the Aforementioned Imperial City]. For other versions, cf. Vilinsky, pp. 84–85 and 100–101.

[71] Kananos 474–478: ὁ δὲ λαὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων [= of the Greeks] ὁρῶν τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ μάχιμα

ἔργα τῶν Τούρκων, καὶ τὴν πλησμονὴν τοῦ φωσάτου γενεῶν τῶν ἀπείρων, καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν Ταρτάρων καὶ τῶν Μουσουλμάνων τὴν τόλμην, καὶ τὰ πρὸ ὀλίγου πραχθέντα, ὅτι ἐντὸς τῆς σούδας ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Τοῦρκοι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἄλλους ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τὰς πόρτας, ἐδειλίασαν μέγα, καὶ σχεδὸν πρὸς φυγὴν οἱ πλείονες ἐθεώρουν. ὦ ὥρας ἀπελπισίας μεγίστης. τίς οὐκ ἔφριξε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην; τίς οὐκ ἐτρόμαξε τὴν ὥραν ταύτην ὁρῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τοσαύτην δειλίαν καὶ τοὺς Μουσουλμάνους εἰς θάρσος τοσοῦτον; ...ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα πάντα τῶν Τούρκων...ἐδιηγοῦντο ὅτι τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ὥραν, ὅταν μὲ θράσους καὶ ὁρμῆς ἀκρατήτου ἔφθασαν εἰς τὰ τείχη τοῦ κάστρου, ἵνα ἀναβῶσιν ἐπάνω καὶ διώξωσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰχμαλωτίσουν, τότε εἶδον γυναῖκα ὀξέα ροῦχα φοροῦσαν καὶ περιπατοῦσαν ἐπάνω τῶν προμαχιόνων καὶ τοῦ ἔξω κάστρου. Καὶ ταύτην ἰδόντες, σκότος καὶ ζάλη καὶ τρόμος καὶ φόβος ἄφνω εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς εἰσῆλθε τῶν πάντων, καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ἔβλεψαν.... Almost thirty years later after the siege of 1453, the Knights of Saint John attributed their victory over the Ottomans in the attack upon Rhodes to a divine miracle and it was reported in such terms (in language that almost parallels the style of Kananos) by an eyewitness and vice chancellor of the order of the Hospitallers, Guillaume Caoursin. For a new edition of his Latin text, with English translation and commentary, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, ch. 8. Cf., e.g., the conclusion of Carousin's account of the siege of Rhodes, which also makes mention of the siege of Constantinople in 1453: *Quis hostem moenia possidentem iamque victoria lascivientem et ex<s>ultantem terruit? / Deus clementissimus. Quis hostem ne scalis descenderet antequam subsidia conscendentur prohibuit? / Deus fortissimus. / Quis eorum mentes obcaecavit ut post primam pugnem non aggrediuntur nostros et multis vulneribus oppressos et defatigatos oppugnentur? / Deus clementissimus. / Quis tam potentem hostem qui tot et tanta regna subiugavit prohibuit ne hunc Hierosolymorum principatum mediocrem quidem ac ceterorum comparatione tenuem post Constantinopolitanae urbis excidium suae ditionis faceret? / Deus sapientissimus.*

[72] A nightmare of this sort took place a few years later during the siege of Belgrade by Mehmed II. On July 21, 1456, the janissaries entered through breaches in the fortifications created by bombardment. The defenders, commanded by John Corvinus Hunyadi, allowed the Turks to advance and then launched a counter-attack from the citadel and from the breached defenses. Thus they were able to surround the dispersing Ottoman forces, who were already preoccupied with looting. In a confused attempt to withdraw, the ranks of the Turkish regiments were then decimated and the city was saved. Cf. R. N. Bain, "The Siege of Belgrade by Muhammad II, July 1–23, 1456," *English Historical Review* 7 (1892): 235–253; *SOC*, pp. 41–50; and *PaL*, 2: ch. 6.

[73] The siege of Murad II anticipated the strategy of Mehmed II to a great extent. The final assault was launched at the area of the Pempton in both sieges, and this sector seems to have been the target of the sultan's primitive bombards in 1422. Constantine XI stood his final ground in the area of the Saint Romanos Gate and the Pempton, where the emperor was destined to fight his last battle and perish in the melee. Kananos 471 relates that earlier John VIII Palaiologos ἀνέβη ἐφ᾽ ἵππου καθωπλισμένος ὡς ἔδει, καὶ τὴν πύλην ἐξῆλθε Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ ἔστη ἐκεῖσε πλησίον τῆς πόρτης, "mounted his horse in full armor as he ought, came out of the gate of Saint Romanos, and made his stand there in the vicinity of the Gate." Kananos is explicit about the dangerous nature of this position and further reports that the Turks concentrated their bombardment on this sector. Here the greatest amount of damage was sustained and an old tower collapsed under the continuous bombardment. He, 461–462, writes: ἐπεὶ ἑβδομήκοντα βοκία τῆς βολῆς τῆς μεγίστης

ἐκείνης τὸν σεσαθρωμένον ἔκρουσε πύργον, καὶ οὐδεμίαν βλάβην τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο προὐξένησεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τοῖς Τούρκοις ὠφέλειαν. ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος καὶ σοῦδα καὶ πύργος πλησίον Κυριακῆς τῆς ἁγίας, μέσον Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τῆς Χαροῆς τε τὴν πύλην, καὶ πλησιέστερον τούτων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Λύκον.

[74] Doukas 38.3. It should be added that Doukas observes that orders were issued to the defenders to remain within the walls, as the defenders had sustained too many casualties. If such orders were issued, they must have been published towards the end of the siege, or certainly after the transfer of Ottoman light vessels to the Golden Horn, an operation that made the defenders realize how valuable their few fighting men were. It is interesting that Doukas speaks of prisoners that the defenders took during these sorties. This observation would explain how the defenders were in possession of prisoners whom they executed in retaliation for the execution of sailors that were captured by the Turks during the ill-fated attempt to burn Ottoman vessels in the harbor; cf. *supra*, ch. 8: "Naval Maneuvers," nn. 65–72. The fact that the small gates, known as παραπόρτια, had to be kept open to facilitate entry and egress of the defenders, perhaps may account for the legends that eventually accumulated about the notorious Kerkoporta, an event which as we note, *infra*, Appendix III, constituted at best as a minor incident.

[75] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 39 (pp. 54–55). Paradoxically, Nestor-Iskander does not record sorties for the month of April. These may have taken place at other sectors along the Theodosian fortifications, below the Fourth Military Gate southward toward the Golden Gate, for, as it is apparent, he was primarily familiar with the events that took place in the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector.

[76] Most probably this is the title of *sanjak-beg* or *sancak-beg*.

[77] Amarbeg probably should read correctly Ömer Beg, a *sancak-beg* of Rumeli, that is, the west.

[78] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 41 (pp. 56–57).

[79] On him, cf. *ibid.*, p. 125, n. 64.

[80] He remains an unidentifed figure, but in all probability he is not a fictitious invention. There is a strong possibility that Nestor-Iskander makes reference to Mahmud Pasha who played some role in the siege of Constantinople. On this, cf. Kritoboulos 42, who may well have exaggerated Mahmud Pasha's role in the capture of the city; while Stavrides, pp. 112–113, minimizes his participation in the siege. We have, however, no "Mustafa, the standard-bearer of the east" cited in any sources, either Byzantine or Turkic.

[81] That is, Theodoros Karystenos. Cf. Leonardo 934.

[82] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 63 (pp. 76–77).

[83] Doukas 38.3. Kritoboulos also supports this view; he speaks of sorties and skirmishes in the vicinity of the Pempton, carried out by Giustiniani's band, I.36: καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ προσβολαὶ καθημέραν ἐγίνοντο ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰ παρερρηγμένα, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν ἔλαττον οἱ τῆς Πόλεως εἶχον, ἀλλ᾽ ἰσχυρῶς τε ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἀντεῖχον γενναίως.

[84] E.g., Kritoboulos I.37: ἔγνωστο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου τόν τε λιμένα καὶ τὸ Κέρας ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι, ὡς ἂν πανταχόθεν κατά τε τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν προσβάλοι τῇ Πόλει· ἐνόμιζε γάρ, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὸ ταύτῃ τεῖχος ἀνοίξει πολέμῳ, ῥᾳδίαν ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς πόλεως αἵρεσιν γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξαρκούντων τῶν προμαχομένων πρὸς πάντα τὸν περίβολον ὀλιγανθρωπίᾳ μέγιστον ὄντα. To emphasize his point, Kritoboulos returns to the same subject again in his narrative (cf. the next note).

[85] *Ibid.*, I.43.

[86] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 935 [*CC* 1: 150]: *Cardinalis, a consilio munquam absens, Sancti Demetrii regionem ad mare defensabat.*

[87] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 935 [*CC* 1: 150]: *…et turres, quas Anemadas vocant impensis cardinalis reparatas, spectabant.*

[88] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 928 (*CC* 1: 132). *PG* prints a slightly different version of the first sentence: *Pulvis erat nitri modicus, exiguus*, etc. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (9, 10)*: per hauer pocha poluere de salmitrio, et poche sagitte. Et se pur se trazeua bombarde non poteuano offender Turchi ascosi adriedo le masiere, et li fossi*.

[89] Khalkokondyles 206 (389), p. 154. Leonardo also writes of the defenders' artillery, which clearly had targeted the tents at the Ottoman camp with a strategy of harassment in mind. Cf. *PG* 159: 928 [*CC* 1: 132]: *interdum in cuneos hostium emissae* [*sc. bombardae nostrae*]*, et homines et tentoria exterminebant.* [Not in *CC* 1]: *Non enim in vanum jaciebantur, quas illisas hostes declinare non poterat. Itaque cadebant Teucri icti aeneis telis lapidibusque.* It thus becomes clear that the defenders' artillery performed adequately, as Leonardo almost produces a contradiction: first he complains of the absence of gunpowder and of the inability of the defenders to fire their cannon which damaged the walls, but then he goes on to state that somehow the defenders' smaller artillery pieces were used effectively against the enemy. Once more, we should remember that the defense probably utilized small artillery pieces in sorties. In such instances the defenders, to support the skirmishing parties outside the fortifications, could have used mortar effectively.

[90] Tetaldi *Caput XVI*. Cf. the equivalent (short) French version, XXII: *L'assault commencé, ceulx de dedens par tout se deffendirent vaillament à S. Romain, & le liu plus legier à avoir. En la muraille plus faible, de laquelle avoit ja est abatuë les jours passez, là estoient les bombardes, qui bouterent jus une barbequenne & la montre du mur du meilleu, & en cheut bien deux cens braches. Là aussi sy avoit tant de coulevrins, & de traits, que on ne voyoit point le ciel.*

[91] *PG* 159: 936 (*CC* 1: 152). Languschi-Dolfin fol. 317 (21): *Infra questo tempo Joanne Zustignan capitanio in la tera…domando a Cir Luca Notara…alcune bombarde da rebatter li inmici da la sua statione, et quelli cum superbia denego uoler dar. Al qual irato Joanne Zustignan disse o traditor, et che me tien che adesso non te scanna cum questo pugnal.* Cf. *supra*, n. 25.

[92] *PG* 159: 929 (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1). Languschi-Dolfin fol. 314 (11): *El signor come uide el ruinado esser subito ristaurato, disse non equesto ingegno de Greci, ma de Franchi che si a riparato cum tanta scientia in tanta pugna, in la qual ne tante forze ne bombarde, et artellarie d ogni qualita li facia retrar de la pugna*. In this passage, the attempts of Mehmed to bring Giustiniani to his side should be considered. Cf. Leonardo, *PG* 159: 936 (not in *CC* 1), who significantly places the wishes of the sultan after the quarrel between Giustiniani and Notaras: *Cujus* [*sc. Justiniani*] *providentiam Teucrus commendans: Quam vellem, inquit, penes me praefectum illum Joannem* [*Justinianum*] *honorandum! Magnis hercle donis auroque multo corrumpere illum studuit: cujus inflectere animum nunquam potuit.*

[93] Cf., e.g., *PG* 159: 927 (*CC* 1: 130): *Sed quis, oro circumvallavit urbem? Qui, nisi, perfidi Christiani, instruxere Turcos? Testis sum quod Graeci, quod Latini* [= Italians], *quod Germani, quod Panones* [= Hungarians], *Boetes …opera eorum didicerant*; cf. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 314 (9): *Ne altri circumuallo Costantinopoli saluo perfidi Christiani, che insegnorono a Turci in fra li quali erano Greci, Latini, Germani, Ungari, Boemi insieme cum Turci*. Leonardo also complains about the Perenses, *PG* 159: 929 (*CC* 1: 136): *Ego, iudicio meo, ni fallor, arbitror apertam guerram Perensibus a primo salubriorem quam fictam pacem…. O Genuenses iam quodammodo cicurati! Sileo, ne de meis loquar*; cf. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (11): *et forsi hauia zouato l hauesse hauto cum Perensi piu tosto aperta guerra a Costantinopoli che pace simulata* (omitting Leonardo's exclamation and exasperation). Once more in his narrative, in connection

with intelligence information that was evidently passed on to the enemy, Leonardo attempts to control his anger and frustration, *PG* 159: 933 (*CC* 1: 144): *Sed quid dicam, beatissime Pate*r [*sc*. Pope Nicholas V]*? Accusarene quempiam licet? Silendum mihi est.* The ambiguous role of the Perenses in the siege, helping both the emperor and the sultan, became proverbial and echoes the situation found in secondary narratives: cf., e.g., Doukas 38.5: Οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Γαλατᾶ [= Pera] ἐνενόουν, ὡς καθὰ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις χρόνοις, ἡ Πόλις καταπολεμηθεῖσα παρὰ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ [= Mehmed] οὐδὲν ὠνήσαντο ἀπελθόντες ἄπρακτοι, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Γαλατᾶ σὺν ἐκείνοις φιλίαν δεικνύντες, τοὺς μὲν Πολίτας ἐδίδοσαν τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξερχομένην βοήθειαν, οὕτω θαῤῥοῦντες γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτου, ὡς πλάνον μὲν τὴν φιλίαν ὑπόπτευον, τῇ δὲ Πόλει τὰ εἰκότα συνεμάχοντο κρυφίως. In 38.15. Doukas becomes more explicit: Ὁ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Ἰωάννης γενναίως ἐμάχετο σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ παλατίου, ἔχοντες ἐκ τοῦ Γαλατᾶ [= Pera] μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀνδρῶν ἐνόπλων. Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοὶ δεικνύντες ἀγάπην καὶ ἐξερχόμενοι διῆγον ἐν sultan] τῷ κάμπῳ τοῦ φωσάτου ἀφόβως καὶ τὰ ζητούμενα χρειώδη ἐδίδοσαν ἀφθόνως τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ ἔλαιον διὰ τὰς σκευὰς καὶ ἄλλο, εἴ τι αἰτοῦντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐφαίνοντο. Τοῖς δὲ [= the Greeks]. Ῥωμαίοις κρύφα καὶ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς διαβαίνοντες, τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν

[94] *PG* 159: 936 (not in *CC* 1); Leonardo's text is quoted *supra*, n. 91. Cf. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 318 (p. 22): *…el Signor Turco…disse, o quanto caro haueria questo honorato capitanio Zoanne Longo alli me servitij, …cum doni, et molto oro de uoltar l animo suo, al qual mai diede orechie*.

[95] E.g. Sansovino, *Gl' Annali*, 104: *perche commendauo il Turco la costui providenzia, disse O quanto hauerei caro che quel Capitan Giouanni honorando fosse meo. Et ueramente ch' egli cercò di corromper lo con danari, & con grandissimi doni, ma egli no potè mai piegar l' animo suo gagliardo & inuito*; and Hieronimo Giustiniani, *Istoria di Scio scritta nell' anno* (Paris, 1585; repr. *Hieronimo Giustiniani's History of Chios*, ed. P. P. Argenti [Cambridge, 1943], p. 412): *Per la qual cosa Mehemet solea dire, che ne facea più di conto del Giustiniano solo, che del tutto il resto della città.* On this point, cf. Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani," pp. 32–33.

[96] *Ten Books on Architecture: Anastatis Reprint Corsini Incunabula*, Book II (Rome, 2003).

[97] Cf., e.g., Barbaro's testimony, examined *infra*, text with nn. 110–116.

[98] Barbaro 46 [not in *CC* 1].

[99] For this method of fighting, cf. J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 270–274.

[100] *CC* 1: 72. Eparkhos and Diplovatazes also speak of the mines by the Kaligaria Gate, *NE* 2: 516: *…und unter dem Polberck haben sie angefangen ein Loch, daz ist gangen unter dem Graben und unter der Maur untz in die Forstat.*

[101] *CC* 1: 98. The secondary sources also speak of the mines; cf. e.g., Kritoboulos I.31: ἔτι δὲ τοὺς γεωρύχους ὑπορύττειν τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευε καὶ ὑπονόμους ὑπογείους πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν, ὡς ἂν διὰ τούτων νυκτὸς λάθωσιν εἰσελθόντες ὁπλῖται. Καὶ ἠνύετο τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὕστερον περιττὸν ἔδοξε…. As Kritoboulos was writing his work for the eyes of the sultan, hoping to receive an appointment at the Porte, he had no desire to emphasize that the failures of the mines were due to the engineering efforts of the defenders and simply suggests that the sultan changed his mind and abandoned the project.

Khalkokondyles emphasizes the point that the sultan's mines were neutralized, *CC* 2: 204: Ὠρύσσετο μέντοι καὶ ὀρύγματα τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ οἱ τε ὀπυκταὶ τοῦ βασιλέως πύργους καθίστασαν ἐπὶ ξύλων μετεώρους τέσσαρας καὶ ἐπιπύργια, ὡς αὐτίκα πῦρ ἐνήσοντες ἢ αὐτά. Οὐ μέντοι γε προεχώρησε τὰ ὀρύγματα· οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες ὡς ᾔσθοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρύσσοντας, ἔνδοθεν ὤρυσσον καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ προϊόντες εὗρον τοὺς βασιλέως ὀρυκτάς, καὶ ἐξέωσαν πῦρ ἐνιέντες, καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν ὀρυγμάτων.

[102] Cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," nn. 103 and 104.

[103] *PG* 159: 929 (*CC* 1: 132); cf. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (10): *Et tanto quanto Turchi, cum grosse bombarde dirupaua, tanto cum sarmenti, uimine, terra et botte repraua. Et per questo el Turcho deluso penso non cessar dal continuo trazer, ma ancora cum piu forte cura de caue subterranee furar la terra.*

[104] *TIePN*, p. 70. Further, on the role of Serbs in aiding the Ottoman siege of the imperial city, cf. Lj. Maksimović, "Η εποχή της άλωσης και οι Σέρβοι," in Tonia Kiousopoulou, ed., *1453. Η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεότερους χρόνους* (Herakleion, 2007), pp. 197–207.

[105] For the very few facts that Leonardo (and no other source) provide on Grant, cf. *supra*, ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," n. 104.

[106] *PG* 159: 928 (*CC* 1: 134); cf. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 315 (10): …*et per tre uia tentauano penetrato i muri passar in la citade. Habiando adoncha passado sotto le fosse, el antimurale, et le mirabilis fundamente de la terra cum gran silentio, el silentio cauato, alhora per opera industria, et sagacita de Joanne Grando Alemano dotto in cose bellice… fu descoperto…et…explorato.* Pseudo-Sphrantzes provides an innovation on this passage and suggests that the Turkish mine was burned with liquid "Greek fire." There is, however, no evidence that the Greeks still used "liquid fire" at this late date and no other sources mention such a weapon. It must be one of the learned insertions of Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos. Pseudo-Sphrantzes also suggests that John Grant was experienced in handling liquid fire. Thus it is possible that he was only thinking of more traditional means of burning a mine. It is unlikely that Grant would be familiar with the secret of its manufacture and the methods of applying it. Furthermore, Pseudo-Sphrantzes suggests that the Turks also used "liquid fire" in underground warfare; cf. *Maius* 3.4.12: Ἰωάννης τις Γερμανὸς ἄκρον ἠσκημένος τὰς τοῦ πολέμου μηχανὰς καὶ τὰς τοῦ ὑγροῦ πυρός, ἐνωτισθείς…ἑτέραν ὀπὴν ἐναντίαν ποιήσας καὶ μετὰ ὑγροῦ πυρὸς τεχνηέντως σκευάσας…οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ ὑγρὸν πῦρ ανῆψαν, ὃ προητοίμασαν…. for the traditional and famous "liquid fire" of Byzantium, cf. E. M[cGeer], "Greek Fire," *ODB* 2: 873; J. F. Haldon and M. Byrne, "A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire," *BZ* 70 (1977): 91–99; and Partington, pp. 1–42. The most exhaustive investigation has been provided by T. K. Korres. *Ὑγρὸν Πῦρ· Ἕνα Ὅπλο της Βυζαντινής Ναυτικής Τακτικής*, Ἑταιρεία Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν 6 (Thessaloniki, 1985; repr. 1989).

[107] Pusculo 4.786–812 (pp. 76–77) (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1).

[108] *Ibid.*

[109] *Caput VII.* The equivalent French passage is identical, XIII: …*qui son siege tenoit, avoit plusieurs hommes accoustumez de miner l'or & l'argent, mina en quatorze lieux*

*soubs le lieu de la ville, pour le tailler, & commencça ses mines bien long du mur. Les Chrestiens contreminerent, en escoutant le redond, & par diverses fois estouferent les Turcs en leurs mines, adez par fumée, adez par pueur, adez les noyant par foce d'eauës, & aucune fois combattant main à main.*

110 Barbaro 41 [not in *CC* 1]. It should be observed that Barbaro gives credit to Loukas Notaras and to the emperor for taking effective counter measures. Leonardo and his followers, however, suggest that John Grant was responsible for neutralizing the mines at the Kaligaria Gate; cf. *supra*, n. 105. There is probably no contradiction here, as different levels of command are indicated. Notaras may have been in nominal charge of that sector at that time (even though we know that his main responsibility was at the harbor; nevertheless, his official title in addition to that of grand duke, was *mesazon*, that is, "intermediary" between others and the emperor). Grant would have been in charge of the engineering corps and of the sappers who constructed the counter mines.

111 *Ibid.* 44–45 [not in *CC* 1]: *A dì vinti uno de questo pur mazo…a l'ora del mezo dì si fo trovà per i nostri una cava a la cava a la Calegaria la qual avea cavado i turchi de soto via le fondamente de le mure de la tera, per dover vignir una note dentro per quela a tradimento, ma questa cava si non iera trope da dubitar. I nostri de la tera vedando aver descuverta questa cava, andò e cazò fuogo dentro, e turchi che iera de fuora, si sentì che i nostri volea dar fuogo, e lor turchi si fo presti, e dè anca lor fuogo, e i vene a dar tute do le parte fuogo a uno traito, in muodo che quela cava nui si la guadagnassemo con honor nostro, e più de quela non iera da dubitar*.

112 *Ibid.* 45 [not in *CC* 1]: *A dì vintido pur de questo mexe de mazo, a hora de compièta, si fo trovado per i nostri una cava a la Calegaria, la qual avea fata i turchi che iera in campo, la qual cava si iera cavada de soto via le fondamente de la terra, e vignia a vegnir dentro da la tera, e questa cava si iera fata a presso quela, che fo trovada ieri, la qual si iera come quela cava da ieri, e fo cazado fuogo dentro da nostri, e valentemente quela bruxasemo con grando honor nostro, e in quela fo bruxado alguni turchi che iera romaxi dentro, per non aver posudo cusi tosto scamper fuora de quela*.

113 *Ibid.* 45–46 [not in *CC* 1]: *Ancora in questo medemo zorno* [= May 22] *si fo trovà una altra cava pur in questo luogo de la Calegaria, dove che non iera barbacani; questa cava si iera uno puoco dubioxa, ma pro pia volontà de dio si promese, che quela cagesse da sì medema, e si amazò tuti li turchi che se trova esser soto quela.*

114 *Ibid.* 46 [not in *CC* 1].

115 *Ibid.* 46–47 [not in *CC* 1]: …*e da posa che i avea confesà* [*i diti do maistri*], *li fo taiada la testa, e queli so corpi si fo butadi zoxo de le mure da la banda da tera, dove che iera el campo del turco; e lor turchi, che vete questi so turchi butadi zoxo de le mure, si l'ave forte e mal, e desdegnosse forte verso griexi, e nui italiani*. Similar atrocities had taken place in the harbor after the ill-fated attempt of the defenders to burn the Ottoman vessels within the Golden Horn; cf. *supra*, ch. 8, "Naval Maneuvers," text with nn. 69–72.

116 *Ibid.* 47 [not in *CC* 1]: *A dì vinti quatro pur de questo mexe de mazo, a hora de mezo zorno, si fo trovada una cava a la Calegaria pur arente le altre cave uxade, e questi malvaxi turchi si avea messo mezza tore in ponteli, e zerca passa diexe de muro, per dover cazar fuogo dentro, azò quela cazèse per poder subito intrà in la tera. Ma el nostro signor dio non volse sofrir tanto mal per quela hora, e non volse che la zitade se perdesse per quela via. Come griexi si ave trovada questa cusì estrema cava, e subito quela i comenzò a cavar, e muròla prestamente, e fela forte assai, quaxi xome da prima, per muodo che* (*di*) *quela più non iera da dubitar*.

117 *Ibid.* 48 [not in *CC* 1]: *A dì vinti cinque pur de questo mexe de mazo, a hora de vespero fo trovada una cava pur in quel medemo luogo de Calegaria a presso le altre prime cave, e questa cava si iera forte e dubioxa de pericolo, e questo perchè i avea messo uno pezo de muro in punte, che dado fuogo che i avesse, el saria caduto per tera questa*

*sua cava, e caduda che la fose stà questa cava, subito questi turchi si saria intradi dentro de questa zitade, e avariala abuda a man salva, senza contrasto niuno. Quest cava si fo l'ultima che i fexe, e l'ultima che fosse trovà, ma questa si iera la più dubioxa cava che fose trovà.*

[118] No extensive archaeological excavations of the mining activities have been carried out in connection with the siege of 1453. As the mines of the Turks were numerous, deep, and long, it is very likely that traces of their work could be examined, especially in the Kaligaria Gate sector. While modern buildings and avenues are indeed an obstacle, some rudimentary archaeological investigation in the area is in order, especially in conjunction with the current program of restoring the walls.

[119] On this siege engine of the Middle Ages, cf. G. T. Dennis, "Byzantine Heavy Artillery: The Helepolis," *GRBS* 39 (1998): 99–115.

[120] *Caput VIII*, which matches perfectly the French version, XIV: *Ledit Sengampsa fist ung chastel du bois si hault & si grant, qu'il seignourissoit le mur*.

[121] Barbaro 42 (*CC* 1: 24–25): *A dì diexedotto pur de questo mexe de mazo de note, Turchi fabricò uno beletesimo bastion per el muodo come qua de soto intenderé a che muodo che il fexe questa note.… Questo notabile bastion si iera passa diexe luntan da le mure maistre de la tera, e suxo queste mure ne convegnia star asai zente armada per dubito de questo bastion, e perché diga che el fose fato in una note, ma ve digo, che el fo fato in manco de ore quatro…et ave una granda paura de sì fatta cossa, e visto, examinado questo mirabel inzegno, subito i andò a dirlo al serenessimo imperador.… Subito l'imperador sì se mosse con tuta la sua baronia, e vene a veder questa mirabel cossa.…* The phrase *si iera passa diexe luntan da le mure maistre de la tera* is not quite clear; cf. *CC* 1: 359, n. 98.

[122] *PG* 159: 936 (*CC* 1: 148); identical is the text of Languschi-Dolfin fol. 317 (19): *Et li staua lo Imperator* [that is*, la station da San Romano*]*, et pocho distante el nobile Mauritio Cataneo Geonexe era capitanio infra la porta pighi a la fonte fina a la porta aurea cum ducento balestrieri, cum alcuni Greci contra el castello et torre de legno coperta de cuori bouini diligitamente defendando.* Maurizio Cataneo was one of the most active commanders among the defenders and the sultan had noticed his abilities, for he commenced a fruitless search to locate him and the surviving Bocchiardi brothers (*supra*, n. 25) after the sack, but they had concealed themselves in Pera; cf. Lomellino (*CC* 1: 46–48): *Inquisivit* [*sc.* Mehmed II] *Mauritium Cattaneum et Paulum Boccardum, qui se occultaverunt.* Cataneo and Antonio, Troilo, and Paolo Bocchiardi (who had been seriously wounded in the last battle) managed to escape their pursuers. Paolo must have died soon thereafter, but Antonio, Troilo and Maurizio Cataneo appear in Italian legal documents in connection with a court case of February 1461. Cf. Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani," pp. 21–22, who also points out (p. 53, n. 131) our notable lack of a detailed prosopographical study of the defenders.

[123] Pusculo 4.694–698 (p. 75) (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1): *Lignea turris erat celsas educta sub auras / Moenibus intentans urbis, quam in margine fossae / Sustulerant mediam portarum ad limina Teucri, / Ex Auro, atque a Fonte notant quam nomina puro, / Qua murum oppugnare parant.…*

[124] *Ibid.*, 4.702, 701–702 (p. 75) (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1).

[125] *Ibid.*, 4.710–727 (pp. 75–76) (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1).

[126] *Ibid.*, 4. 727–731 (pp. 75–76) (not included among the extracts of *CC* 1).

[127] Eparkhos and Diplovatatzes also report on this tower in the German account that has been preserved, *NE* 2: 515: *Item: dar nach ist er gezogen fur daz Tor gennant Ventura, und hat gemacht ein Polberg sam ein Thurn mit Holtz, und mit Leder und Heutten behangen, und daz genetzt daz man kain seiner dar ein mocht schiessen, und unter dem Polberk haben sie angefangen ein Loch, daz ist gangen unter dem Graben und*

*unter der Maur untz in die Forstat. Item: dar nach haben sie gelegt ein Polperck gemacht, gefiert sam ein hauss. Induz haben sie gelegt ir Puchssen. Daz hat gehabt ein Thor gegen der Stat; wenn man die Puchsen hat wöllen schiessen, so ist das Thor aufgegangen; daz ist also geordent: Wenn mann die Negel zog, so ging daz Thor auf und, wenn der Schuss verging, so vil daz Thor wider zu*. Khalkokondyles (*CC* 2: 204) does not devote extended sentences to this tower but speaks of it only in passing: Ἐπεποίητο μὲν καὶ πύργος ξύλινος ἐπιμήκης, καὶ κλίμακες ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς πλεῖστοι ἐς τὸ ἄνω τοῦ πύργου, ὡς διὰ τούτων πειρασομένων τοῦ τείχους καὶ ὑπερβαλλομένων.

[128] *CC* 2: 301 (lines 149–152): *Un gran bastione feze ne le parte / Di Pighi, che 'l barbicano soperchiava, / D'ogne lato* [*me*] *corcondava / De trabuchi et inzigni delituosi*.

[129] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 936 (*CC* 1: 154).

[130] Fol. 318 (22): *stando la citade in tali affani uene uoce da le spie che gallie e naue armate de Italia uegniuano mandate in soccorso de la cita et quelle era zonte a Negroponte, e a Modon. Et Janus de Huniade uaiuoda, dicto el biancho, sora el Danubio era per essere alle mani cum Turchi da qual fama lo exercito tuto se disolueua*.

[131] Languschi-Dolfin, in a section that is independent of Leonardo's narrative, treats these events, fol. 323 (36): *Le gallie tre de Romania et le do gallie sotil Treuisana et Zacharia Grioni de Candia cum le naue de Candia tirate fuora del porto circa a mezo di feceno uela et in 4. zorni perueno a Negroponte doue trouono M. Jacomo Loredan capitano zeneral cum otto gallie che aspettauano tempo de andar a dar soccorso a Constantinopoli, et per quella sapeno Constantinopoli esser prexo dal Turco adi 28. Mazo 1453 al leuar del sole*.

[132] Wolkan, no. 139, p. 260: *Haec si quidem nova, utinam tam falsa essent quam nimium vera sunt! Nam ea accipimus a capitano galearum nostrarum nuper huc regresso, qui ad illud viagium Constantinopolis et Romaniae cum nonnullis nostris triremibus more mercatorio profectus erat, quive cum eisdem galeis ad tutandam urbem illam usque ad ultimum eius excidium constans permansit, ita ut magna pars hominum triremium earundem male perierit*.

[133] Barbaro 34 (*CC* 1: 20–21).

[134] Leonardo states that it was Halil Candarlı, the sultan's vizier (*supra*, n. 33), who communicated with the Greek court, *PG* 159: 938 (*CC* 1: 156): *Itaque ut Calilbascia* [that is, Halil Pasha], *senior consularis, …intellexit definitumque esse certamen, clam internuntiis admodum fidissimis uti amicus imperatori cuncta denuntiat.… Frequentes enim epistolae ad imperatorem ex Calilbascia portabantur*; Languschi-Dolfin follows his source, fol. 319 (24): *Come Callibassa uecchio conseijer intense…che se douea dar la battaglia, alhora per fidati nuncij come amico de Christiani tutta la deliberation…fa noto al imperator.… Da qual bassa spesse lettere al imperator uegniuano portate*. Leonardo, in general, had a favorable impression of Halil, and seems to have appreciated his regular reports to the Greek court. Cf., e.g., *PG* 159: 938 (*CC* 1: 154): *Calilbascia enim, regis* [that is, the sultan's] *vetustior consularis baro, gravitate, consilio rerumque bellicarum experientia pollens, Christianis favens, regi semper dissuaserat, ne urbem Constantinopolim molestaret*. Languschi-Dolfin fol. 319 (22): *Alhora Calibassa piu uecchio, graue de conseio, et perito de experientia de cose bellici sempre dessuadeua el Signor Turco non molestasse Constantinopoli.…*

[135] *PG* 159: 929 [*CC* 1: 136]. Cf. Doukas 38.5 and 38.16 (text quoted *supra*, n. 93).

[136] *Supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," p. 13, and nn. 48 and 49.

[137] *CC* 1: 42–44.

[138] *Ibid.*, 108.

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] *NE* 3: 296.

[141] *CC* 1: 74.

[142] *Ibid.*, 98.

[143] Kritoboulos I.25.1.

[144] Doukas 38.

[145] *TIePN*, pp. 70–72; selections from this account: pp. 66–93 [= Pertusi, ed., “Le Epistole Storiche di Lauro Quirni sulla Caduta di Costantinopoli e la Potenza dei Turchi,” pp. 163–259]. For Quirini’s report, cf. H. Vast, “Le Siège et la Prise de Constantinople par les Turcs d’après des documents nouveaux,” *Revue historique* (Paris, 1880), pp. 1–40, esp. 6.

[146] On the role and functions of the *begğlerbegğis*, cf. variously Gy. Káldy-Nagy, “The First Centuries of Ottoman Military Organization,” *Acta et Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 31/2 (1977): 147–183.

[147] Their precise number is problematic and cannot be easily ascertained. Under Murad II they numbered 3,000, but under Mehmed II within a short span of two years they had apparently increased to 5,000. On this cf. Káldy-Nagy, p. 165 f.; also Sç. Basçtav, *Ordo portae. Description grecque de la porte et de l’armée du sultan Mehmed II* (Budapest, 1947), p. 7. The impression of the defenders was that the Turkish army was immense. All sources comment on its size, but Tetaldi is one of the few eyewitnesses to realize that the army of Mehmed II could be divided into elite regiments, irregulars, camp followers, renegades, etc. Cf. Tetaldi, *Caput* I.2: *Porro circiter triginta quinque seu quadraginta millia equestris erant ordinis, diverso modo armati, quorum pars loricis seu constipatis diploidibus utebatur; quaedam vero more nostrorum plenis armis erat munita; quaedam vero ad modum Hungarorum seu quorundam aliorum bellatorum pileis ferreis quos galeas vocamus sese tuebatur et balistis, arcubus, gladiis et diversi generis instrumentis defendere se videbatur. Residua vero pars eiusdem diabolici exercitus erat fere inermis, hoc excepto, quod quidam aut scuta ferebant aut peltas seu umbones, ut Turcis moris erat; quorum filiorum Belial multi erant mercatores et mechanici exercitum secuti plus ut bellum viderent seu propter lucrum; quemadmodum histriones, adulatores, trutanni vel ribaldi*. However, the numbers that he reports may not reflect certainty, as they are unquestionably exaggerated. The report of Leonardo can be found in *CC* 1*:* 128–130 [*PG* 159: 927; the passage within < > is omitted in *CC* 1]: *Excitatus itaque in furorem Deus misit Mehemet regem potentissimum Theucrorum, adolescentem quidem audacem, ambitiosum, temulentum, christianorum capitalem hostem, qui Nonis Aprilis ante Constantinopoleos prospectum, cum tercentis et ultra milibus pugnatorum in gyro terrae castra papilionesque confixit. Milites maiore numero equestres, quamquam omnes pedites magis expugnabant; inter quos pedites ad regis custodiam deputati audaces, qui ab elementis christiani aut christianorum filii retrorsum conversi, dicti genizari, ut apud Macedonem Myrmidones, quasi quindecim milia. Ad tertium autem diem, captato urbis situ, machinas innumeras carticulasque ex virgultis viminibusque contextas circum antemurale <et> vallum quibus pugnantes tegerentur, fossatis admovit. <Initium confusionis hoc nostrum fuit, ut qui telis machinarumque lapidibus juxta datum ordinem eminus repellendi erant, neglectis singulis, cominus proximare permiserunt. Tantum eorum ordinem instruendis machinis, tantam promptitudinem, tantam acierum providentiam, quidam aut Scipio aut Annibal aut moderni belli duces admirati fuissent.> Sed quis, oro* [*PG*: *obsecro*], *circumvallavit urbem? Qui, nisi perfidi christiani, instruxere Theurcros! Testis sum quod Graeci, quod Latini, quod Germani, Pannones, Boëtes, ex omnibus christianorum regionibus Theucris commixti opera eorum fidemque didicerunt: qui immanius fidei christianae obliti urbem expugnabant. <O impii qui Christum abnegastis! O satellites Antichristi, damnati gehennalibus flammis! tempus hoc vestrum est. Satagite augere vobis poenas, quas luatis aeternas.>* In addition, Niccolò Tignosi (da Foligno), who wrote before November, 1453, also uses similar phraseology to describe the assault troops (*TIePN*, pp. 108–110): *Tria sunt quae non modo interritos sed audacissimos ferunt hostes: primum ab oppidanis omnino desperatum subsidium, secundum defensorum paucitas, tertium ipsorum multitudo quae excreverat <ita> ut Achillis Mirmidones viderentur*. Similar is the

business-like account presented in the *aviso* of Benvenuto, *TIePN*, p. 4: *In primis, quod quarta die Aprilis inperator Turcorum venit cum exercitu suo noctis tempore ante civitatem Constantinopolis et die sequente completa fuit exercitus per terram et mare collocatus. Item quod fuerunt pavlioni 60.000 per terram, idest sexaginta milia. Item quod fuerunt inter galeas et fustes per mare 300 <per> tria milia. Item quod inter omnes erant homines per terram 300.00 <idest> tercenta milia hominum. Item quod fuerunt per mare homines 36.000 <idest> triginta sex mili*a. Cardinal Isidore, in his letter, dated July 8, 1453, to Pope Nicholas V [*CC* 1: 94], provides his own estimate: *Et in mense sexto exercitum pedestrium et equestrium ultra numerum trecentorum milium et triremes magnas et parvas ducentas et viginti praeparavit*. Leonardo [*CC* 1: 128–130; *PG* 159: 927, quoted above] agrees with Isidore and makes further mention of the dreaded janissary corps, the elite regiments of the sultan.

148 *TIePN*, p. 158. The passage of Ivani bears a certain similarity to the circumstances that Kananos reports in regard to the general assault of Murad II in 1422; on this siege, cf. *supra*, nn. 68–73. In particular, what seems to be interesting is the spontaneous response of the non-combatants within the city to assist the defenders at this critical time. Cf. Kananos, pp. 475–476: καὶ μὴ μόνον οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ ἐπιστήμονες τοῦ πολέμου εἰργάζοντο ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ τῆς χώρας οἱ ἐπιστήμονες καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἅπαν καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τὰ συστήματα καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων οἱ κρείττονες καὶ πνευματικῶν τῶν ὁσίων οἱ ὁσιώτατοι· καὶ τῶν ἔξω χωρῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τολμηροὶ καὶ γενναῖοι καὶ περιφρονηταὶ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ τῶν θανάτων ἐφάνησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ εἰς ἀνδρὸς θάρσους μεταλλαττόμεναι ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ὥραν φρικτοτάτην ἐκείνην οἰκ ἀπεκρίβησαν, οὐδὲ ὡς γυναῖκες ἐδειλίασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ὥραν εἰς τὸ ἔξω κάστρον ἔφθασαν, καὶ αἱ μὲν πέτρας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβαζον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμιστὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἠνδρείωναν αὐτούς, καὶ ὠθοῦσαν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν μάχην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἄλλαι δὲ ἐκρατοῦσαν ὠὰ καὶ στουππιά, καὶ τοὺς λαβωμένους ἰάτρευον· ἄλλαι ὕδατα καὶ οἴνους ἐπότιζον αὐτοὺς φλεγομένους τῇ δίψῃ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. ἄλλαι δὲ τοὺς γνησίους αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ὁμοζύγους κατεμπόδιζον μὴ καταβῆναι τοῦ τείχους τοῦ κάστρου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου σχολάσαι, …ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, μία τὴν ἄλλην ἐνουθέτει…ἐλαβώθησαν καί τινες μὲ σαγίττας….

149 It is not clear whether the entire band withdrew with the wounded lord or followed him later as small companies or individuals to join him aboard his ship. Barbaro implies that the entire band withdrew and moved through the city to the harbor; cf. *infra*, text with n. 156, for his testimony. Others, however, imply that he left by himself, trying not to attract any attention (cf. Leonardo's adverb *clam*); perhaps for this reason he failed to place another in charge, an omission for which he was criticized. Cf., e.g., Leonardo, *PG* 159: 940 [*CC* 1: 160]: …*ne pugnatores, qui vulneratum* [*sc. Justinianum*] *ignorabant, virtute frangatur, clam medicum quaesiturus ab acie discessit. Qui si alium sui loco subrogasset, salus patriae non periisset*. Di Montaldo is in disagreement and states that Giustiniani did place someone else in charge; cf. *TIePN*, p. 194: *pro se altero substituto, abscessit*. Ivani, *TIePN*, p. 163, states that Giustiniani left and that his men followed his example: …*e loco cedit…cuius exemplo auxiliares milites ad naves confugiunt ac maxima pars sese fugae mandat*. On the Greek side, Doukas suggests that Giustiniani, after he had reached his ship, some of his men arrived from their sector and announced the death of the emperor and the rout of the Byzantine defenders. It was only then that the warlord had his heralds sound the trumpets and announced a formal withdrawal, 39.28:

Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἰουστινιανός, ὃν φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἔπεμψεν ἐν τῇ νηί, τοῦ θεραπευθῆναι τὴν πληγήν, ἣν ὑπέστη, κατευθύς, ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λιμένι, τινὲς τῶν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντες, ἔδραμον λέγοντες, πῶς οἱ Τοῦρκοι εἰσίασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσφάγη. Ἀκούσας τὸν πικρότατον καὶ δριμὺ λόγον οὖν, προστάττει τοὺς κήρυκας διὰ σαλπίγγων ἀνακαλεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ συμπλώτας.

For some observations on the departure of Giustiniani's ships from Constantinople, cf. *supra*, ch. 8: “Naval Maneuvers,” n. 102.

[150] *PG* 15: 940 [*CC* 1: 160].

[151] Languschi-Dolfin fol. 320 (28): *In fra el combatter per mala sorte de la citade, oyme, che Zuan Zustignan capitanio uien ferito de freza sotto asella de la scajo, lo qual inexperto zouene subito ueduto el sangue pauidode perder la uita, et acio li combattanti che non sapeua quello fusse ferito rompesse la uirtu, ascasamente per medicarse se parte da la sua statione*.

[152] *Gl’ Annali* 110 (an error in the printed pagination of the rare copy in the Gennadeios Library, Athens; actually, pages numbered 110 and 111 are reversed): *Et mentre ch’egli animaua i suoi a questo modo, ecco he per mala sorte della città, vien ferito Giouanni Giustiniano da vna saetta sotto l’ascelle, il quale comme giouane non pratico, vedendosi tutto bagnato del suo proprio sangue & temendo di perder la vita, si sbigotti tutto. Et accioche i combattenti che non sapeuano che fosse ferito, non rimettessero la virtù loro, i partì, ascosamente dalla zuffa, per farsi medicare*.

[153] Pseudo-Sphrantzes 3.9.7 (426). The other Greek secondary accounts present various pictures. Doukas, 39.10: ...ἀφεῖλεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν [Giustiniani] γίγαντα καὶ ἰσχύοντα καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ πολεμιστήν. Ἐπλήγη γὰρ διὰ μολυβδόλου ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ὄπισθεν τοῦ βραχίονος, ἔτι σκοτίας οὔσης· καὶ διατρήσας τὴν σιδηρᾶν χλαμύδα, καὶ ἥτις ὑπῆρχε κατεσκευασμένη ὡς τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὅπλα, οὐκ ἠδύνατο ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἠρεμεῖν.... Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐδειλίασεν καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτόν· πλήν, ὅσον ἡ δύναμις, ἀντεμάχοντο. Khalkokondyles, *CC* 2: 212: Καὶ ὁ Λόγγος [Giustiniani] αὐτὸς τιτρώσκεται τηλεβολίσκῳ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα.... Ὁ μὲν οὖν Λόγγος ἀπεχώρει.... Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἑλλήνων...ἤρετο τὸν Λόγγον, εἴ ποι πορεύοιτο· τοῦ δ᾽ αὖ φαμένου, ὡς ταύτῃ θεὸς ὑφηγεῖται τοῖς Τούρκοις.... Kritoboulos I.58.9 provides a more extensive narrative: ...ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα βάλλεται μὲν Ἰουστῖνος [Giustiniani] καιρίαν βέλει τῶν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς κατὰ τοῦ στέρνου διὰ τοῦ θώρακος διαμπὰξ καὶ βληθεὶς πίπτει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκομίζεται ἐς τὴν ἰδίαν σκηνὴν κακῶς ἔχων. ἐκλύονται δὲ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπειρηκότες τῷ πάθει καὶ καταλείψαντες τό τε σταύρωμα καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἵνα ἐμάχοντο, πρὸς ἓν μόνον ἑώρων, ἀποκομίσαι τε τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς ὁλκάσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποκομισθῆναι.

[154] *Anonymous Barberini 111* 28.

[155] 4.212 [*CC* 1: 212].

[156] Barbaro 33 [*CC* 1: 35]. Venetian bias against the Genoese may also be operating in da Rimini’s report, to be quoted presently; cf. *TIePN*, p. 138.

[157] *NE* 2: 516.

[158] *TIePN*, p. 4.

[159] *Caput XVIII*. The equivalent passage in Tetaldi’s French version (XXV [col. 1823]) reads as follows: *Là fut monseigneur Jean Justinien blechié d’une coulevrine, s’en parti pour se faire mediciner, & bailla sa garde à deux gentils-hommes Jennevois. Le gens de garde de dedens voyant les turcs sur le mur cuidans qu’il s’enfuist, leurs gardes abandonnerent, & s’enfuirent; & ainsi les Turcs entrerent en Constantinople à l’aube du jour, le xxix. jour de May, mistrent à mort tout ce que ils faisoient à eulx resistance*.

[160] *TIePN*, pp. 160– 162.

[161] *CC* 1: 42; it is indeed a pity that the codex contains a lacuna at this point, as Lomellino probably presented additional details on Giustiniani’s wound (and retreat?).

[162] Tursun Beg, p. 36.

[163] *NE* 2: 296–297.

[164] *CC* 2: 134 [*NE* 3: 319–320].

[165] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 60–61 (pp. 74–77).

[166] *Ibid.*, 62 (p. 76).

[167] *Ibid.*, 64 (pp. 76–79).

[168] A rare copy of this pamphlet can be found in the Gennadeios Library in Athens (in unnumbered folios). Pius' *Tractatulus* (the Gennadeios' copy bears no date and is bound together with another unrelated work published at a later date: *Otthomanorum Familia, seu De Turcarum Imperio Historia, N. Secundino Autore* [Vienna, 1561]); for more details, cf. Philippides, "*Urbs Capta*," p. 221, n. 49. In addition, cf. *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies, A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," sec. II. For a new edition, with English translation, of this work, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*, ch. 3.

[169] This Venetian chronicle has never been published in its entirety. The quotation in our text appears in *NE* 3: 301, n. 1.

[170] "Adae de Montaldo," *De Constantinopolitano excidio*, pp. 335–336 [*TIePN*, p. 194].

[171] Hieronimo Giustiniani, *Istoria di Scio*; *History of Chios*, pp. 417–418.

[172] *Ibid.*, pp. 412–413.

[173] *Ibid.*, pp. 413–416.

[174] Also, cf. *supra*, n. 149.

[175] Not all sources, by any means, make this charge; cf., e.g., di Montaldo, *TIePN*, p. 194: *pro se altero substituto, abscessit*.

[176] L. Petit, X. Sidéridès, and M. Jugie, eds., *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, 1 (Paris, 1929): 279–280 [the work is titled: Γενναδίου μοναχοῦ· ἐπιτάφιος τῷ υἱῷ τῷ κῦρ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Σοφιανῷ, that is, Gennadios II's own nephew]. In addition, cf. Zeses, *Γεννάδιος Β΄*, p. 198. It is significant that Doukas places Scholarios at the center of the pro-Turkish elements within Constantinople, Doukas is perhaps unjust, or has placed too much emphasis on the pro-Turkish activities of Loukas Notaras, as he links the two individuals together in a famous passage, 37.10: Ὁ δὲ Γεννάδιος [= Scholarios] …ἔχων ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου τὸν πρῶτον μεσάζοντα τὸν μέγα δούκαν [= Notaras] συνεργὸν καὶ συνίστορα, τὸν καὶ τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν τολμήσαντα κατὰ Λατίνων, ὅτε εἶδον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι [= Greeks] τὸν ἀναρίθμητον στρατὸν τῶν Τούρκων, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως· "κρειττότερόν ἐστι εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν." On this subject, cf. H. Evert-Kappesowa, "Le tiare ou le turban," *BS* 14 (1953): 245–257.

[177] *CC* 1: 74.

[178] *Ibid.*, 74–76: *Facilis autem erat in ea parte ad moenia ascensus, quia, ut dictum est, quasi tota erat bombardis illisa ac prope decussa, propter quod et facile hostes in urbem irruperant, nemine illic invento qui hostium impetum reprimeret aut eam partem defensaret*. Isidore also spoke of the deplorable state of the fortifications in his letter to Pope Nicholas V, *datum Candiae, die XV Julii LIIIº*; *CC* 1: 96: *pro maiori parte muros in superficiem terrae ruptavit et devastavit* [sc. Mehmed II*]; per quorum ruinam murorum capta et expugnata est*.

[179] *Ibid.*, 1: 212. In addition, cf. the early accusation voiced by the Venetian Filippo da Rimini to be quoted presently.

[180] Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ 46.

[181] Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, p. 265, lines 636–646.

[182] *Supra*, n. 176.

[183] Richer, pp. 94–95. Cf. Philippides, “*Urbs Capta*,” pp. 209–224.

[184] Hieronimo Giustiniani, pp. 418–420.

[185] Sansovino, *Gl’ Annali*, 110 (instead of 111; cf. *supra*, n. 111): *Et certo s’egli hauesse lasciato qualch’vn’altro in suo luogho, la salute della patria non sarebbe perita*.

[186] Entitled *Della gran città di Costantinopoli* and published by Lampros, “Μονῳδίαι καὶ Θρῆνοι,” pp. 259–260: *La qual presa fu che hauendo Constantino messa la miglior gente di fuori a diffendere i barbareni sopra il quali era un caualliere genovese chiamato Giustiniano nel cui valore tutti greci di dentro s’appogiauano, ma essendo ferito abbandonò il loco per andara à curarsi, il che veduto da suoi cominciorno a indebolirsi, et appertagi una porta perche dentro entrasse i suoi si persero d’animo, il che sentito il Turco rinforzo; con maggior empito l’assalto, te gli Christiani per saluarsi si misero in fuga per la porta doue et entrato il genouese, et hauendo i Turchi preso il muro si mescolarono con loro, et entrono nella Città*. for other early testimonies, cf. *TIePN*, pp. 120-157, esp. p. 145, n. 84.

[187] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[188] Tursun Beg 156.

[189] Such pockets continued their resistance through the morning and perhaps the early afternoon of May 29. Thus Tetaldi states that he had continued to resist for some time, after it had become known that the city had fallen; cf. *Caput XLI: ille Iacobus Tetaldi…qui duabus fere horis super muros civitatis sese cum populo sibi subiecto viriliter defenderat post introitum Turcorum*. A pocket appears to have been established in the sector of the Bocchiardi brothers who continued the struggle after the Turks had penetrated the great wall, until they were outflanked and almost surrounded. It was during this phase that one of the brothers was wounded and probably died soon after his injury. Cf. Leonardo, *PG* 159: 941 [not in *CC* 1]: *Rumorem jacturamque ex fugientibus audientes Paulus Troilusque Bochiardi, viri Latini, urbis cives, cum aliquot Graecis strenuis Latinisque equis insidentes, in hostes vadunt. Teucri, forte majorem numerum, quam essent autumantes, terga vertunt. Paulus in Teucrum urget equum, lanceaque unum transfodiens, caeteros in fugam vertit. Cum autem ex alto lapidibus facile ab hostium multitudine circumdati, “Ha! periit, inquit, civitas, nosque facile ab hostium multitudine circumdati, spem vitae perdemus.” Haec cum diceret, securi ictus in vertice, fuso cruore una cum fratre ad Galatam* [= *Peram*] *confugit*. In addition, Doukas implies that other defenders found themselves in the same predicament. He relates the events in the sector of the Kharisios/Adrianople Gate, 39.12: Τότε ἐξαίφνες ὁρῶσι βέλη ἐκ τῶν ἄνω κατιόντα καὶ κατασφάττοντα τούτους. Ἀναβλέψαντες δὲ ὁρῶσι Τούρκους. Ἰδόντες δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ἔνδον ἐτράπησαν. Καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς πύλης τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης Χαρσοῦ, στενοχωρούμενοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ἀλκὴν περισσοτέραν ἔχοντες τοὺς ἀνάνδρους καταπατοῦντες εἰσήρχοντο. Τότε ἡ τοῦ τυράννου [= sultan] παράταξις ἰδόντες τὴν τροπὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων [= Greeks], μιᾷ φωνῇ βοήσαντες εἰσέδραμον, καταπατοῦντες τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ κατασφάττοντες. Ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς τὴν πύλην οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν εἰσελθεῖν, ἦν γὰρ φραγεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν καταπεσόντων σωμάτων καὶ λειποψυχησάντων. Ἐκ τῶν τειχέων οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι διὰ τῶν

ἐρειπίων εἰσήρχοντο καὶ τοὺς συναντῶντας κατέκοπτον. The situation in the Pempton would not have been much different. More doubtful is the report found in Pseudo-Sphrantzes, which is not encountered in any authentic eyewitness source, that reports the bravery of sailors from Crete who were defending the tower or towers of Basil, Leo, and Alexios, until the sultan personally granted them leave to depart with their possessions and ship. For a discussion of this incident, cf. *supra*, ch. 8: "Naval Maneuvers: Subordinate Operations," text with nn. 108–115.

[190] Doukas 38.12 (text quoted in the previous note).

[191] For the neighborhoods that surrendered, cf. *FC*, p. 140, and *infra*, Appendix II. Such belated attempts at surrender seem to be the nucleus of the tale that was in circulation in the subsequent centuries, which claimed that Constantinople had not fallen but had capitulated to Mehmed II; on this topic, cf. Mordtmann, "Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel," pp. 129–144; and Philippides, "An 'Unknown' Source," pp. 174–183, esp. 179. In addition, cf. M. Euthymiou, "Οἱ Ἑβραῖοι τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ ἡ Πτώση τῆς Βασιλεύουσας," in *Ἡ Ἅλωση τῆς Πόλης*, ed. Khrysos, pp. 143–154.

[192] *FC*, p. 141.

[193] Doukas 39.14, who, on his own testimony, had received this information from the Turks who had participated in the sack: Καὶ γὰρ οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ἦσαν γὰρ ἀεὶ διαλογιζόμενοι, ὅτι ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως τοὐλάχιστον ἔσονται πολεμισταὶ ὡς πεντήκοντακισχίλιοι. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους κατέσφαξαν. Εἰ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν, ὅτι ὁ πᾶς τῶν ἐνόπλων στρατὸς οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους, οἰκ ἂν ἀπώλεσάν τινα· φιλοχρήματον γὰρ ὂν τὸ γένος τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ φονεὺς πατρικὸς ἐμπέσοι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, διὰ χρυσοῦ ἀπολύουσιν. Καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνέτυχον ἐγὼ πολλοῖς καὶ, διηγήσαντό μοι, πῶς· "φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ἐσφάττομεν τοὺς προλαβόντας· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ᾔδεμεν τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τῇ Πόλει, τοὺς πάντας ὡς πρόβατα πεπράκαμεν ἄν."

[194] Kritoboulos I.67.4: ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ξένων, ὡς ἐλέγοντο, παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δὴ τῇ ἁλώσει οἱ ξύμπαντες, ἄνδρες φημὶ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες, ἐγγύς που τετρακισχίλιοι· ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ὀλίγῳ πλείους πεντακισμυρίων, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς ἁπάσης ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντακοσίους. Tetaldi's Latin account presents exaggerated claims also, *Caput XXII* (col. 797): *Fertur quod praeda quam Turci de capta civitate diripuerunt, valebat quadraginta millia ducatos, damnum vero quod perpessi sunt Veneti in hoc excidio fuit fere quadraginta millium ducatorum, non minus vero damnum Januensium fuisse creditur. Florentini quoque viginti millia ductos amiserunt; Anchonenses vero quindecim*. Tetaldi's French version is different, XXXI (col. 1823): *On estime que le butin de Constantinople vault aux Turcs quatre millions de ducas. La perte de Venise se estime cinquante mille ducas, que en ceste gallée c'est sauvé vingt mil ducas de Jennevois, & perte infinie de Florentins, vingt mil ducas d'accointaires*. It should be remembered, nevertheless, that in 1453, before the siege, Constantinople was a dying city with a dwindling population; cf. Schneider, "Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels," pp. 234–244.

[195] For the departure of Genoese vessels from the harbor, cf. *supra*, n. 149; and ch. 8: "Naval Maneuvers: Subordinate Operations," text with n. 102.

[196] Barbaro 64 [*CC* 1: 37]: *Ma oltra queste quindexe nave ne scampò sete de Zenovexi, le qual si iera a la cadena, e una de Zorzi Doria zenovexe, la qual si iera acosto de Pera de botte doa milia e quatrozento; questa insieme con le sete si sampa, verso la sera*. Elsewhere, Barbaro 55 [*CC* 1: 33] states that Giustiniani's ship was positioned by the chain/boom: …*e corse* [*sc.* Giustiniani] *a la sua nave, che iera stà messa a la cadena*.

[197] Leonardo in *PG* 159: 925 [not in *CC* 1].

[198] His adventures during the sack are treated in *Reg. 401*, f. 47b, *Secret Archives of the Vatican, Pope Nicholas V, 10/18/53* [= Pastor, 2: App. 22, 524–525]. *Et sicut eadem petitio subjungebat venerabilis frater noster Leonardus archiepiscopus Methalinensis ord. fratrum praedicatorum professor in Constantinopoli et Pera publice dicere praesumit, quod omnes de preda a Teucris rapta etiam sciente vero domino et contradicente licite emere possunt nec data etiam pretio Teucris soluto restituere tenentur, ipseque archiepiscopus duo missalia et unum breviarium et nonnullos alios libros dicte librarie deputatos emere non dubitaverit*. For documentation and an English translation of this text, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," n. 61. On the book sales that occurred on the day of the sack, cf. Doukas 42.1: ...τὰς δὲ βίβλους ἁπάσας ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαινούσας ταῖς ἁμάξαις φορτηγώσαντες ἁπανταχοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ δύσει διέσπειραν. Δι᾽ ἑνὸς νομίσματος δέκα βίβλοι ἐπιπράσκοντο, Ἀριστοτελικοί, Πλατωνικοί, Θεολογικοὶ καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν εἶδος βίβλου. Εὐαγγέλια μετὰ κόσμου παντοίου ὑπὲρ μέτρον, ἀνασπῶντες τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον, ἄλλ᾽ ἐπώλουν, ἄλλ᾽ ἔρριπτον. This matter of books was of great interest to the humanists in the west, who were hoping to salvage the ancient texts from the various libraries in Constantinople. For them the sack of Constantinople and the loss of books was a major disaster equaling the loss of the Library of Alexandria. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini laments the loss of the ancient works a number of times in his correspondence. Cf., e.g., Wolkan 3: 190 (the complete text of the letter, pp. 189–202): *nemo Latinorum satis videri doctus poterat, nisi Constantinopoli per tempus studuisset. Quodque florente Roma doctrinarum nomen habuerunt Athenae, id nostra tempestate videbatur Constantinopolis obtinere. Inde nobis Plato redditus, inde Aristotelis, Demosthenis, Xenophontis, Thuchididis, Basilii, Dionisii, Origenis et aliorum multa Latinis opera diebus nostris manifestata sunt, multa quoque in futurum manifestanda sperabamus.... Nunc ergo et Homero et Pindaro et Menandro et omnibus illustribus poetis secunda mors erit. Nunc Graecorum philosophorum ultimus patebit interitus*. He returns to the same topic again [*CC* 2: 46]: *Quid de libris dicam, qui illic erant innumerabiles, nondum Latinis cogniti? Heu, quot nunc magnorum nomina virorum peribunt? Secunda mors ista Homero est, secundus Platonim obitus. Ubi nunc philosophorum aut poetarum ingenia requiremus? Extinctus est fons Musarum*. Kritoboulos, the apologist and biographer of the sultan, also speaks of this matter, I.62.1: βίβλοι τε ἱεραὶ καὶ θεῖαι, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἔξω μαθημάτων καὶ φιλοσόφων αἱ πλεῖσται, αἱ μὲν πυρὶ παρεδίδοντο, αἱ δὲ ἀτίμως κατεπατοῦντο, αἱ πλείους δὲ αὐτῶν οὐ πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν μᾶλλον ἢ ὕβριν δύο ἢ τριῶν νομισμάτων, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ ὀβολῶν ἀπεδίδοντο.

[199] Leonardo, *PG* 159: 940 [*CC* 1: 162]. Leonardo's imitators have followed their source faithfully on this point.

[200] This note is included in the important *scholia* to Leonardo's text in the fifteenth century *Codex Mediol. Trivult. lat. N 641 (I 95)*, ff. $1^{r}21^{r}$ and quoted in *CC* 1: 404–405, n. 57 (in which Pertusi attributes the note to *una malignità veneziana*). Could it be that Giustiniani was euthanized because of the terrible pain caused by his wound and that the poison application was, in fact, an act of kindness?

[201] Languschi-Dolfin 29 (fol. 320).

[202] This text from the *Tractatulus* appears in the 1571 edition; the Gennadeios Library's unnumbered folio pamphlet presents a slightly different text: *Justinianus in Peram cum divertisset inde Chium navigavit. Ibique seu vulnere seu mesticia morbum incidens inglorius vitam finiuit. Felix si in ipsis Byzantii moenibus animam exalasset*.

[203] Richer 97.

[204] Sansovino, *Gl' Annali*, 112: *Il capitano si fuggi in Pera, & poi nauigando a Chio, si morì senza gloria niuna, o per la ferita, o per dolore ch'egli si prese della sua fuggita*.

[205] Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Maius* 3.9.7.

[206] *Anonymous Barberini*, p. 29.

[207] Di Montaldo XXXIII (341) [*TIePN*, p. 200].

[208] *Supra*, n. 156.

[209] Paspates, born on Chios in 1814, witnessed the massacre of Chios carried out by the crews of the Ottoman fleet in 1822. He was captured by the Turks and was shipped to the slave market at Smyrna. He was eventually ransomed by surviving members of his family and then was sent to Boston, where Marshall P. Wilder adopted him. He graduated from Mount Pleasant High School, then attended Amherst College until 1831, and continued his medical studies in Paris and Pisa. He practiced medicine in London and in 1840 established himself in Constantinople. For the next thirty-eight years he carried out archaeological investigations of the surviving Byzantine buildings and published the notable results of his research. He was a pioneer of Byzantine archaeology, and was one of the few scholars to demonstrate any interest in the tangible remains, structures, and fortifications of Constantinople. Further, he was a founding member of the famous Hellenic Philological Association of Constantinople. A short biography of Paspates was published in the Obituary Record of the graduates of Amherst College in 1891.

[210] Paspates, Πολιορκία, p. 152. n. 37. In this note he repeats the remarks that he had made in his Τὸ Χιακὸν Γλωσσάριον (Athens, 1889), p. 422 (62).

[211] *MHH*, 22/1: 813 (Déthier's note on Barbaro's text).

[212] Hieronimo Giustiniani fol. 243ᵛ of the original edition [Argenti, p. 418].

[213] Hieronimo Giustiniani fol. 242–243ᵛ [Argenti edition, p. 418]: *Fu sepolto in la chiesa di Santo Dominico a man sinistra intrando appresso nella gran porta della nave del tempio in una sua capella nella quale avanti la presa dell' Isola si vedea la sua sepultura, in marmore elevata, con questo epigramma*.

[214] *PaL* 2: 129, n. 69.

[215] Paspates. Πολιορκία, p. 152. n. 37: Ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ αὕτη ἀπωλέσθη ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ τῆς Χίου τῷ 1881. The destruction was not recorded by any eyewitness, and the only account of the earthquake on record deals with the aftermath of the disaster and with the efforts of restoration; cf. K. Paganeles, Οἱ Σεισμοὶ τῆς Χίου (Athens, 1883).

[216] Pears, p. 346, n. 1.

[217] F. W. Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," in *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 16 (1909/1910): 137–184, esp. no. 18 (155): *Hic jacet Joannes Justinianus, inclitus vir, ac Patricius Genuensis., Sciique Maonensis, qui in Cõstantinopolis expugnatione à Principe Turcarum Mehmet Serenissimi Constantini Orientalium ultimi Christianorum Imperatoris magnanimus Dux electus, vulnere accepto interiit anno a; partu Virginis M.IIIIV.VIII Kalen. August*.

[218] Paspates. Πολιορκία, p. 151: Ταύτην τὴν ἀτολμίαν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν τοῦ γενναίου τούτου μαχητοῦ, ὑπὸ πάντων μνημονευομένην, πάντες ὁμοφώνως ψέγουσι, κατακρίνοντες αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ταύτῃ ὥρᾳ, δὲν παρέμεινεν ἀγωνιζόμενος μέχρι θανάτου.

[219] Pears, p. 347.

[220] Schlumberger, *Le siège*. Much superior to this work was the translation into modern Greek by Lampros, who corrected the text and added substantial commentary; cf. Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος. Schlumberger's work was translated a second time into modern Greek by E. G. Protopsaltes, but the Lampros' translation remains by far the best rendition of this work.

[221] *FC*, p. 138.

[222] Stacton/Dereksen, p. 250.
[223] *MCT*, p. 92.
[224] *PaL* 2: 128.
[225] Leonardo in *CC* 1: 152 [*PG* 159: 936]; on this incident, cf. Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani," pp. 51–53.
[226] Bradbury, p. 226: "Possibly his resolve had been dented by a quarrel with the leading Greek minister, Lucas Notaras."

# Chapter 10

# Some Observations on Strategy

The siege of Constantinople in 1453 qualifies as one of the major events of the fifteenth century. Constantinople and its Greek Empire of the Middle Ages had endured over eleven centuries. In fact, it had survived longer than its immediate counterpart in antiquity, the Roman Empire. Europeans had become accustomed to its existence and its function as a bulwark against the Orient and Islam; in particular, it had been taken for granted. After all, Constantinople had weathered over the centuries all sorts of foreign threats and direct assaults and somehow it had always managed to prevail over its oriental foes. Europe, it may be suggested, had become inured to situations that threatened the very existence of Constantinople. Further, in the Palaiologan era, when her emperors had become weak and resources had been depleted, if not extinguished altogether, the Christian powers in the west had seen Constantinople miraculously survived threats while other states in the Balkans submitted to Ottoman power and were reduced to the status of a vassal state. It is possible that the west realized that the siege of 1453 was, in fact, life threatening only when the drama had played out to its conclusion and the first refugees began to arrive in droves in the summer of 1453.

So well established was the conviction that Constantinople would survive that news of its fall at first fell upon deaf ears. The west simply could not grasp, let alone comprehend, that the millennial empire had finally expired. The initial reaction in the west to the fall and sack of Constantinople amounted to universal disbelief, which was gradually and slowly transformed into acceptance and public grief. The western world at first proved unable to embrace the fact that Constantinople had been sacked and that the buffer, however slight, that had separated the Christian west from the Islamic east had been eliminated.[1] Shock and initial suspicion with regard to the accuracy of initial reports announcing major disasters are characteristic human reflexes. It is only after the full impact of a radically new situation has been realized that such reports begin to find credence. Only then do the new sets of circumstances and implications impress.

News of the fall and sack reached Venice on Friday, June 29, 1453 (the very same day on which three Cretan ships from Constantinople arrived in Candia[2]), in the form of official dispatches from the *castellan* of Methone (Modon) in the Morea and from the *bailo* of Chalcis at Negroponte/Euboea.[3] Rome learned of the disaster by July 8 from the Franciscan Roberto Caracciolo. Four days earlier the Venetian envoy Giovanni Moro personally informed Cardinal Bessarion at Bologna. In spite of official dispatches and accurate reports, however, as late as July 10 and 11, the Florentine Nicolò Soderini observed that numerous individuals in Genoa still refused to accept the reality of the event and he resigned himself to the impossibility of discovering what had actually occurred. Moreover by July 19 optimistic rumors began to circulate, claiming that the Christians had miraculously recovered Constantinople.[4] On July 12 Emperor Frederick III at Graz in Styria was informed of the fall by travelers from Serbia. His court formed the impression that the Turks had massacred all of the inhabitants, forty thousand or more. Inaccurate details about the fate of the Greek emperor were also being presented. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (who became Pope Pius II on August 27, 1458, but at this time was the secretary of Frederick III) wrote of this in one of his early letters on the fall:[5]

> *Turchorum imperator magnis militum copiis Constantinopolim proximis his diebus obsidione terra marique cinxit atque admotis machinis et insultu ter facto expugnavit, populum omnem gladio extinxit, sacerdotes diversis tormentorum generibus excarnificavit neque sexui neque etati pepercit; quadraginta et amplius milia personarum illic occisa referuntur, qui res gestas ad nos ex Rascia venientes enarrant, Palaeologum qui apud imperavit, capite multatum filium ejus erectum fuga in Pera modo obsessum ajunt.*
>
> The emperor [= the sultan] of the Turks surrounded and besieged Constantinople recently with many soldiers. He brought up his siege engines and took it in an assault consisting of three attacks. He destroyed the entire population. He killed priests with all sorts of torture; and he spared neither men, women, children, nor the old. They say that more than forty thousand individuals were put to the sword there, as those who came from Rascia [= Serbia/Dalmatia] tell us, and that Palaiologos, the city's emperor had been decapitated, while his son fled to Pera and is now under siege.

By August of the same year a bishop from Constantinople, named Samuel, brought a report of the events to Walachia, to Transylvania, and to Hermanstadt.[6] Letters from various cities in Italy were dispatched to Burgundy, Portugal, Spain, and Denmark.

When it became certain that the city had indeed fallen, the west reacted in different ways, but the event was dutifully noted throughout Europe. As far away as London, local chronicles took notice:[7]

> Also in this yer, which was the yer of Ower Lord god MCCCCLiij was the cite of Constantyn the noble lost by the Cristen men, and wonne by the Prynce of the Turkes named Mahumet.

In Venetian Crete, where refugees began to arrive, the local population went into mourning. The impact of the fall was felt deeply by the inhabitants of Candia. It is quite possible that Cardinal Isidore furnished an account of his impressions on the severity of the disaster to an assembly of local magistrates. He may have even given a public recitation of the events of the siege and of his adventures. He then went on to compose a lengthy series of letters intended to communicate the sad news to western Christendom.[8] Meanwhile, the local population heavily mourned the events. A formal lamentation on the sack, composed by a Jewish resident of Candia, Michael ben Shabettai Kohen Balbo, survives.[9]

As soon as Europe had recovered from the initial shock of the fall, a number of influential individuals actually embarked upon plans to launch a crusade to the east.[10] Thus on February 24, 1454, Philip the Good of Burgundy and his knights of the Golden Fleece took, in a melodramatic ceremony, the so-called “Oath of the Pheasant” and pledged to wage holy war against the Turks.[11] In the spring of 1454 Frederick III convened a diet with a similar goal in mind.[12] His spokesman was none other than Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini who, later as Pope Pius II, would also dedicate himself to the Christian recovery of Constantinople. Moreover, Alfonso of Naples, whose ambitious dream was to become the Latin emperor of Constantinople, offered to lead the projected crusade to the east and, on April 1, 1454, put his intentions in writing, declaring that he was ready to begin the *reconquista* of Greece.

The earliest recorded proposal for a crusade to the east, however, seems to have originated in the private sector. In an appendix to Tetaldi’s account of the fall, someone (probably not Tetaldi himself) advised a coordinated effort by land and sea.[13] A fleet manned by Aragonese, Venetians, Genoese, and Florentines would blockade the Dardanelles to prevent Turkish reinforcements from crossing the straits into Europe. An expeditionary force of Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles, and Walachians, under the command of the legendary hero John Corvinus Hunyadi, would then move southward to threaten Adrianople (or Edirne, the first Ottoman capital on European soil). At the same time, an Italian army would advance through Albania, enlisting in the meantime the help of the famous warlord George Kastriotes Skanderbeg. The author of this pamphlet further believed that during this campaign the lord of Karamania in Anatolia would threaten the eastern provinces of the Ottoman sultan, who would thus be forced at once to fight on two fronts. There were other proposals for the recovery of Constantinople. They became the nucleus for numerous planned crusades and Constantinople assumed the sentimental role that Jerusalem had played in a previous age.[14] Yet none of these ambitious plans ever came to fruition. The age of crusades to the east had passed. It gradually became clear to the Greeks that, despite the strong rhetoric, Europe was in no position to recover Constantinople or to force the Turks to retreat back into Anatolia. In theory, however, the nostalgic notion of a crusade to dislodge the infidel from European soil lingered. And in the west Constantinople assumed, in this late era, the significance that Jerusalem had enjoyed in past centuries. Meanwhile, as these impractical campaigns were being meticulously conceived and advertised, the Greeks in the Balkans and the Aegean eagerly awaited the arrival of the European liberators.

The attitude of Venice, a city that had contributed much to the defense of the Greek capital in 1453, was more realistic than Philip the Good's romantic theatrics. Early in the summer of 1454, Venice quietly concluded a mutually satisfactory peace treaty with the Porte and with Mehmed himself, who during the sack had captured and had subsequently executed Venice's *bailo*, Girolamo Minotto. This treaty confirmed, in fact, the pact that had been negotiated with the sultan in 1451. Bartolomeo Marcello became the new Venetian *bailo* in Ottoman Constantinople and remained at this post until 1456 when Lorenzo Vitturi replaced him.[15]

While the expectations of the *quattrocento* and academic strategy for the recovery of Constantinople remained a dream that could never be realized, modern historians have also expressed opposing views on the immediate causes of the fall but, in the process, have failed to produce any attempt to understand, in realistic terms, the military strategy that brought about this monumental event. Thus historians have viewed the Ottoman artillery in the siege of 1453 in two separate, but mutually exclusive ways. On the one hand, one school of thought has confidently maintained that Mehmed's artillery and especially Urban's bombards were the most important factors leading to the conquest of Constantinople, with the corollary added that Mehmed's cannons introduced the modern age of gunpowder, rendering all traditional stone fortifications obsolete.[16] This monumental innovation in the art of warfare, in their view, provided a clear chronological boundary between the Middle Ages and the modern era, and unambiguously demonstrated with a thunderous roar the unprecedented potential of gunpowder.[17] The other school of thought has taken an opposite view and has maintained that the artillery of Mehmed, by European standards, was hopelessly antiquated. Bronze bombards had already been abandoned in Europe by the middle of the *quattrocento* in favor of mobile, more maneuverable, smaller iron cannon and, in fact, the Ottoman artillery and Urban's bombards were of no consequence whatsoever in the siege of 1453. The siege did not introduce the era of gunpowder, which after all had been in use for quite some time in Europe, whose engineers were already making significant improvements to artillery.[18] The siege of 1453 simply underscored the futility of the old-fashioned bronze bombard, something that Europeans had already realized.

Both views include exaggerations and disregard, minimize, or dismiss the possibility that Mehmed employed the simple, although effective, principle of "elastic offense" in his operations against Constantinople. Mehmed was a competent strategist and a brilliant tactician who did not rely exclusively on a single monolithic approach. On the contrary, his strong point consisted of flexibility to modify his methods according to the demands of the situation. Above all, his talents included the indispensable quality that marks a sound military strategist. He adapted his methods appropriately to unforeseen and unpredictable circumstances, as it becomes evident upon examination of the engagements on the naval sector.

When, for instance, four hopelessly outnumbered western ships that had come to the relief of Constantinople defeated his fleet, Mehmed reacted with lightning speed and put into operation a daring plan that he had already conceived in meticulous detail. He transferred his lighter boats over the hills of Pera and launched them into the Golden Horn, thus by-passing the blockaded entrance to the harbor of Constantinople, and forced the defenders to transfer troops from the land walls in order to guard a section of the sea walls that had been previously neglected, because the defenders had enjoyed thus far undisputed command of the Golden Horn. While this stratagem impressed all eyewitnesses among the defenders and Mehmed earned praise for his brilliant feat and was compared to Xerxes and to Alexander the Great when he added a bridge to assist his fleet that had been launched into the Golden Horn, it was thought with remarkable prejudice that the sultan and his high command would have been incapable of planning and implementing such an impressive maneuver and attributed the transfer of the fleet overland to the Golden Horn to western engineers in the pay of the sultan. This view is not restricted to modern scholars but its origins date back to the fifteenth-century Italian writers, who went to great lengths to suggest that the sultan had the advantage of western technology on his side for his famous achievement.[19] It should be added that the operations in the harbor produced spectacular and isolated skirmishes but, in the final analysis, the naval operations conducted by both sides were subordinate to the land operations. The offense and defense concentrated their efforts on penetrating, on demolishing, or on defending the land fortifications. The sultan's navy was simply used as a diversion for the purpose of forcing the defenders to divide their forces and to minimize the defense of the western land walls, where all the decisive engagements took place. Unlike the siege of Constantinople in 1204, when the crusaders penetrated the city through the sea walls, the Ottoman navy in 1453 played a supporting role and its actions were subordinated to the land operations.

When the sultan's artillery failed to breach the Pege/Silivri sector, Mehmed unleashed his mobile siege tower(s), whose separate parts and sections had been prepared earlier and were swiftly assembled at the site before the attack was launched. Before the beginning of the siege, while Mehmed was mobilizing his forces, Urban promised that he would reduce the walls of Constantinople to dust. Mehmed probably encouraged his engineer, even though he would have realized that there was a measure of exaggeration in his claims. The sultan must have gone out of his way to secure large quantities of bronze to cast Urban's monster(s), which undoubtedly demanded considerable expense, since tin was not plentiful. While Urban was then ordered to cast his monsters, Mehmed took caution to summon sappers from Serbia and undoubtedly made meticulous plans for a more traditional operation that could be utilized if the cannon failed to produce the promised results. So when Urban's bombard(s) proved incapable of reducing the walls to rubble, the sultan directed his sappers to mine the Kaligaria/Eğri sector.

This analysis strongly suggests that Mehmed's plans for the siege operations were not monolithic. The sultan wisely chose to rely on an "elastic" offense and not on a single exclusive approach during the siege. It is quite likely that an "elastic" offense had been embraced by the Ottoman high command, as is indicated by the following stages of modifications/adjustments in the sultan's strategy to conquer Constantinople:

**Stage I**: At the commencement of the siege, Mehmed deployed Urban's bombards and probably anticipated the total destruction of both the inner and outer walls in the Mesoteikhion. This strategy, he believed, would allow his troops to overwhelm and overrun the outnumbered defenders who would find themselves without cover or protection, and could be surrounded in an open area. In other words, the modern bronze bombards would be used as old-fashioned, although infinitely more powerful, battering rams, indicating that the actual potential of this new weapon had not been fully understood at this time and the bombards were simply replacing a less powerful ancient weapon. This approach did not yield results. The bombards created havoc and destroyed extensive sections of the outer wall but the defenders, under the command of the brilliant *condottiere* Giustiniani, made effective repairs and erected makeshift defenses and fought with determination, repelling repeated attacks. The inner wall withstood the relentless bombardment and hand-to-hand combat took place outside, on the ground between the great wall and the hastily erected stockades. Urban's bombards, with the accompanying roar and clouds of smoke, must have terrified the non-combatants and must have contributed to the demoralization of the inhabitants. At the same time Mehmed must have realized the superior quality of Giustiniani's professional band of *condottieri* and the inadequacies of his own artillery and infantry.

**Stage II**: The end of April and the beginning of May witnessed the first adjustment in the sultan's strategy. By now it had been amply demonstrated that alone the bombards could not produce breaches; the bombards as battering rams had failed in their mission. At this point the Turks apparently modified their method of targeting the walls and devised a more effective way to direct their fire. We hear echoes of this adjustment in contemporary accounts that suggest that the sultan's engineers were taught to triangulate their fire by Hunyadi's ambassadors. The fact is that our sources generally display respect and admiration for western technology and superior tactics. Each time there is a change in strategy that produces results, it is invariably attributed to a westerner. Mehmed himself also attributed the excellent engineering skills of the defenders to western individuals, while the besieged blamed Europeans and western technology for the most spectacular Ottoman successes, such as the use of triple batteries and the transfer of the Ottoman fleet over the hills of Pera from the Bosphorus to the Golden Horn.[20] Along with triangulation, Mehmed as well appears to have concentrated the fire of his large triple bombard batteries against the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector. It was probably at this juncture that the Gate of Saint Romanos came to be known among the besiegers as Top Kapı, the "Gate of the Cannon."[21]

**Stage III:** As the second stage had also failed to deliver the city to the sultan, Mehmed II reverted to more traditional approaches, which had been widely used in late antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages. He made use of mining under the walls and siege towers against them. It is notable that the only medieval siege engine that the sultan failed to employ was the all-powerful *trébuchet* that had proved the most formidable artillery before gunpowder came into favor. It is improbable that anyone in the Ottoman camp in 1453 possessed the knowledge of how to build a *trébuchet*. Its last attested usage in the

Levant occurred almost thirty years after the fall of Constantinople, during the first siege of Rhodes against Mehmed's troops. It was built and employed by the defending knights of Saint John and it produced spectacular results against the besieging Ottoman troops. This third stage seems to have failed as well and the Ottoman headquarters may have entertained thoughts of withdrawing from Constantinople. By the end of the month both sides had become desperate for an outcome. The Greek emperor had resigned himself to the fact that no aid was forthcoming from Venice, and the Ottoman camp displayed low morale, as it was invaded by rumors about the imminent arrival of Hunyadi's army and of the Venetian armada to relieve the city.[22] At the major council of the sultan that took place about three days before the final assault a decision seems to have been made to make one last attempt[23] and to overwhelm the defenders solely with the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Turkish forces and in successive waves designed to exhaust the defenders. This final assault took place in the early hours of May 29.

Lauro Quirini is probably the earliest source to provide us with a concise description of Mehmed's waves of assault.[24] The first wave consisted of the sultan's expendable irregulars. Included in their ranks were numerous poorly trained and inadequately armed Christian renegades and adventurers. They were meant to harass and exhaust the defenders. The first wave was easily beaten back by Giustiniani's professionals. The second attack consisted of the sultan's regular Anatolian regiments, which, despite an orderly advance, were also repelled with heavy losses. Before the defenders could recover, the third wave came upon them with deadly precision: the elite Ottoman troops, the dreaded janissaries, who approached in orderly formation. A report from the autumn or the early winter of 1453 by Antonio Ivani provides particulars on this third wave of the assault.[25] This was by far the most serious phase of the assault, but the professional mercenaries of the emperor were able to hold on and it even seemed as if this Ottoman attack was about to fail. But, when Giustiniani was wounded, at this point the defense collapsed, as the wounded commander and his band retreated in good order, abandoned the Mesoteikhion, entered the great wall, and proceeded to the harbor where they boarded their ships and departed from Constantinople.[26]

Prior to Giustiniani's retreat, the defenders had repelled two major assaults and it even appeard as if they would be able to maintain their vigorous defense successfully and survive the third wave, but, with the warlord's departure, the defense degenerated into a rout. In truth, it was the withdrawal of the warlord and his seasoned band that ensured Mehmed's victory. The remaining forces in the Pempton, consisting mainly of the emperor's immediate retinue, were no obstacle to the awesome numbers of the advancing janissaries. Most of the remaining defenders also realized the hopelessness of their position, fled, and attempted to follow the retreating band into the safety behind the great wall. Panic ensued and the defenders trampled each other. With the mercenaries gone and the defenders in rout, the janissaries proceeded without serious opposition. There remained only small individual pockets of resistance, desperate men who were determined to die rather than be captured. Once the janissaries had overrun the abandoned stockades of the Pempton and the great wall, they fanned out and opened the gates from within to allow their comrades easier access into the city. For all intents and purposes the battle was over the moment Giustiniani's band abandoned its position.

There is no evidence of an Ottoman strategy to employ artillery in the last battle. The only strategic consideration appears to have been a general reliance on the numerical superiority of the Ottoman forces, whose goal was to exhaust the defenders through sheer numbers. This final simplistic approach came as a climax to the previous three stages of elastic offense and it ultimately proved successful only because Giustiniani's band had retreated, a fact that is recognized in certain contemporary testimonies. Such was the opinion of George Scholarios (Gennadios II). He notes that the city fell because "the enemy faced no resistance, since the land walls had been deserted."[27]

Thus the picture that emerges from a consideration of Mehmed's artillery and Urban's famed bombards, as well as from an analysis of the defensive tactics utilized by the emperor's *condottieri*, contains more dynamic elements than most histories of the siege suspect. In general, such narratives neglect considerations of strategy or evolution of tactics. At best, modern historians simply reproduce narratives, with minimum military analysis, that are based on "sources," without even a word of caution or a rudimentary attempt to find their way through a virtual labyrinth of eyewitness accounts and of derivative, elaborated, and verily forged sources. Modern historians are content to extol the "gallantry" of the besieged or the "determination" of the besiegers. On the whole, they have failed to investigate the overall view and infer possible types of strategic defense or offense that can be recognized in the various eyewitness accounts that narrate specific events without attempting to link them to an overall coordinated strategy. Thus we are faced with isolated events and the task of the historian interested in the broad strategy of the siege becomes cumbersome.[28] Perhaps that is why individual qualities such as endurance and fortitude seem to dominate modern accounts. Indeed, gallantry and determination have their place but, no doubt, such admirable qualities are subordinate to strategy, which seems to deteriorate among the defenders and besiegers as time passes on. A careful reading of authentic sources reveals that, as we move closer to the climax and the final battle, confusion on both sides reigns. One detects the presence of despair in both camps rather than any operating strategy. It is this despair that ultimately brings the drama to its conclusion. In the last battle numbers prevailed after the brilliant commander-in-chief of the Byzantine defense departed with his troops. In the final analysis, the critical sector of the Pempton was abandoned with the withdrawal of the Genoese *condottieri* and this sector was overrun by the offense in a haphazard manner. And the last battle degenerated to a retreat and to an overrunning of abandoned fortifications. The remaining defenders without any coordination or supervision offered only pockets of resistance which were haphazardly eliminated or were ignored by the janissaries and other Turkish forces who were pressing on to enter the city and begin the process of pillage.

# Notes

[1] The best modern analysis of the reaction, with special emphasis on the degree of denial in the west, is provided in *SOC*, ch. 1, esp. pp. 1–14, which establishes a timetable as the news spread throughout Europe. A useful diagram of the various points of origins from which reports of the fall emanated and fanned out can found in *CC* 1: xxvi.

[2] Cf. *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," n. 62.

[3] On the reception of the news in Venice, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," nn. 77–78. Languschi-Dolfin, independently of Leonardo adds further, fol. 323 (pp. 36–37): *Et questo fu ale 19. hore che gran conseijo era suxo uenne grippo da Corfu cum lettere da Lepanto ariuo in pressa al pontil de le legne, staua ognun sopra la finestra et balconi aspettando tra speranza et timor saper che nuoue portauano, si de la cita de Constantinopoli come de le gallie de Romania et chi del padre del figlio chi del fratello. Et come le lettere fono apresentate alla Signoria et sparta la uoce per conseijo che Costantinopoli era prexo. Et tutti da sei anni in suxo ha fato taiar a pezi, fu remesso el balottar, et alhora fu cominciato grandi et extremi pianti cridori gemiti, battandose ognun le palme de le mane, et cum li pugni batterse il petto, straciandosse li capelli, et la faza chi per la morte del padre chi per el figlio chie per el fratello, chi per la roba. Dapoi fatto alquanto silenzio fu de commandamento de la Signoria facto lezer publice, ed ad alta uoce per Luuise Benacan secretario del Conseio de X. la lettera del rezimento de Corfu, la qual auisaua hauer per lettere da Nepanto exaudito Constantinopoli esser prexo. Et un altra uolta fu refrescado el pianto cum cridori. Et per ognun uigniua accusado et execrado la negligentia et incredulita de la Signoria et de quelli de collegio, dando la colpa et incusando quelli che hauea scripto el falso de Costantinopoli chel exercito Turchescho non uegniua a Constantinopoli. Allegando esser uerificato el ditto de Porcellana fiorentino che in Uenexia molti anni auanti predicaua, el uerra el bambino zor el turco a li danni nostri et uoi sareti lenti a proueder et hauereti el danno et perdereti Constantinopoli dapoi la sua edification 1121*. Stefano Magno, *NE* 3:300, adds: *Adì 29 zugno essendo conseglio suso, venne un grippo da Corfù con lettre de 17 detto, per le quali si have per via di Negroponte et per lettere del signor Arseni da Coranto et di Zuanne Spagnuolo, che stava con i signori della Morea, della perdita della detta cittade; le quali furono lette a Conseglio; onde tutti furono sentiti in gran pianti, et per tutta la città, massime per quelli che havevano de suoi in quella città, per esserne morti; però per le dette non si hebbe alcuna informatione come le cose fossero successe*. A few other details are added in the official notes: *Archivio di Stato (Venice), Sen. Mar.*, 4 fol. 199$^{r}$ (*TIePN*, p. 8): *1453, 4 luglio. Quia ut possint fieri provisiones debite pro hoc casu civitatis Constantinopolitane quam crudelissimi Teurci subiuga-runt, necesse est ut processus illius rei bene intellegatur: Vadit pars quod mittatur ad presens ser Lodovico Diedo qui venit capitaneus galearum Romanie et interfuit illi miserabili cladi ut in hoc Consilio referat omnia que hoc mane retulit in Collegio; quam quanto melius negotia intelliguntur tanto salubrius provideri potest. De parte 26 de non 13 sinceri 0*.

[4] For the early reaction in Italy, cf. *PaL* 2: 138, and n. 2. The official report of the defense and of the fall of Constantinople was presented by Alvise (Ludovico) Diedo, who escaped from Constantinople and made his *relazione* to the Senate of Venice on July 4, 1453. One would give much to read this report, written by an actual commander in the defense of the imperial city. Diedo's report, however, has vanished without a trace. For the votes of the Venetian Senate in conjunction with

Diedo's report and on Diedo, cf. *TIePN*: 8–9; and *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," n. 78.

[5] Wolkan, 3, part 1. The letter of July 12: pp. 189–202; extracts of the same letter in *CC* 2: 44–48 (with Italian translation). For Aeneas, Constantinople, and the Ottoman Turks, cf. Meserve, ch. 2.

[6] The German text of the report of "Bladic" [= *vladyka*, that is, bishop] Samuel has been published in *NE* 4: 65–68; an Italian translation of this document, without the original German text, can be found in *CC* 1: 228–231.

[7] *Chronicles of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), p. 164. This monumental event, the fall of Constantinople, seems to have been overlooked in Muscovite Russia, the other major Orthodox state in Europe, precisely because the Greek Church had accepted union with the Catholic Church in 1438/1439 at the Council of Florence.

[8] It has now become increasingly clear that the Greco-Venetian population of Candia played an important role in the dissemination of the news of the fall of Constantinople. In fact, Cardinal Isidore and his circle of learned humanists from Italy formed a center out of which a considerable number of reports reached Italy and became the nucleus of further reports that fanned out to the peninsula and to Europe. On the role of this "center," cf. Philippides, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Classical Comparisons and the Circle of Cardinal Isidore," *passim*.

[9] The Hebrew text of Balbo's lamentation is quoted in Bowman, p. 177, who further discusses the impact of the fall among the Jews of the Aegean. Quite different was the reaction of the Jews of Spain; cf. Cirac Estopañan, p. 92: …*en un proceso del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, instruîdo alrededor del año 1480 en Castilla la Nueva, se testificaba que los judíos de Castilla habían celebrado con gran júbilo la conquista de Constantinopla por el Gran Turco, a quien consideraban como el Mesîas, que vendrîa también a conquistar España y echar de ella a los cristianos*.

[10] The most detailed account can be found in *SOC*, pp. 5–10.

[11] On the duke of Burgundy, cf. Y. Lacaze, "Politique 'méditeranéenne' et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon: De la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade (mai 1453-juillet 1456," *Annales de Bourgogne* 61 (1969): 5–42 and 81–132; A. Grunzweig, "Philippe le Bon et Constantinople," *Byz* 24 (1954): 47–61; and. R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970). The court of Burgundy exhibited a very strong interest in Constantinople at this time. Cf., e.g., the beautiful *Lamentatio Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* composed by Guillaume Dufay (*ca.* 1400–1474) [= B. Becherini, "Due canzoni di Dufay del codice Fiorentino 2794," *La Bibliofilia* 43 (1941): 124–127; an Italian translation of the French/Latin text of this poem in *CC* 2: 318], or the fascinating miniature of *Ms. fr. 9087*, f. 207$^{v}$ in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which depicts the siege of 1453. It was prepared specifically for the Duke, in connection with the fifteenth-century Burgundian traveler, Bertrandon de la Brocquière. Its depiction of the city is topographically accurate, in general terms, but the buildings and the fortifications are given a western form and style. Discussion of this miniature and black-and-white photographs can be found in Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 29 and 549; in Concasty, pp. 95–110, *planche* II, facing p. 101; and in Bradbury, p. 221. A color reproduction, of inferior quality, of the same miniature can be found in H. W. Koch, *Medieval Warfare* (London, 1978), p. 214. The best color reproduction is printed in P. Sherrard, *Byzantium*, Great Ages of Man, A History of the World's Cultures (New York, 1966), p. 160. Another miniature, also depicting the siege is reproduced, in black and white, in Concasty's article), *planche* I, facing p. 100. For the interest of the court of Burgundy in Constantinople, cf. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. 549.

[12] *PaL* 2: 150–151; for the actual documents, cf. *NE* 4: *passim*.

[13] For this "appendix," cf. the speculation of Concasty, esp. pp. 105–107.

[14] One of the earliest proposals is to be found in the account of Lampo (or Lampugnino) Birago; cf. A. Pertusi, “Le notizie sulla organizzazione amministrative e militare dei turchi nello *Strategicon adversum Turcos* di Lampo Birago (c. 1453–1455),” in *Studi sul medioevo cristiano offerti a R. Morghen per il 90o anniversario dell’Instituto Storico Italiano (1883–1973)*, 2 (Rome, 1974): 669–700; selections from Birago’s Latin text (with Italian translation) can also be found in *CC* 2: 114–125.

[15] Marcello was accompanied by a Porte official when he returned to Venice after completing the initial negotiations in Constantinople; for other individuals, who assisted Marcello in his mission, cf. *MCT*, pp. 111–112. For the treaty itself, cf. *RdD* 3: 186 ff. Also, cf. *PaL* 2: 140.

[16] Typical examples include Schlumberger (cf. the next note) and *FC*, p. 77: “Mehmet’s decision to make his attack…in…1453 was largely due to the recent triumphs of his cannon-founders.” However, even older historians have expressed certain reservations. Cf., e.g., Gibbon’s comment relative to the effectiveness of Urban’s bombards, 7: 177–178: “…I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of the metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion.” Lampros, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 6: 934, in his discussion of the Ottoman artillery states reasonably: “…τὴν κατασκευὴν τεραστίου τὸ μέγεθος τηλεβόλου, περὶ οὗ πολλὰ τὰ ὑπερβολικὰ καὶ μυθώδη διηγοῦνται οἱ σύγχρονοι.” The same opinion is also expressed by Paspates, *Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 106: “Περὶ τοῦ ὀγκώδους τούτου τηλεβόλου, πολλὰ μυθώδη καὶ ἀντιφάσκοντα ἐγράφησαν.”

[17] E.g., Schlumberger, in his preface, confidently states that this was the first siege in the annals of history that succeeded in reducing a city through the use of gunpowder artillery and the fall of Constantinople thus marks the end of the Middle Ages. Runciman also echoes this view, with more caution, in the opening sentence of the preface (p. 3) to his popular *FC*: “…the fall of Constantinople, 1453, was held to mark the close of the Middle Ages.” Also cf. Philippides, “The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani,” pp. 189–197.

[18] The modern reaction to the old view that the artillery was the deciding factor in the siege has been expressed, most recently, by K. De Vries, “Gunpowder Weapons at the Siege of Constantinople, 1453,” in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*, ed. Y. Lev, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 9 (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1997): 343–362. This study minimizes the role of artillery in the siege, without suggesting any kind of “elastic” approach by the sultan. Moreover, De Vries relies on questionable sources and on modern translations, such as Pseudo-Sphrantzes, and takes into consideration only one French version of Tetaldi’s narrative. He fails to examine the testimony of Isidore, of Quirini, and of other contemporary records, and takes Languschi-Dolfin to be a distinct source, separate from Leonardo’s testimony.

[19] Cf., e.g., Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 315 (p. 12): *La qual nouita fu trouata da Nicolo Sorbolo, et Nicolo Carcauilla comiti di gallia quando per l Adese condusseno gallie 5. per la campagna de Uerona in lago di Garda in l anno 1438. Pth* [*sic*] *240. Et questo artificio da Uenetiani fu insegnato a Turci*, who in this case has departed somewhat from his prototype, Leonardo 930 [*CC* 1: 138]: *Quare ut coangustaret circumvalleretque magis urbem, jussit* [*iussit*] *invia aequare: exque collo suppositis lenitis* [*linitis*] *vasis lacertorum sex* [*vi*], *ad stadia septuaginta trahi biremes, quae ascensu gravius sublatae, posthac ex apice in declivum, ad ripam sinus levissime* [*ad ripam levissime sinus*] *introrsum vehebantur. Quam novitatem puto, Venetorum more, ex Gardae lacu, is qui artificium*

*Teucris* [*Theucris istud*] *patefecit, didicerat*. More thoughtful seems to be the Greek imitator of Leonardo, Pseudos-Sphrantzes, who does not bring up the alleged aid of western technology, 3.5.2: Καὶ ἐλογίζετο, τί ἔδει ποιῆσαι, ἵνα τὴν πόλιν πλεῖον θλίψῃ καὶ στενοχωρήσῃ καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης καὶ ξηρᾶς τὴν ἐμβολὴν ποιήσῃ· καὶ ἐλογίζετο τοιαῦτα μηχανῇ, ἵνα μέρος τοῦ στόλου εἰσφέρῃ ἔσω τοῦ λιμένος. Καὶ ἦν ὁ λόγος εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ ἔργον· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄπισθεν μέρους τοῦ Γαλατᾶ διὰ τοῦ λόφου ὁδὸν εὐθεῖαν ᾠκονόμησε κατερχομένη ἄχρι τοῦ λιμένος καὶ σανίσι καὶ ξύλοις πᾶσαν κατέστρωσε καὶ μετὰ σέατος βοῶν καὶ κριῶν ἤλειψεν αὐτὰς καὶ ὄργανα πολύτροπα ἕτερα ποιήσας καὶ μηχανάς, ὥστε τὰς τριήρεις καὶ διήρεις ἐν εὐκολίᾳ ἄνωθεν ἐν τῷ λόφῳ σύρας κατεβίβασεν αὐτὰς ἔνδον τοῦ λιμένος. Καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον θαυμαστὸν καὶ ναυμαχίας στρατήγημα ἄξιον. In addition, for more modern comments, cf. Thomas, p. 38: “Ein sehr zutreffendes Citat verdanke ich meinem verehrten Freunde, unserem Collegen Herrn Bibliothekar Velentinelli in Venedig, welchen ihn nachträglich zu Rathe zog, und welchem der Vicebibliothekar Herr Veludo (ein mit der mittelgriechischen Literatur sehr vertrauter Mann) folgende Notiz aus Mustoxides’ Σόρβολος Κρὴς [*sic*] sub τολμηρὸν ἐφάνη εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ἄλλο δυσχερέστατον ἔργον ἢ p. 90 mittheilte: μεταφορὰ στόλου πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ διακόσια μίλια μεταξὺ κρημνῶν καὶ ζυγῶν ὀρέων.” *ΕΛΛΕΝΟΜΝΕΜΩΝ* Enrico Cornet, the nineteenth-century editor of Barbaro, appends the following note (p. 27, n. 2), after he adds that the sultan was instructed by a Christian in this undertaking: “Mal il proposito il Cantù nella sua Storia degli Italiani Vol. 4, p. 483: ‘Maometto non potendo forzare la grossa catena del porto fece trascinar le sue navi attraverso alla lingua di terra, che ne lo separava, forse secundo dai Veneziani’ etc.”

[20] *PG* 159: 930 (not included in the selections of *CC* 1): *Quam novitatem* [that is, the transfer of boats overland] *puto, Venetorum more, ex Gardae lacu, is qui artificium Teucris patefecit, didicerat*. Languschi-Dolfin improves on Leonardo’s information and supplies the names of individuals, fol. 315 (p. 12): *la qual nouita* [i.e., the transfer of boats over land] *fu trouata da Nicolo Sorbolo, et Nicollo Carcauilla comiti di gallia quando per l Adesse condusseno gallie 5. per la campagna de Uerona in lago di Garda in l anno 1438…. Et questo artificio da Uenetiani fu insegnato a Turci*. For the context, cf. *supra*, n. 19, and for further documentation and discussion, cf. *supra*, ch. 8: “Naval Maneuvers: Subordinate Operations.”

[21] Pears, Appendix I, p. 435, provides a different interpretation: “…I would suggest that the name Top Capou was given or transferred by the Turks, after the siege and when the *Pempton* was walled up, to the Civil Gate of Saint Romanus.” Isidore seems to conflate Stage I and Stage II and only speaks in his correspondence of his general impression of the bombardment. Cf. his letter to the pope, dated *datum Candiae, die XV Julii LIII°*, *CC* 1: 94–96: …*bumbardas plurimas quam mille construxit, quarum tres fuerunt aliis maiores: prima enim proiciebat lapidem cuius mensura circularis erat XI palmarum, pondus cantariorum XIIII, secunda autem mensura circularis decem palmarum et pondus cantariorum duodecim, tertia autem circularis mensura palmarum novem et pondus cantariorum decem. Reliquiae autem fuerunt minores: una minor, alterae schopeta innumerabilia erant. Sed omnes aliae bumbardae nullam intulerunt laesionem, nisi solum illae tres quae lapides magnos prope iam septingentos proiecerunt et maximum detrimentum egerunt; per eas enim illa miserrima Urbs per dies quinquaginta <et> unum terribiliter impugnabatur, cuius pro maiori parte muros in superficiem terrae ruptavit et devastavit; per quorum ruinam murorum capta est et expugnata est. Aliae autem bumbardae nullam egerunt laesionem, ut supra allegatum est, licet ac magnae ac validae illae essent*. Leonardo has also noted his impressions on the impressive, if ineffective in the final analysis, qualities of the sultan’s artillery, 927–928 [*CC* 1: 130]: *Horribilem perinde bombardam, quanquam* [*quamquam*] *major* [*maior*] *alia, quae*

*confracta fuit* [*maior alia confracta fuit*], *quam vix boum quinquaginta centum juga* [*iuga*] *vehebant, ad partem illam murorum simplicium, quae nec fossatis, nec antemurali tutabatur, Calegariam* [*Calegaream*] *dictam, figentes, lapide qui palmis undecim* [*XI<sup>m</sup>*] *ex meis ambibat in gyro, ex ea murum conterebant. Erat tamen murus perlatus fortisque, qui tamen machinae tam horribili cedebat. Inde quia major* [*maior*] *confracta, regis animum afflictabat* [*afflictavit*], *ne tristitia in tanto certamine afficeretur, jussit* [*iussit*] *mox aliam longe majoris* [*maioris*] *formae conflari: quam, ut aiunt, industria Calibasciae* [*Calilbasciae*] *consularis Baronis amici* [*baronis, Graecorum amici*] *artifex, nunquam ad perfectum conduxit, aliis mediocribus innumeris collidere urbem machinis undequaque conabantur. Sclopis, spingardis, zarbathanis, fundis, sagittis dies noctesque muros homines nostros vexabant mactabantque*. He is followed by Pseudo-Sphrantzes with the sharp observation on the limits of the Ottoman artillery, who concludes, 3.4.5: Ἡ δὲ μεγάλη ἐκείνη ἐκείνη καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐλέβολις διὰ τὸ συνεχὲς σφενδονίζειν καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον τὸ μέταλλον ὑπῆρχε καθαρόν, διεῤῥάγη ἐν τῷ βάλλειν τὸν τεχνίτην τὸ πῦρ καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διεμερίσθη κλάσματα· καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλοὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν καὶ ἐπλήγησαν. Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ ἀμηρᾶς ἐλυπήθη λίαν· καὶ προσέταξεν, ἵνα ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς ἄλλην ποιήσωσι. Καὶ ἕως τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἔργον καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐκατώρθωσε.

[22] Pears, p. 353: "…if the besieged could have succeeded in repulsing the Turks in their greatest attack, and have held the city for even one day longer, Mahomet himself would have considered necessary to withdraw his army and Constantinople might possibly have been saved for Europe." A number of sources record the rumor that Hunyadi was about to relieve the city: Leonardo 937 [*CC* 1: 154]: *Vox inter haec ex castris exploratorum relatu fit, quod triremes navesque aliquot in subsidium ab Italia mitterentur, et Joannes* [*Johannes*] *Pannonum dux exercitus, Blancus vulgo nuncupatus, ad Danubium contra Turcum* [*Theucrum*] *congressurus adventasset; qua concitatus exercitus discinditur.* [Not in *CC* 1:] *Cur, inquiunt, tanta mora periclitatur exercitus? Frustra contra muros pugnaturi, adversus regem Teucri clamant. Etenim quanquam maximus numerus esset, quanquam infinitis sagittis machinassent urbem, utpote ad muros invadendos timidi, vecordes, victoriam diffidebant.* Languschi-Dolfin, fol. 318 (p. 22): *stando la citade in tali affani uene uoce da le spie che gallie e naue armate de Italia uegniuano mandate in soccorso de la cita et quelle era zonte a Negroponte, e a Modon. Et Janus de Huniade uaiuoda, dicto el biancho, sora el Danubio era per essere alle mani cum Turchi da la qual fama lo exercito tuto se disolueua. Dicendo perche cum tanta induxia se consuma lo exercito a questi muri, perche non demo la battaglia cum le freze sole habiamo debilitado la citade, como timidi d' arsaltar la cita se diffendemo de la uictoria*; Pseudo-Sphrantzes 3.7.5: Ἡμῶν δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἰδού τις φήμη ψευδὴς ἐῤῥέθη εἰς τὸ ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας στόλος εἰς βοήθειαν τῆς πόλεως ἔρχεται, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Ἴαγκος ὁ κυβερνήτης τῶν Οὐγκρῶν μετὰ πλείστου στρατοῦ ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν κατέρχεται τούτων. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ τῆς Ἄγαρ φόβος πλεῖστος διέσχεν αὐτούς· καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ ἀρὰς ἔλεγον καὶ διεγγόγυζον λέγοντες, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔσεται ὁ ἀφανισμὸς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατα ἐπιχειρίζεσθαι αὐτούς…; and the *Anonymous Barberini* 23: Τότε ἐβγῆκε λόγος εἰς τὰ φουσσᾶτα τοῦ Τούρκου πὼς ἔρχεται μεγάλη δύναμι φουσσᾶτα ἀπὸ τὴν Οὐγγαρία εἰς βοήθειαν τῆς Πόλης, καὶ ἐβάλανε βουλὴ ὅτι νὰ χωρίσουνε εἰς δύο μέρη διὰ νὰ ἀντισταθοῦσι τῶν Οὐγγάρων. Καὶ ἐλέγανε τοῦ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτη ὅτι νὰ ἀφήσουνε τὴν χώρα, νὰ μὴν πολεμοῦνε, μόνε νὰ τὴν ἀφήσουνε καὶ νὰ πάνε, "διὰ νὰ μὴν ἐρθοῦνε οἱ χριστιανοὶ καὶ μᾶς ἐξαφνίσουνε." Καὶ ἐστάθησαν τὰ φουσσᾶτα καὶ δὲν ἐπολεμούσανε.

[23] Isidore, in opposition to all other sources, does not speak of a council but states that the date of the assault was the result of the advice that the sultan received from his astrologers. Cf. Isidore's letter, dated *in Creta, die sexta Iulii anno Domini M°CCCC*

°*LIII*°, to Cardinal Bessarion, *CC* 1: 74: *Sed cum omnis cognitionis illud difficillimum est quod futurum est, nobis oculos occecavit, illi vero ita aperuit, ut Martem potentissimum ac diem et horam eius accuratissime observaverit; habet enim diligentissimos astrologos persas, quorum consiliis ac iudicio fretus summa quaeque ac maxima sese consecuturum sperat*. The cardinal's information should not be dismissed. Turkish sources confirm this superstitious trait in the sultan's character. İnalcik, "Istanbul: An Islamic City," p. 250, has the following comment on the sultan's reliance on the supernatural: "Mehmed the Conqueror believed that the conquest would be the work of Allah, a miracle of His providence. The sufi Seyh Aq-Semseddin, a follower of the famous mystic philosopher of light, 'Umar al-Suhrawardi, became *murşid* (spiritual guide) to the sultan and the army during the siege. The young Sultan asked the *murşid* to go into religious retreat in order to know the divine decision of the exact date of the conquest. The conquest did not occur on the date the *murşid* gave, rather the Christians recorded a naval success on that day. The letter written by the *şeyh* to the sultan has been discovered in the palace archives." It should be added that Mehmed II was not the only sultan who relied on the advice of astrologers. His father, Murad II, had employed astrologers during his siege of Constantinople, and was also under the influence of a holy man, whom Kananos calls Mersaites, but his name was actually Seid Bokhari (cf. *LCB*, p. 348), as is attested by the eyewitness account of the siege of 1422, Ioannes Kananos, pp. 466–467: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ πολὺς παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις ὁ εὐγενὴς πατριάρχης, ὃν εἶχον προορατικὸν καὶ προφήτην, τοὔνομα Μηρσαΐτης [= *mursid*] τῇ Περσικῇ διαλέκτῳ, ἀπέστειλεν ἀποκρισαρίους πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην τῶν Τούρκων [= Murad II] καὶ εἶπεν "ὅρα μήπω συνάψῃς πόλεμον…ἕως ὅτε ἐγὼ νὰ φθάσω καὶ νὰ δηλώσω τὴν ὥραν τῆς συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πολέμου, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν διδάσκει Ῥασοὺλ ὁ προφήτης." …ὁ δεσπότης τῶν Τούρκων [= Murad II] δουλοπρεπῶς ὑπεδέξατο τοῦτον. Αὐτὸς δὲ σοβαρὸς καὶ μεγαλοϋπέροχος ἑωρᾶτο πᾶσιν…καὶ πάντες οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι ἀληθῆ καὶ βέβαια κρατοῦσιν πάντα τὰ λαληθέντα ἐκ τούτου, καὶ πάντες τὴν κέλευσιν ἔμενον τὴν ἐκείνου, ἵνα προστάξῃ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ὥραν…. Cardinal Isidore also had a deep interest in astrology, prophecies, and matters of the occult, in general. Thus certain manuscripts of ancient works copied by his own hand survive and illustrate his interests; notable among them, in connection with astrology are the *Astrologika* and Pseudo-Ptolemy in *Vatic. 1698*. For his activities in this field, cf. Patrinelis, "Ἕλληνες Κωδικογράφοι τῶν Χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως," pp. 63–124, esp. p. 87. On this matter, cf. Philippides, *Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus*, Appendix I; and *idem*, "The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Classical Comparisons and the Circle of Cardinal Isidore."

[24] *TIePN*, pp. 70–72: *Ordinem vero belli huiusmodi fuisse affirmant: terrestres copias in tres divisisse partes, quarum uni praefecit Beilarbeim* (*totius Graeciae praefectum*) [= the *Beglerbeg* of Rumeli]*, alteri Sarazanum bassa* [= Saraca Pasha]*, ipsum vero Teucrum mediam cepisse partem cum Chali bassa* [= Halil Pasha]*; quem locum magna illa terribilisque bombarda diruisse paulo ante diximus. Ex parte quoque maris maritimas copias ordinasse ita ut undequaque et terra et mari civitas oppugnaretur. Omnibus itaque dispositis die vigesimo octavo Maii, prima noctis hora, ex parte terrae incepisse proelium gregariis praemissis militibus pugnasseque per totam noctem. Verum enim illuscente tandem die ipse ille terribilis pestis Teucer cum aurato curru prope moenia veniens cum veteranis militibus more iam Italico armatis auream sagittam in urbem emisisse civitatemque diripiendam pollicitum fuisse. Quo viso auditoque tanto et clamore et alacritate ardoreque animi hostium concitati et scopetorum et sagittarum infinito paene*

*numero ita repente moenia expugnasse dicunt, ut instar avium muros evolaverint.* In addition, cf. Vast, pp. 1–40, esp. p. 6, n. 2.

[25] *TIePN*, p. 158: *Sex milibus Graecorum totidemque auxiliarium ab ea parte qua hostium castra erant oppositis, quinque milia delectorum militum in media urbe collocat, qui quo eos clamor advocasset eo utique ad resistendum occurant, reliquam multitudinem navali pugnae resistere iubet. Rex omnibus copiis ad oppugnandum paratis, duabus circiter ante diem horis, imminente luna, naves moenibus admoveri iubet, ipse quoque tripartito exercitu pluribus simul in locis ancipiti terrore urbem aggreditur quam terrestri navalique proelio undique corona cingit, inque locis ubi moenia dirruta sunt ad murum subeunt, alii ignem, alii scalas, alii alia, quibus Graecos terreant, importan, quibus multo labore lassis alteri itidem illico succedebant; mari etiam naves prealtis propugnaculis in proram erectis missilibus et sagittis acerrime impugnabant, Graeci iaculis, sagittis, saxis fortiter obsistunt, igne etiam plerumque aqua et oleo fervido hostem submovebant. Tum foeminae puerique sedulo adsunt oppugnantibus, tela ministrant, saxa gerunt, quare saepe a muris repellebantur Teucri.*

[26] Discussion of Giustiniani's wound(s) and withdrawal, his death and tomb, as well as the collapse of the defense, the ensuing panic, and the accusations that contemporaries directed against the emperor's warlord in Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani," pp. 34–52; and *supra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets."

[27] In Petit, Sidéridès, and Jugie, *Ouevres complètes de Gennade* Scholarios, 1: 279–280 [the work entitled: *Γενναδίου μοναχοῦ· ἐπιτάφιος τῷ υἱῷ τῷ κῦρ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Σοφιανῷ,* in honor of Gennadios II's own nephew]: Ὁ πόλεμος ἐνεστήκει, καὶ μόνος ἢ κομιδῇ σὺν ὀλίγοις ὑπολειφθείς, οὗπερ ἐτέταξο, πολλοῖς τραύμασιν, ἃ ταῖς χεροὶν ἐδέξω καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ, αὐταῖς ταῖς κλίμαξι τοὺς δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνελθεῖν, πεπειρωμένους συγκατεσπάσατε, ἕως ὑμεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ θαλάττης οὐδὲν παρήκατε πράττειν ὧν ἐπεθύμουν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, δι᾽ ἐρήμου κατεληλυθότες τοῦ τείχους, πάντα ἐσκύλευον, φυγῇ προδεδωκότων τῶν φυλάξειν ὑποσχομένων.

[28] Thus *FC*, in a rare statement about strategy during the siege abstracts more than is perhaps warranted from the well-known incident that involved Loukas Notaras and Giustiniani. Cf., *ibid.*, p. 129: "Sometimes there were disputes over strategy. As soon as it was clear that the great attack was coming, Giustiniani demanded from the Megadux Lucas Notaras that he should move the cannons that he controlled to the Mesoteichion, where every gun would be needed." This was a public incident that involved a sensational conflict between two notable figures and not a disagreement over strategy behind closed doors within the headquarters of the high command. This incident fails to amount to a disagreement over general strategy. It is doubtful that there was any strategy operating at this moment. Giustiniani's request for the bombards did not come from the imperial headquarters, but from his own command at the Pempton and it was based on his personal estimate of the situation at hand. It was not a quarrel over strategy to defend against the sultan. It was a conflict of personalities and Constantine XI had to intervene to quell the appearance of a conflict among his notables. *MCT*, pp. 91–92, does not assign any strategic plan to the besiegers, other than the successive waves of assault, which the sultan encouraged personally, while his military police ensured that the Ottoman soldiers would not abandon the struggle and easily retreat. Pears, p. 318, realizes that the *divan* that was convened by the sultan on Sunday, May 17, must have been crucial to the process, for the decision was reached at that moment to launch the final assault. Pears fails to address the question of any strategy at any moment during the siege. He simply notes the sequence of various events. After the *divan* of May 27, again Pears concentrates on the various speeches of Mehmed II and on the supposed

speeches made by Constantine XI. Pears writes of “dispositions,” but he does not speak of any plans or strategy (e.g., p. 325). Schlumberger at the conclusion of ch. 7 is content to follow and quote Pears, without offering additional insights on strategy. Lampros, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, p. 318, has rendered his statements into elegant Greek prose: Ἡ κυρία ἔφοδος, λέγει ὁ κ. Pears, ἔγεινεν ἐν τῆ κοιλάδι τοῦ Λύκου.... Ἡ πρόθεσις τοῦ Μωάμεθ ἦτο νὰ συγκεντρώση τὴν ἐπίθεσιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοῦ σταυρώματος [= stockade] καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου μεταξὺ τῆ πύλης τῆς Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Τεκφοὺρ Σεραΐου καὶ νὰ καταφέρη πλῆγμα μετὰ πλῆγμα διὰ τοῦ συνόλου τῶν διαθεσίμων αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων, συγχρόνως δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπαρκῆ ἐπίθεσιν ἀλλαχοῦ [*sc.* the sea walls] νὰ ἐκδιώξη τοὺς ἀμύντορας.

# Chapter 11

# Conclusions

The siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453 remain a complex chapter in the history of the rise and demise of major states. That the Byzantine empire was a dying state is beyond dispute and its remaining outpost, Constantinople, would ultimately fall to the Ottoman Turks. And yet its inglorious end attracted the pen of numerous writers, Greek and non-Greek. This fascination for the tragic end of what a number of scholars regard as the first true Christian empire and for the papacy a despicable rival provoked a litany of works that demonstrate the admiration, importance, and disdain that foreign states had for the empire and its imperial city, the New Rome.

Immediate observers of the fall of Constantinople are few in number and they are mainly foreigners. There were very few Greek survivors and modern scholarship is, therefore, dependent on the views and interpretations of non-Greek writers, whose outlook was often predicated upon their own national/state and religious interests. Thus examinations of the surviving sources, both primary and secondary, evidence their understanding and interpolation of events and consequences.

The revival of interest in the siege and fall of Constantinople emanates from a nineteenth-century thirst for the rediscovery of forgotten and misplaced materials. These texts, aside from one post-fall Greek annal and a fifteenth-century Slavic diary account, were mainly of Genoese and Venetian provenance. The two Italian states had vested political and economic interests in the Levant that knowingly carried with them considerable financial risks and the potential loss of investments and trade should the imperial city fall to the Ottoman Turks. Their manuscript depositories, therefore, are a rich font for source materials. In the nineteenth century, however, the collection and printing of original sources became a paramount scholarly effort, albeit frequently producing inferior and error-ridden works. Their scholarship did not always achieve high scholarly standards and their hasty efforts remain notable. We cannot say that all sources have been discovered and published. On the contrary, the task is not completed for modern scholars who must again search the extant archives for lost or misplaced texts.

The *quattrocento* sources, the eyewitness accounts, number at least twelve major categories. Their value as diaries, reports, letters, and advisory statements lies in their living testaments of the siege and fall, but they do contain contradictory and questionable information. Some difficulty in the use of these texts stems from the fact that later copyists made additions to the original materials and even made significant alterations, adding fabricated personages who had neither a role nor presence during the siege and fall of Constantinople. Some copyists refined the reports to reflect later interpolations of post-fall events, while others reproduced texts almost verbatim without attribution to original authors. Thus modern scholarship has the unenviable task to untangle this endless web of what was and what was not produced from the pen of contemporaneous witnesses.

The non-eyewitness informants add another complex aspect to the use of textual materials. Numbering at least fourteen, their letters relate oral accounts of survivors whose understanding of events is often clouded by personal and tragic experiences. One letter is addressed to a royal court and another deals with post-fall events. The letters on the whole include rumors and gossip that are of dubious value and their historicity cannot be demonstrated since they include unverifiable information. In general, the preserved oral information conveyed by survivors reflects the emotional aspects of the siege and the fall, and the aftermath of the fall.

The late fifteenth–sixteenth-century Greek tradition includes only the works of four writers, none of whom, perhaps with the exception of Sphrantzes, can be categorized as an eyewitness to the end of empire. They are in essence interpreters of historical events. Doubtless, their narratives have importance, but their main focus is the failure of diplomacy leading up to and during the months of the siege. They do not furnish a daily calendar of events of the final months of empire. The sixteenth century is also notable for the production of lengthy forgeries, distinguished with the expansion of the *Chronicon Minus* of Sphrantzes into the *Chronicon Maius* of Makarios Melissourgos-Melissenos. The latter's elaboration incorporates materials from other identifiable sources, but even includes unidentifiable accounts whose authorship has yet to be resolved by scholars. The *Chronicon Maius*, though condemned by many modern scholars, does incorporate valuable ecclesiastic information and the state of the Orthodox Church in the immediate decades after the fall of the imperial city. This information derives from other sources.

There exists as is evident in this study a paucity of ecclesiastical and Ottoman sources dealing directly with the siege and fall period. The majority of known texts relates to the negotiations conducted in the century following the fall and addresses the relationship of the patriarchate *vis-à-vis* the new sultanate. Doubtless the value of the codices, *berat*s, and *firmans* should not be minimized for they speak to the tentative nature of the relationship between the two entities, one in power and the other subject to the daily machinations of the Porte. However, it is evident that not all patriarchal and sultanate archival materials have been exhausted by scholars. Though they recognize that a reinvestigation of materials in these depositories is essential, their labor may prove to be fruitless given the destruction, relocation, and disappearance of texts over a span of nearly six centuries.

While the nineteenth century became notable for rekindling the study of the demise of the Byzantine empire, the sixteenth century is credited for publishing the initial collections of eyewitness accounts. This early popularization of original source materials had a short life span and three centuries elapsed before interest in the events of 1453 was reignited. As in the sixteenth, so also in the nineteenth century, rigid scholarly standards were not applied in the preparation and publication of texts. In their eagerness to publish, even the authenticity of earlier manuscripts did not come into question. Thus the works of these two centuries evidence an absence of a critical scholarly approach.

The testimonies of "Richerio," Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Tetaldi, and Nestor-Iskander provide an interesting contrast to the study of the period in question. Richerio's work is a history, albeit a short study prepared by a learned Frenchman to satisfy a royal desire to gain more knowledge about the Ottoman Turks. The effort of Richerio to satisfy this need is clear. But leading historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as Paspates, Pears, and Runciman, elevated his history to the status of an eyewitness account and thus a primary source for the events of 1453. Richerio is rather a Renaissance historian who employed a number of sources contemporaneous to his age and produced a creditable brief study.

The contribution of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini emerges as an important text composed from an ecclesiastical perspective. Granted that he has drawn upon extant Renaissance works, some of which are secular in approach and in that context his work is not wholly original, the cardinal's contribution does add an essential church view to our understanding of the siege and fall. Paradoxically, Richerio was familiar with Piccolomini's account and utilized portions of it in his own brief history.

While the first two writers are not contemporaneous with the immediate period of the siege and fall, the Florentine merchant Tetaldi can be labeled an eyewitness to the events of 1453. As a merchant-soldier, he observed and participated in the clashes with the

Turks. Tetaldi held a defensive position on the walls of the imperial city.

Nestor-Iskander, on the other hand, recounts in substantial detail the intense combat in the mid-section of the Theodosian Walls. The essential part of his *Tale* is derived from a diary that he maintained while stationed at the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector. His journal is the solitary source that provides such a rare view and vivid direct details. Until recent decades scholars had denied the work its paramount significance and consigned it to the realm of literature, some even claiming it to be a work of fiction. But a critical analysis of the historical content, the internal evidence concerning personages involved in the fighting, and the details of warfare, establish that the diary portion of the *Tale* is that of a creditable observer and merits recognition for its contribution to our knowledge of the siege and fall. Nestor-Iskander does incorporate legends, notably the account of the fictitious wife of Constantine XI that was based on hearsay or mistaken identity, and had popular vogue. But folk tales were plentiful in this difficult period and satisfied the desires for such literature both of humanists and the Greek population in general.

Often in military conflicts a mythology evolves about personages and events, and the leading figures are enshrined in legends that have little or no factual basis. History and literature from ancient to modern times are replete with such examples. It is not surprising that the fall of Constantinople produced a substantial literature and its last emperor was immortalized in a number of myths and legends, giving credence to a folk history. This body of literature also sought to find counterparts with the ancient past. Thus Constantinople was linked with Troy and Constantine XI with Priam. Even Mehmed II emerges as an avenger of ancient wrongs perpetrated upon Troy and the Ottoman Turks are given a Trojan ancestry, being their direct descendants. At the forefront in the production of this mythology and legends were the secular and religious humanists, both Greek and non-Greek. Their imaginations often expanded to the extreme and their histories were often rewritten and reinterpreted to satisfy this urge to describe and to redescribe the siege and fall of Constantinople. The humanists even invented figures that have no historical reality nor were they participants in the events, but satisfied a popular desire for legendary personages.

The burial place of Constantine XI also has particular meaning in these mythical and legendary accounts. He emerges as the dying and rising emperor, or in some accounts the sleeping emperor who will reawaken to lead his armies in the liberation of his imperial city and regain the empire. Not surprising, then, the mythology and legends to almost the twentieth century list several prominent burial places.

Whether interred in a crypt about the Golden Gate or along the Theodosian Walls, a garden, or in the Church of Hagia Theodosia, now the mosque of Gül Camii (or even in Hagia Sophia, at least his head), all of the oral accounts gained adherents to a particular mythical tradition. The grave of the last emperor has never been discovered and it is unlikely given the extensive rebuilding in Istanbul that the site will be soon discovered. But mythology and legends still play a role and modern Greeks among others remain hopeful to find this precious location sometime in the future.

Not unlike mythology and legends, portents, omens, and various signs foretold the end of empire. They catered to a vast audience in the east and in the west: humanists, churchmen, and in general the domestic and foreign populace. Like the biblical books of Revelation and Apocrypha, men sought knowledge of the end of empire, whatever appealed to their imaginations. Where factual evidence was lacking, they seized upon any and every sign, portent, or omen to arrive at an understanding of the end of emperor and of empire.

As we have demonstrated in the first part, *The Pen*, since the nineteenth century a great deal of scholarly investigation and labor has been devoted to the sources on the siege and fall, and even the sack of Constantinople. More intensive research into these topics has now become imperative. Important accounts still surface and texts that have traditionally assumed to be authentic have been shown to be secondary elaborations and downright forgeries. By contrast, other sources that have been accepted as derivative have now been shown to be primary, such as Nestor-Iskander's Slavonic *Tale*. The last chapter on the siege and fall still needs to be written, as no detailed scholarly analysis has been based on sources that are in fact authentic and reliable. The authoritative book on the siege of 1453 remains to be written by a scholar well versed in this labyrinth of primary, secondary, elaborated, and forged sources that appear in a multitude of languages. The task of a definitive history is in many ways an overwhelming effort, but a worthy undertaking.

Turning to the second part, *The Sword*, we address the interpretations of the numerous Ottoman attempts to seize the imperial city in 1453. The Theodosian Walls, essential to this study, remain a marvel of construction. The topography of the region and the physiognomy of the walls were instrumental in orchestrating Mehmed II's preparations and conduct of assaults upon them. The sultan had toured the walls at a distance the previous year and was aware of their strongest and weakest sectors. The Greeks had attempted to reinforce the weakest sections and to a certain extent they were successful, but the Achilles heel remained the area about the Pempton Gate. Annual flooding over the course of centuries had left this section of the Mesoteikhion reduced to ruins and only a wooden fortification protected entry to this military gate. The gate and towers in the outer wall had long since disappeared and no effort was made to reconstruct them of stone.

Scholarly studies, of a secondary nature, of the Theodosian Walls provide a number of interpretations concerning the walls, gates, and adjacent structures. Especially in the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, historians, architectural historians, archaeologists, and even non-scholars attempted to arrive at new interpretations, often contradicting each other and engaging in endless disputations to support their contentions. Thus gates were renamed or relocated, and artificial argumentation was advanced based often on incomplete investigations. Even adjacent religious and secular structures were misidentified or relocated. Perhaps the most fallacious attempt was to cite primary sources that had questionable validity. These controversies that were generated among researchers extend to the present. Had scholars applied a rigid critical approach to their study of the Theodosian Walls, its military and civil gates, and the location of adjacent structures, much ink would have been saved. And a study of all extant sources, and perhaps a search for new original materials, as well as an onsite study of the physical characteristics of the locations might have led them to arrive at different conclusions.

Unlike the Theodosian Walls and the adjacent structures, the Northwest Fortifications, the three distinctive walls, have received little scholarly notice. Granted these walls are situated in an area with difficult terrain, thus precluding easy movement for invading troops and their artillery. Also the gates within these walls do not lend easy access to the main avenues into the core of the city. Early in the assault, Mehmed II did attempt to employ his artillery against the Kaligaria Gate. The difficulty of the terrain, especially its steepness, made this initial effort futile. Thus he abandoned bombardment of that gate and redirected his attention to the more vulnerable area, the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector of the Mesoteikhion.

Byzantine diplomacy leading up to the siege and during the two-month period was at best tenuous. Constantine XI and his officials were desperate for papal and western aid that would include both material supplies and manpower, but little was forthcoming. Though assistance was promised in some quarters, little reached the imperial city. Sphrantzes played a major role in the conduct of this diplomacy. The personal friend of the emperor, however, remained skeptical of the sultan's intentions from the inception of his rule to the fall of the imperial city. In hindsight, Sphrantzes proved accurate in his estimates of the sultan and of his intentions. But popular opinion in Constantinople and the west was swayed by Mehmed II's modest territorial concessions, viewing this as a sign of seeking accommodation with the Byzantines and perhaps even with the western states. This favorable view of the sultan proved to be short-lived and peace between Byzantium and the Ottoman state was not to be realized. The emperor had little recourse but to seek the aid of Italian city-states and western kingdoms. He and his court did commit missteps, in particular the questions of increased taxation upon Venetians resident in the imperial city and of delaying imperial promulgation of church union that led to strained relations with Venice, the papacy, and others. Sphrantzes, however, remains our major source for Byzantine diplomatic efforts and he attributes the lack of success in obtaining western aid as a primary factor leading to the fall of the city. He was reluctant to admit that imperial missteps determined the degree to which the west was willing to aid the beleaguered city. Yet Venice, Genoa, Rome and other states had a self-interest in the matter and sought to walk a fine line between the Greeks and the Turks. Thus some Venetians and Genoese were active defenders in Constantinople during the siege and the picture that emerges is far more complicated than Sphrantzes would admit.

The role of the papacy was complex prior to and during the siege period. The pope appears to have time and again hesitated in providing substantial aid. His lack of financial resources, men and arms, his reluctance to raise taxes upon his subjects in the Papal States, his suspicion of Orthodoxy and its clergy, among other factors, proved costly to the Greeks. The dispatch to Constantinople of the papal legate Cardinal Isidore, who may have brought with him assurances of papal assistance, was designed in part to allay at least momentarily the apprehensions of the emperor. Constantine XI must have been aware that the pope was limited in his ability to aid directly the Byzantines given the papal expenditures and military failures of the previous decades. But for the papacy the issue of church union outweighed all other factors and thus clouded diplomatic relations between Rome and the New Rome. For the Greeks the celebration of church union in Hagia Sophia was most vexing and unpalatable. A substantial portion of the Greek clergy and laity were unwilling under any circumstances to accept church union and this played well for Mehmed II.

Constantine XI during this phase of diplomatic activity with the Christian states lacked financial resources to hire sufficient forces and purchase weapons from the west. His empty treasury limited his defensive endeavors. Mehmed II, on the other hand, had ample financial resources and manpower to draw upon to wage a prolonged conflict. Thus he was able to hire away Urban, the designer of the bombard or *basilica*, and to construct the fortress of Rumeli Hisar on the western side of the strait. But in neither instance did the great cannon or the fortress play decisive roles in the siege and lead to the fall of the city. The great cannon shattered mid-way through the conflict and his artillery positioned at the fortress was no more than a nuisance factor. Byzantine and foreign shipping were able to evade his artillery at the fortress because the Ottoman Turks were poorly skilled in the techniques of firing at moving objects. The few vessels they did strike may be attributed to "lucky shots."

Ottoman naval activities had a minor function during the siege. Aside from transporting a fleet across Pera, a spectacular event that has been much discussed in historical studies, this achievement gained only some advantage for the sultan. His construction of a bridge across the Golden Horn did enable him to redeploy more rapidly fresh troops and arms from Pera to the sectors along the Theodosian Walls. In general, though, the Turks lacked sufficient training in seamanship and their ability to use weapons at sea is also questionable. Further, their crews lacked confidence in their seaworthiness. Wherever their fleets were positioned, whether in the Golden Horn, in the Bosphorus, or the Sea of Marmara, they had a negligible role in the ultimate outcome. Even in the one perhaps major naval engagement on April 20, the Turks demonstrated a significant lack of naval skills. This explains their defeat and why then Ottoman naval endeavors have been consigned by historians to a minor chapter in the history of the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453. The embarrassments for Ottoman naval forces continued when on the fateful day of May 29, Christian vessels sailed unhindered from the Golden Horn, carrying leading figures, among them commanders, high churchmen, and other notable Byzantine and foreign personages. Mehmed II's naval crews were determined that they would not be denied an opportunity to participate in the plundering of the imperial city. Their greed enabled the western and Byzantine ships to sail away to freedom.

The land conflict along the length of the Theodosian Walls was not at the same level in the assaults upon them nor in the concentration of Ottoman forces and artillery. Given the massive and towering structure of the walls, the Byzantines and their allies required only small artillery pieces to pepper the attackers. Also, the defenders from their high perch could employ smaller military units to resist the massive waves of the armies that Mehmed II launched at some sectors. Constantine XI and his advisors did commit a fundamental error in planning their defensive strategy. They believed that the outer walls were sufficiently sturdy to resist a Turkish assault and positioned their men on these lesser walls. This decision proved detrimental in the final outcome. Notable also is the fact Constantine XI in his attempt to enlist the aid of the papacy and western states was able to procure only a small force of mercenaries. His main line of defense was to rely upon the strength of the walls. It is true that from the Fourth Military Gate southward to the Sea of Marmara, the walls were, relatively speaking, in good condition. Both the inner and outer walls were to a large extent intact, and the moat contained sufficient water to make any land assault difficult for Mehmed's forces and assisted the Byzantine forces in resisting the attackers. In this section of the walls Mehmed relied upon bombardment and occasional skirmishes of small armed groups to occupy the inadequate Byzantine force. The sultan's goal was to thin out the undermanned Byzantine army along a broad sector of fighting.

But the northern half of the Theodosian Walls, from the Fourth Military Gate to the Porphyrogenite Palace, and especially the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector, presented unique problems for the emperor's forces. The outer wall and a moat from the Kharisios Gate northward to the termination of the walls had almost disappeared over time, if in fact there had been an extension of them in this area. The Saint Romanos-Pempton sector had been ravaged by nature over the course of many centuries and offered poor defense against any land assault. The bombard of Urban was positioned against this sector after its failure at the Kaligaria Gate. Though Mehmed had the advantage of being selective in his choice of targets for bombardment and assault, he could exploit the weaknesses of the walls and imperial forces. But the use of bombards failed in the long run to achieve their purpose. The walls were too thick and often the stone shot disintegrated into small pieces without having any significant impact in weakening the walls. The lack of Turkish artillery skills explains as well their failure to bring down large sections of the walls, although some damage was achieved.

In the course of fighting, the Greeks and Turks each employed deception in their assaults and counter-assaults. Each utilized early forms of psychological warfare to confuse their opponent. The Ottoman armies, however, realized that they had overwhelming numbers and ultimately they would overpower the meager force of defenders on the walls. The Turks hoped that through steady pressure the number of defenders would dwindle and their arms would become short in supply.

But Mehmed was not always confident of victory. He feared an infusion of western aid, both men and materials. This is an admission that he could not rely upon his naval forces to intercept and prevent the arrival of fresh forces and supplies. And a significant spy network operated in both camps during the siege period and they were able to plant false notions. The Greeks also believed that western aid was forthcoming and in vain their vessels searched for the reinforcing fleet that had set out too late to be of any consequence.

Even the employment of mining under the Theodosian Walls and of siege towers demonstrated that the sultan depended upon archaic military tactics whose use in this age had limited merit. The Byzantines were adept at detecting mining activities, as evidenced in the Kaligaria sector, and many Ottoman miners were entombed in the tunnels they hoped to construct or were taken prisoner. The Greeks used effective counter measures with small forces to torch siege towers and slaughter their occupants. In neither example were Ottoman forces successful to gain an advantage or a decisive outcome.

Mehmed, therefore, had varied his strategy to seize Constantinople. We have deduced three stages in his military operations. The first relied upon bombards to destroy the walls, but these proved inadequate and his artillery units lacked sufficient knowledge to utilize properly their cannons. Next, Mehmed took the advice of Hungarian ambassadors. Rather than fire head on as a battering ram, the units triangulated their fire and achieved more success in damaging the walls and gates. In the third stage, Mehmed turned to traditional assault methods. But again his forces were repulsed and failed to gain the desired end. After council with his begs, Mehmed resorted to a final desperate measure. He launched a massive attack, employing all of his land forces for a concerted attack.

The turning point in the protracted conflict came with the personal injuries suffered by Giustiniani at the Pempton Gate. When he abandoned his position, perhaps to seek medical assistance, his mercenary force assumed he was withdrawing and they followed him, leaving the Pempton unprotected and exposed for assault. Thus the floodgates had opened for an overwhelming Ottoman invasion. In the end, there was no decisive battle that history can record. This was a fortuitous turn of events for Mehmed's forces and spelled victory over a brave, but inadequate force. In this inglorious manner the imperial city fell to the *Fatih*, the Conqueror.

A thorough history of the Theodosian Walls, of the Byzantine and Ottoman navy, of the Byzantine and Ottoman land forces, their weapons, whether hand or artillery, of the principal figures – the generals, begs, mercenary commanders, valorous individuals, and units, still lacks thought-provoking scholarly attention. As with the primary sources addressed in Part I, so also the primary and mainly secondary works addressing the siege and fall phase have not devoted the consideration the topics merit. The historiography, then, of this the end of empire and its last emperor pleads for a thorough study, one based on all materials at hand and not a selective reading of sources that leads to erroneous conclusions.

# APPENDICES

# I: Ephemeris of the Siege

## I. A General Ephemeris

**End of August 1452:** Completion of Rumeli Hisar, also known as Boğazkesen [Laimokopie], Başkesen, Neokastron [Castello Novo] on the European side of the Bosporus, across the strait from Bayezid I's fortress, Anadolu Hisar. Command of Rumeli Hisar is given to Firuz Beg, with orders to board all ships from the Black Sea traveling to Constantinople. Emperor Constantine XI dispatches ambassadors to Pope Nicholas V, to various states in Italy, to Hungary, and to John Corvinus Hunyadi, seeking help for the upcoming siege. Urban begins construction of his bombard(s) for Sultan Mehmed II.

**August 28–September 3, 1452:** The sultan brings his army before the land fortifications of Constantinople and completes an inspection on the condition of the walls before returning to Adrianople to mobilize his forces.

**Beginning of October 1452:** Mehmed II initiates a raid upon the despotate of Morea [Peloponnese] to prevent the regional despots and the brothers of Constantine XI from sending aid to Constantinople.

Gabriel Trevisan and Zaccaria Grioni with two well-equipped galleys from the Black Sea arrive in Constantinople.

**October 26, 1452:** The arrival in Constantinople of Cardinal Isidore [formerly the metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus'] accompanied by the archbishop of Mytilene, Leonardo Giustiniani of Chios, with a small contingent of two hundred mercenaries.

**November 1452:** George Scholarios [Patriarch Gennadios II under the sultan after the sack] publishes his fiery manifesto against the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches on the main door of the Pammakaristos Convent.

**November 10, 1452:** Two galleys in the Black Sea under the orders of Girolamo Morosini from Caffa effectively elude the artillery of Rumeli Hisar and enter the harbor of Constantinople.

**November 16, 1452:** Another embassy from Constantine XI arrives in Venice. The *Serenissima* sends a letter to Pope Nicholas V.

**November 25, 1452:** The authorities in Genoa receive a report from

Pera outlining their fears that the sultan is about to attack Constantinople. Genoa dispatches letters to the pope, to France, and elsewhere, seeking aid for Constantinople.

**November 26, 1452:** The ship of Antonio Rizzo [or Errizo] is sunk by a direct hit from a bombard stationed at Rumeli Hisar. Rizzo is captured and sent to Didymoteikhon. An embassy headed by Fabruzzi Corner is sent to intercede but Rizzo is impaled upon order of the sultan on December 8.

**November 27, 1452:** George Scholarios publishes a new manifesto against the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

**November 29, 1452:** Genoa dispatches another embassy to the pope and to Naples.

**End of November 1452:** The arrival of eight cargo vessels transporting wine and five transporting provisions from Candia [Crete]. Four additional ships arrive from Chios and one from the Morea.

**Beginning of December 1452:** Constantine XI dispatches embassies to the pope, to other states in Italy, and to the Morea. The reinforcement of the land fortifications is resumed. Giacomo Coco and his galley from Trebizond successfully elude the bombards of Rumeli Hisar and enter safely into the harbor of Constantinople.

**December 12, 1452:** The celebration of the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Hagia Sophia under the direction of Cardinal Isidore. The imperial court and nobility participate, but the anti-unionists clergy and laymen boycott the event.

**December 14–16, 1452:** Upon the insistence of Cardinal Isidore and Emperor Constantine XI, the Council of Ten of the Venetian community meets and decides, but with reservations and with the protest of numerous galley captains, to keep all Venetian vessels in the harbor for its defense during the upcoming siege.

**December 17–19, 1452:** The Venetian assembly in Constantinople decides to dispatch messages, by sea and land, to Venice, requesting help for the upcoming siege. A ship is dispatched with Giovanni Diusnagi. More letters of appeal to the European courts are sent.

**Beginning of January 1453:** The general mobilization of Ottoman forces and the test of Urban’s bombard(s) in the vicinity of Adrianople with satisfactory results.

**January 2, 1453:** Genoa decides to assign funds for the equipment of a ship, under the command of Battista da Feliciano, with two hundred soldiers and provisions, and to dispatch her to Constantinople.

**January 26, 1453:** The arrival in Constantinople of the Genoese *condottiere* Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani with a band of well-equipped mercenaries hired in Chios. Giustiniani is appointed *dux militiae*/πρωτοστράτωρ and he assumes command of the land defenses.

**End of January 1453:** The Ottoman artillery and the large bombard(s) of Urban begin their long journey to Constantinople. Ottoman forces attack the Greek strongholds of Mesembria and Selybria. In March Selybria falls.

**Beginning of February 1453:** Constantine XI receives intelligence information from Mehmed II’s vizier, Halil Candarlı, that the sultan intends to attack. The Greek court sends an embassy to the Porte with an offer of tribute, but it is rejected.

**February 4, 1453:** The *Serenissima* dispatches more urgent letters to Pope Nicholas V and to Alfonso of Aragon in Naples.

**February 15–19, 1453:** The *Serenissima* decides to dispatch ships to assist in the defense of Constantinople.

**February 24, 1453:** The *Serenissima* dispatches letters to the pope and other Christian potentates, including Alfonso of Naples and the king of Hungary, with appeals to aid Constantinople.

**February 26, 1453:** Against the decision of December 14–16, 1452, Piero Davanzo flees under the cover of darkness with his ship from the harbor of Constantinople. Along with Davanzo, six ships from Candia [Crete] desert Constantinople.

**Beginning of March 1453:** The *Serenissima* debates the appointment of a captain general over the armada that is to proceed to Constantinople’s aid.

**March 14, 1453:** With the assistance of the Venetian crews from the galleys of Alvise Diedo and Gabriel Trevisan, the task of deepening the moat around Constantinople’s land fortifications commences and repairs are completed in the vicinity of the Xyloporta, the Palace of Blakhernai, and the Tower of Anemas. The work is completed by March 31.

**March 21, 1453:** Alfonso V of Naples sends a letter to Constantine XI after he receives the emperor's ambassadors in audience.

**March 27, 1453:** Venice allocates additional funds for the equipment of an armada that will be sent for the relief of Constantinople.

**March 31, 1453:** The reinforcement of the land walls and the moat is completed.

**End of March-Beginning of April 1453:** The first deployment of commanders in sensitive sectors throughout the walls:

A. **The Land Walls** (from south to north):

1. **Golden Gate** [*Aurea Porta,* Χρυσῆ, Kapalı Kapı]: Andronikos Kantakouzenos.

2. **Fortress of Seven Towers** [Ἑπταπύργιον, Yedi Kule]: Catarino Contarini.

3. **Golden Gate** to **Selybria/Fountain Gate** [Πηγή, Silivri Kapı]: Maurizio Cataneo with 200 crossbowmen.
4. **Selybria/Fountain Gate**: Nikolaos Goudeles, Battista Gritti (and/or perhaps Nicolo Mocenigo).
5. **Polyandrion/Myriandrion Gate** [Πολυανδρίου-Μυριανδρίου, Mevlevi Hane]: Paolo, Troilo, and Antonio Bocchiardi.

6. **Gate of Saint Romanos** [Ἁγίου Ρωμανοῦ, Top Kapı]: John Kantakouzenos (and/or perhaps Andronikos Longinos).
7. **Pempton** [Πέμπτον, Hücum Kapısı] to **Adrianople/Kharsia Gate** [Χαρσία- Χαρσίου- Ἀδριανουπόλεως, Cressu, Edirne Kapı]: Constantine XI and Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani with his band of professional mercenaries from Chios.
8. **Adrianople/Kharsia Gate**: Leontaris Bryennios and Fabruzzi Corner.

9. **Kaligaria Gate** [Καλιγαρίας, Eğri Kapı]: Theodoros Karystenos, Emmanuel Goudeles, Leonardo da Langasco, John Grant and Girolamo Italiano.

10. **Kaligaria Gate** to **Xyloporta** [Ξυλόπορτα] and the Golden Horn: Theophilos Palaiologos, and perhaps Zaccaria Grioni.
11. **Blakhernai Palace**: Girolamo Minotto, the Venetian *bailo,* and his secretary Giovanni Giorgi from Vicenza.

12. **Wooden Gate** [Ξυλόπορτα]: Manuel Palaiologos.

B. **The Sea Walls** (north to south, along the Golden Horn; today only traces of these fortifications remain):
1. **Kynegos Gate** to **Phanarion Gate**: Gabriel Trevisan and Giorgio

di Nicolo da Drivasto with four hundred men.

2. **Phanarion Gate**: Alexios Dishypatos.
3. **Phanarion Gate** to **Imperial Gate**: Ludovico and Antonio Bembo with one hundred and fifty men.
4. **Imperial Gate**: Loukas Notaras with one hundred horsemen.
5. **Hagia Theodosia Gate**: Bamblaco [= John Vlakhos?].
6. **Ispigas Gate** [*Putea*, Εἰς Πηγάς]: Palaiologos Metokhites [Theodoros Palaiologos Metokhites?].
7. **Platea Gate**: Philanthropenos.
8. **Hagios Demetrios Sector** [*Sancti Demetri* (*sc. regio*)]: Cardinal Isidore and Archbishop Leonardo Giustiniani.
9. **Boukoleon Gate**: The Catalan Consul with the Catalans.
10. **Holy Apostles**: Headquarters for mobile, auxiliary regiments on horseback.

**April 2, 1453:** The chain/boom blocking the entrance to Constantinople's harbor is lowered into place by the Venetian Bartolomeo da Soligo.

**April 4–6, 1453:** The arrival and initial deployment of the Ottoman forces:

1. **Golden Gate** to **Myriandrion/Polyandrion Gate**: Işak Pasha, the *Beglerbeg* of Anatolia and his Anatolian regiments.
2. **Myriandrion/Polyandrion Gate** to **Adrianople/Kharsia**: Mehmed II, Halil Candarlı, and the janissaries.
3. **Adrianople/Kharsia** to **Xyloporta:** Karaca, the *Beglerbeg* of Rumeli.
4. **Facing Xyloporta** from the bluffs of Pera across the Golden Horn: Zaganos.

**April 5, 1453:** The probable arrival of Mehmed II.

**April 7, 1453:** The initial deployment of the Ottoman (light) artillery.

**April 9, 1453:** Nine Venetian vessels are deployed to defend the boom/chain guarding the entrance to the Golden Horn and Constantinople's harbor.

**April 11, 1453:** Deployment of Ottoman heavy artillery against the following sectors (with later adjustments):

1. Three bombards against Blakhernai, that is, mainly against the Heraclian sector of the walls.
2. Three bombards against the Pege Gate.
3. Two bombards against the Adrianople/Kharisios Gate.
4. Four bombards against the sector of the Gate of Saint Romanos,

and/or perhaps the Pempton.

**April 12, 1453:** The arrival of the Ottoman armada and their assembly at Diplokionion.

**April 18, 1453:** The first main assault by Turkish regiments shortly after midnight.

**April 20, 1453:** The arrival of three Genoese merchantmen from Chios, and an imperial cargo vessel from Sicily, with provisions, armament, and some soldiers. Naval battle against the Ottoman armada and the successful passage of Christian ships with insignificant casualties.

**April 21, 1453:** Dismissal of the Ottoman admiral. Bombardment against the sector of Saint Romanos intensifies.

**April 22, 1453:** Transfer of 50–70 Ottoman light ships over the hills of Pera to the Golden Horn and the harbor of Constantinople, bypassing the boom/chain guarding the entrance to the port.

**April 23, 1453:** Construction of a pontoon bridge to transfer Ottoman troops from the Pera to Kynegos/Aivansarai, placing more pressure upon the sea walls. The transfer of Byzantine troops from the land to the sea walls, weakening the defenses of the western fortifications. Debate occurs within the imperial court over defensive maneuvers to neutralize the Ottoman boats within the Golden Horn. Plan to attack the Ottoman fleet by Alvise Diedo postponed, as the Genoese required time to make preparations. Betrayal of the plan to the Ottoman command, perhaps by the Genoese of Pera.

**April 28, 1453**: In the early hours of the day an Ottoman victory over Giacomo Coco and his fire ships that intended to burn the Ottoman vessels within the Golden Horn. The massacre of prisoners by both sides the following morning.

**End of April:** Possible Ottoman embassy headed by Ismail Isfendiyaroğlu, requesting the surrender of Constantinople.

**May 3, 1453:** A small vessel is dispatched to the Aegean to search for the Venetian relief column. After a fruitless search the crew decides to return with the sad news. Rumors spread within the Ottoman camp, reporting the imminent arrival of John Corvinus Hunyadi. A division of opinion within the Ottoman command: Halil Candarlı and the peace faction propose withdrawal; the pro-war faction headed by Zaganos insists on the continuation of the siege.

**May 5, 1453:** Various courtiers and commanders urge Constantine XI to leave the city and to summon aid from abroad. The emperor refuses to abandon Constantinople. The sultan deploys additional cannons along the eastern shores of the Golden Horn and sinks the Genoese cargo ship of Centurione.

**May 7, 1453:** The second main assault against the land walls by the Ottoman army.

**May 9, 1453:** The land walls are so weakened by troop transfers to the sea walls that the crew of Gabriel Trevisan (with the approval of the Council of the Twelve) is redistributed to man the land fortifications.

**May 10, 1453:** The Council of the Twelve meets at Hagia Maria. Alvise Diedo is appointed captain general of the sea. As the admiral of the Venetians in Constantinople, he takes command of the defense of the harbor.

**May 12, 1453:** At midnight, the Ottoman army launches the third main assault against the land walls. Once again Constantine XI is asked to leave the city by his commanders and he refuses.

**May 13, 1453:** Venetian sailors under the command of Gabriel Trevisan take their positions at the land walls, perhaps in the vicinity of the Gate of Kynegon, to reinforce the defenders.

**May 14, 1453:** Turkish bombards positioned beyond the Golden Horn target the sea walls and the Gate of Kynegon, perhaps reacting to the new deployment of defenders. Large bombards are deployed against the sector of Saint Romanos, the Kaligaria Gate, and the Golden Gate.

**May 16, 1453:** A number of Turkish brigantines attempt to force their way into the harbor through the chain/boom. The defenders discover the first Turkish land mine near the Kaligaria Gate and neutralize it with a counter-mine constructed under the expert guidance of Giustiniani’s chief military engineer, John Grant.

**May 17, 1453:** Five small Turkish vessels (*fustae*) threaten the boom/chain at the entrance to the harbor, but their attempt is easily repelled. Intense bombardment against the land fortifications continues.

**May 18, 1453:** A high, mobile, wooden siege tower is constructed by the Turks and directed against the Selybria/Pege/Silivri Gate. The defenders make a sortie, hand-to-hand combat takes place outside the fortifications, and the tower is burned.

**May 21, 1453:** The Ottoman armada moves in full strength against the chain/boom, perhaps as a decoy, while sappers dig another mine in the vicinity of the Kaligaria Gate. The maneuver fails and their mine is neutralized by another counter-mine.

**May 22, 1453:** A third Ottoman mine in the sector of the Kaligaria Gate is detected and destroyed; a fourth mine is discovered elsewhere and neutralized. The defenders note ill omens and signs of impending doom.

**May 23, 1453:** The Venetian vessel that had departed on May 3 to search for the relief column from Venice returns to report the absence of any allied fleet near the Dardanelles. Heavy bombardment continues. A fifth mine is detected and neutralized in the Kaligaria sector. There is low morale within the city. A possible embassy from Mehmed II asking for the surrender of the city; his offer is rejected.

**May 24, 1453:** A sixth mine is detected and destroyed in the Kaligaria sector.

**May 25, 1453:** A seventh mine is detected and destroyed within the Kaligaria sector, posing the most serious threat of all mining thus far. Heavy bombardment continues. Additional signs of doom and of divine wrath lower morale even further within the city. Mehmed II summons his *divan* and receives support for a final assault, even though the peace faction of his Porte argues for immediate withdrawal. The sultan begins planning his final assault.

**May 26, 1453:** A religious procession within the city, as the inhabitants seek miracles. Religious observances are conducted within the Turkish camp.

**May 27, 1453:** Throughout the night the Turks burn bonfires and play musical instruments. The besieged are terrified.

**May 28, 1453:** Mehmed II announces that the general assault will take place early the next morning. He visits the fleet at Diplokionion, fine-tuning its operations during the assault. Quarrel between Giustiniani and Notaras over the deployment of bombards. Possible address of the emperor to his immediate staff.

**May 29, 1453:** The final assault is launched in three waves, three hours before dawn. Two waves are beaten back. During the assault by the third wave Giustiniani is wounded and withdraws to his ship in the harbor. His departure creates confusion and precipitates panic among the defenders at the Pempton, who rush after the warlord and his departing band. Press at the gate ensues and defenders trample each other to death. The Turks overrun the fortifications and gain access to the great wall. They attack the remaining defenders from above. Death of the emperor; circumstances are unknown. Pockets of resistance continue but all sectors are overwhelmed and the Turks open the gates from the inside, after which they overrun the outer defenses and stockades. The sack of Constantinople begins and continues for three days. By midday Pera surrenders its keys and eventually receives an *aman-name* from Mehmed II, signed by Zaganos. The Venetian ships break the chain and depart about midday. Some Genoese vessels escape by nightfall.

## II. The Latin Ephemeris of Nicolò Barbaro[1]

***Nicolai Barbari***
***Patricii Veneti***

### *Ephemerides de Constantinopoli Anno 1453 Obsessa atque Expugnata*

*Est ista narratio opus viri, qui, quae ipse vidit eo tempore quo Byzantium a Turcis obsidebatur, summa cura referre videtur. Quaecunque enim inde a 5 Aprilis usque ad 29 Maii evenerunt, ab auctore per dierum notatorum ordinem tam exacte memoriae prodita sunt, ut nesciam an ab alio exactius. Hinc visum est narrationem Barbari ordine chronologico in medium proferre, ita tamen, ut in quo a caeteris rerum Turcicarum scriptoribus differt, lectoribus in mentem revocemus. Id obiter dicamus quod* Ephemerides *Barbari, antiqua Venetorum dialecto scriptae, a linguae bene Italiana multum discrepant. Quare traductio accurata eaque Italica hujus documenti inter res maxime optandas ponenda nobis videtur. Id quoque non silentio praeteribo quod praeter dialecti differentiam, auctor patricius, Venetiis ipsis oriundus, saepissime contra quidquid ad Genuam* (Zenovexe, *ut ipse loquitur) attinet, manifesta ira invehitur, in quo nec Justiniano ipsi parcit; quare auctor noster caute legendus erit, ubi de Genuensibus sermo est. Ephemerides causam et praeludium belli pro auctoris arbitrio particulari referunt.*

***1452. Martio.*** *Mahometes sultan* (Machomet bej) *cum 40 navium classe Callipoli relicta in Bosporum* (boca de mar mazor) *se confert, castellum Bogasum Kes., 6 mill. Ital. A Constantinopoli distans constructurus.*

*Medio deia Augusto sultan in castello ad finem perducto duorum ab imperatore Graeco legatorum capita praecidit et sic bellum inchoavit. Hinc*

*cum 50000 mil. exercitu per tres dies urbem cingit. Mari quoque eodem tempore classis Callipolim repetit, ineunte Septembre.*

***Nov. 26.*** *Navis Antonii Rizii, a Ponto Euxino reversa, quia salutationem militarem omisit, bombardae grandioris ictu mergitur; nauclerus post 14 dierum captivitatem sultani jussu ad palum adigitur, accito inter palatinos scriba, Dominici Maistri filio; nautis, paucis exceptis, qui Constantinopolin missi sunt, serra per medium corpus divisis. Sunt qui dicant causam fuisse belli contra Venetos Fabr. Cornarum infecta re Constantinopoli reversum.*

***1453.*** *Hinc inde Barbarus res quasdam extra temporis rationem narrat. Mense Jan. 1453 sult<anus> vim pedestrem ac navalem maximam urbi admovet. Mense Februario tormenta, decem millium cohorte stipante, prope urbem adducit. Eodem mense Graeci cum tribus navigiis Turciam intrant, ac captivos Constantinopoli vendunt, sultani iram accendentes.*

***1452.*** *Mentio duarum triremium Venetarum duce Gabriele Trevisano C<onstantino>polin appulsarum, quae jussu senatus Veneti tria navigia oneraria a mari Azovico profecta comitabantur. Navis item Genuensis a papa missa memoratur Isidorum cardinalem* (el gardenal de Rosia) *gestans utramque Ecclesiam conciliaret, 200 sagittariis stipantibus, qui urbem male habitam defenderent; octo item naves cum commeatu a Creta aderant.*

***Nov. 10.*** *Duo magna navigia e Chersoneso Taurica venientia duce Hieronymo Morosino* (Jeroluemo Morexini) *Turcis e castello clamantibus ut anchoras jacerent, aegerrime obedientes mortem tamen effugerunt. Haec ubi Barbarus retulit, ordine protinus chronologico ut antea progreditur.*

***Dec. 2.*** *Castelli Turcici milites praesidiarii triremem Venetam Jac. Coco duce Trapezunte* (Trabexonda) *venientem male tractant; quae tamen incolumis C<onstantino>polin pervenit.*

***1452. Dec. 12 et 13.*** *Ecclesiae utriusque unio in S. Sophiae ecclesia solemniter confirmata. Imperator, cardinalis Russorum, episcopus Mitylenes* (Leonardus Chiensis) *et Graecorum barones in eadem ecclesia de necessitate deliberant naves Venetas in auxilium urbis retinendi.*

***Dec. 14.*** *Sequitur quidquid viva voce ac scripto inter cardinalem, episcopum Mitylenensem, magistratus Graecos, praetorem Venetum, naucleros ac 21 spectatissimos in urbe C<onstantino>poli Venetos deliberatum fuit, additumque decretum ut memoratae triremes Byzantium ne relinquerent.* (*Conf. Phrantz. 238*).

***Dec. 17–20.*** *Duodecim viri nobilium Venetorum post maturam deliberationem decernunt qua ratione ac modo recens decreta senatui*

*Veneto deferenda sint.*

***1453. Jan. 26.*** *Veneti cum imperatore paciscuntur, ea lege ut ipsorum naves sine hujus permissu urbem ne deserant, et ut onerandi eas atque exonerandi facultas eis semper praesto sit.*

*Eodiem die Justinianus, Genua profectus cum duobus navigiis et 700 militibus auxiliariis, venit C<onstantino>polin, et ab imperatore dux copiarum pedestrium et praefectus urbis occidentalis ab exercitu sultanico oppugnatae declaratur.*

***Feb. 26.*** *Una navium Venetarum quae vi pacti abire non debebant, ducta a P. Davanzo cum 6 navibus emporeticis vento secundo adjuta e portu evasit.*

***Mart. 14.*** *Imperatori hoc sollicitanti dux triremium Tanensium remiges suos ad locorum munitionem et ad palatium prope portam cynegeticam circumvallandum abhibendos tradit.*

***Mart. 31.*** *Eodem porto sancti Sabbati die, qui quidem cum 29 Maii, qui Martis dies erat, cogruit, remiges, jubente Diedo, navis patrono, coram imperatore et magnatibus fossas faciunt.*

***April. 2.*** *Barthol. Soligus, imperatore ita jubente, portus ostium C<onstantino>polin inter ac Peram famosa ista catena ferrea (quae exacte describitur) occludit.*

*Imperator, quatuor Venetorum nobilibus hoc rogantibus, quatuor praecipuarum urbis portarum versus continentem custodiam tradit, portam Crescam* (χρυσῆν?) *Catarino Contarino; secundam Fabr. Cornaro; tertium quae* τῆς Πηγῆς *nominatur Nic. Mozenigo, Blachernarum denique portam Dolphino.*

*Sequuntur nomina 68 nobilium Venetorum qui urbi obsessae aderant, inter quos auctor Ephemeridum nominatur medicus navium Tanensium.*

***April. 5.*** *Sultanus Mahometes cum 160 militibus 2 1/2 mill. Ital. ab urbe castra metatur.*

***April. 6.*** *Hinc ad milliare unum ad muros mari objectos procedit et paulo abhinc in regione urbis occidentali inde a porta Aurea usque ad Cynegeticam per 6 mill. Ital. Castra ponit.*

*Sub eodem die imperator cum multis nobilibus equitibusque ad portam Auream; praetor autem Minottus cum plurimis Venetis mercatoribus in palatio imperatorio loca sua occupasse traduntur. Legimus insuper quod magnus Dux, primum secundum imperatorem locum tenens portui praefuit, ubi 100 ei equi parati stabant; quod muri maritimi custodia monachis duce Manuele Giagaro* (Ἴαγρον *Graeci appellant) ac Neophyto Rhodensis* *commissa fuit; quod denique alia quaedam urbis regio Dorgano (qui procul dubio idem est cum principe Orchano) et mercenariorum cohorti Turcarum qui a sultano defecerant, custodienda fuit tradita: quae omnia sicut alia quae modo retulimus, cum Phrantzae relatione comparare ac discutere supersedemus.*

*Eodem die imperator classiarios qui tres supra dictas Venetorum triremes Tanenses, ut et duas alias, quibus Trevisanus praeerat, agmine facto procedere jussit, ut et urbis incolis animum adderet et hostibus metum injiceret.*

***April. 9.*** *Concione convocata de classe bene atque utiliter adhibenda deliberant. Inde novem aut decem naves grandiores una cum ducibus nominantur: (5 Genuenses, 3 Cretenses, 1 Anconensis, 1 imperatoria); quae omnes certamini futuro destinatae magnum portus catenam cingunt, dum in superiori portus regione 17 aliae reservantur; inter eas 3 triremes Tanenses cum duabus aliis Venetorum communi securitati consecratae, et 5 imperatoriae malo armisque denudatae recensentur.*

***April. 11.*** *Sultanus tormenta ante muros mari oppositos quadrapartita ponit* (cf. [Pseudo]-*Phrantzes, qui scribit:* Ἐν τόποις τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα τὰ τείχη τῆς Πόλεως ἔτυπτον). *Tres deinde bombardae ad imperatoris palatium Blachernense; item tres contra portam* τῆς Πηγῆς *duae in portam Auream, et quatuor in S. Romani portam directae sunt; e quibus ingens illa 1200 librarum et alia 800 librarum memorantur.*

***April. 12–17.*** *Duodecimo die Apr. (sec. Phrantzen quinto decimo) classis Turcarum e regione portus C<onstantino>politani anchoras jacit, cujus, Barbaro auctore, numerus fuit 145, e quibus 12 triremes plane armatae, 70–80 liburnae majores, 20–25 parandariae (onerariae in belli usum), caeterae actuariae traduntur. Huc adde navigium onerarium aeneis globis (verisimilius autem lapidibus projectilibus), materie bellica onustum Sinopense. Classis Turcica longe ab urbe littus Anatolicum tenet. Qui in urbe obsidentur aggressionem hostium in armis assiduo exspectant. Intus praeter tormenta indesinenter explosa et leves contra Janissarios pugnas nihil memoratu fit dignum.*

***April. 18.*** *Ea quae diem Aprilis decimum octavum praecessit nocte aggressio Turcarum primo a Graecis paululum tremefactis repellitur; occidere Turcae plusquam ducenti.*

***April. 20.*** *Vicesimo obsidionis die quatuor Genuensium naves auxiliares Hellespontum intrant, quae post 2 aut 3 horarum pugnam Turcarum aggressionem fortuna adjuti repellunt; sole dein occidente obsessorum* *triremes Genuensibus obviae hos cum jubilo ac musices concentu in portum intromittunt.*

**April. 21.** *Mahometes cum 10000 equitibus ad classem procedit, in copiarum navalium praefectum acerbe invehitur et vita incolumi munus abdicare jubet; cui Petri Lauredani filius jactabundae memoriae (fortasse rei Venetae desertor aliquis) classi praeficitur.*

*Ad eundem diem dira vastatio ab hostium projectilibus in regione occidentali facta, turris ad S. Romani portam sitae ruina; conamina obsessorum ad reficiendum damnum referuntur.*

**April. 22.** *Die Dom. Turcarum hoc die naves 5 mill. Ital. itinere terrestri a Bosporo in portum C<onstantino>politanum transportantur. Auctor noster non sine animi aegritudine refert, 72 naves armatas cylindris impositas per montem cui Pera ad septentrionem insidet, a lixis et plebecula Turcica manibus tractas fuisse. C<onstantino>politani in urbe inclusi, quorum paucis navibus utrinque periculum ab hostium classe imminet, triremem unam praesidii loco ad fretum quod Perae adjacet ponunt, navali praefecto signum daturam, ubi hostes forte aggressionem conarentur.*

**April. 23.** *In aede S. Mariae (Hodegetriae, ut videtur) viri ad hoc convocati deliberant quomodo hostium naves e portu ejiciendae forent.*

**April. 24.** *Dom<i>nus Jac. Cocus, triremis illius Trapezuntinae patronus, duas naves onerarias, comitantibus duabus triremibus armat. Sed Genuensium Peram habitantium praefectus ea de re sultanum certiorem facit; ac Genuenses ipsi, homines perfidissimi, cum ducibus Venetis hosce permovent ut propositum conamen alii nocti reservarent, auxilium suum pollicendo, re vera autem Turcis omnibus viribus auxilium laturi.*

**April. 25–27.** *Hoc temporis intervallo quo nil memoratu dignum accidit. Barbarus infortunia ulteriora Numinis divini ultionem esse opinatur ob peccata quorum aetas ista rea est.*

**April. 28.** *Ea nocte duae triremes Gabr. Trevisano et Hier. Morosino equite atque Jac. Coco ducibus, Turcarum naves in portu igne cremandi spe destituuntur. Fusius id conamen Barbarus quam caeteri omnes narrat.*

**April. 29.** *Navarchus Diedus ducem triremis Trapezuntinae in Coci destituti locum Dolphinum nominat; cui in custodienda Blachernum porta Jo. Lauredanus substituitur. Quae damna obsidentes obsessis inferunt, ab hisce illico reparantur. Nihil praeterea quod memoria dignum sit, actum in mense Aprili.*

**Maii 1–2.** *Idem de duobus hisce diebus dicendum. Alimentorum in urbe penuria.*

***Maii 3–4.*** *C<onstantino>politani hostibus in portu duas bombardas opponunt; Turcae duas ejusdem generis machinas ponunt. Per decem dein dies ac totidem noctes utrinque tormenta sudant sine effectu memorabili. Imperatoris jussu navis actuaria versus Negroponti insulam mittitur, Venetorum classem exquisitura et a J. Lauredano postulatura ut urbi in extremis agenti sine mora succurreret. Et haec quidem sub vexillo Turcico et simulato Turcarum vestimento Archipelagum pervadit, sed re infecta C<onstantino>polin revertitur.*

***Maii 5.*** *Turcae plures bombardas in monte Perae imminente sistunt, atque inde hostium naves in portu per totam catenae magnae longitudinem tormentis petunt. Et tertius quidem aeneus globus projectus Genuensem navem mercibus ac commeatu plenam in maris ima detrudit. Christianorum inde naves Perae moenia non sine damno repetunt. Turcae postquam eadem tormenta Kynegion versus sine effectu direxissent, postremo iis quae moenia interiora tegebant, addidere.*

***Maii 6.*** *Haec quoque Dominica die tormenta perpetuo fulminant.*

***Maii 7.*** *Aggressio nocturna a 30000 Turcis facta fortiter repellitur; in qua clamores stupendi ad Anatolicum usque mare pervadentes fecerunt ut urbis defensores terra marique ad pugnam se accingerent. Nil tamen a Turcis ultra tentatum, nisi quod abiturientes ignem portae Palatinae subdunt; quam deinde Graeci muro obstruunt. Naves priori circa catenam statione potitae sunt.*

***Maii 8.*** *Decretum a Duodecimviris est ut triremes Tanenses exoneratae in armamentarium transportarentur. Navibus sic exonerandis armata manu obsistunt, ne sub arbitrium Graecorum caderent, triremes dicentes sibi pro domibus esse; mari, neque vero in continenti sibi vivendum aut moriendum esse. Haec sententia vicit; et ipsi et navarchus in littore Peratico remanent. Tormenta circa portam S. Romani perpetuo globos projiciunt.*

***Maii 9.*** *Dom. Gabr. Trevisanus ex voluntate Duodecimvirorum sic jubentium 400 milites e duabus triremibus arcessitos muro terrestri custodiendo impendit.*

***Maii 10.*** *In concione habita a duodecim viris in aede S. Mariae Dom. Diedus navarchus classis ea lege designatur, ut portus totiusque rei maritimae curam pro libito gerat.*

***Maii 11.*** *Item tormentorum funestus labor.*

***Maii 12.*** *Turcae 50000 cum solitis clamoribus et strepitu tympanorum tibiarumque dissono clangore murum circa palatium situm adoriuntur; sed misericordia Jesu Christi perniciem extremam ab urbe haec vice avertit,* quia, ut Barbarus opinatur, C<onstantino>polis excidium secundum S. imper. Constantini prophetiam non praesenti, sed ulteriori lunae phasi reservatum esse.

**Maii 13.** Dom. Trevisanus classis praefectus cum militibus suis ad terram moenia defensurus laesa appellit. Eo loco ad expugnatam usque urbem non recedit. Secundum Phrantzem inter Kynegion et palatium Caesareum pastorem se, non mercenarium gessit. Tormentorum per id tempus non interruptus ignis contra murum occidentalem.

**Maii 14.** Turcae, ut jam vidimus, tormenta a monte Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου per Peram versum Κυνηγίου portam e regione portus trahunt, et postmodum pone portam S. Romani ponunt, ubi murus pessime laborabat, quamvis obsessi damnis illatis pro viribus mederi studerent. Trecenti viri maximam partem pyrotechnitae et sagittarii istam portam occupant, omnes peregrini, exceptis Graecis, quorum pusillanimitatem auctor noster severe castigat.

**Maii 15.** Tormentorum irrequieta explosio et partium inde laesarum sedula reparatio; caeterum induciae.

**Maii 16.** Turcarum aliquot naves actuariae catenae circa portum appropinquant et obsessorum naves adoriuntur; subito autem metu ne repellantur inviti, retro abeunt. Cuniculi a Turcis effossi circa portam Kaligariam a Magno duce detecti frustratique.

**Maii 17.** Quinque Turcarum naves explorandi ergo ad catenam usque portus procedunt, sed 70 ictibus iisque irritis excepti qua maxima poterant celeritate aufugiunt. At omnes metuunt ne hostis totis viribus urbem adoriatur, cui resisti posse omnes desperabant.

**Maii 18.** Turcae per noctis spatium machinas illas turritas, a Barbaro quoque nostro cum admiratione memoratas, conficiunt; nec satis mirari potuit Turcas id quatuor horis confecisse quod omnes Christiani C<onstantino>polin habitantes totius mensis spatio facere nequivissent. De summa hac arce Turcae immane quantam saggitarun molem in urbem projecerunt, ut qui intus essent extremo timore afficerentur.

**Maii 19.** Hoc demum tempore pons conjunctis navibus confectus a Galata ad Kynegion exsistere coepit, ut Barbarus dicit; secundum Phrantzem vero post naves transportatas locum habuerit, ut taceamus chronologiam confusionem Leonardi, qui eum ante pugnam navalem factum esse cum totius mensis differentia censet. Certe Ducas hac in re cum Barbaro nostro propius consentit. Turcae globos aereos in hostes torquere et aerem clamoribus replere non desistunt; obsessi damna illata reparant.

**Maii 20.** *Barbarus inclusorum conatus ut muros hiantes reficerent refert, cui operi mulieres, pueri, senes, ecclesiastici vires suas impendebant. Mentionem praeterea ingentis illius machinae facit 1200 lbr. lapides emittentis, et qua inflammata non moenia tantum, sed urbis pavimentum ac naves in portu vehementissime concutiebantur.*

**Maii 21.** *Tota classis hostium diu ante solis ortum aggressionem minatur; postquam autem obsessorum navigia ad pugnandum parata circa magnam catenam vidissent, nihil tentarunt, imo recesserunt.*

*Itidem cuniculum a Turcis suffossum ubi detexissent prope portam Caligariam, obstruxerunt, fossoresque trucidarunt. Nihilo secius hocce die murus et turris ipsi propinquus admodum laesa sunt, et qui intra urbem erant, indefesso labore atque aerumnis membra aegra habebant.*

**Maii 22.** *Cuniculus prope portam Caligariam denuo obstructus spem fossorum fefellit. Miro autem coelesti spectaculo conspecto (Barbarus communem lunae ellipsim nuncupat), C<onstantino>politani, prophetiae Constantini imp. Memores, signum ruinae imminentis, Turcae victoriae pignus viderunt.*

**Maii 23.** *Tertius porro cuniculus prope Caligariae portam et palatium imperatoris inventus causa fuit cur machinarum bellicarum artifices aliquot manu caperentur; qui postquam jussi dixissent ubi locorum alii cuniculi structi essent, abscissis capitibus per muros in Turcarum castra dejecti sunt.*

*Hoc eodem die navis actuaria, quarto ejus mensis die, ad quaerendam Venetorum classem in Archipelagum missa, Turcicarum navium insidias elapsa in portum revertitur.*

*Urbs continuo tormentorum labore infestatur.*

**Maii 24.** *Quartus quem denuo prope Caligariae detexerunt portam cuniculus, murum haud parum laesit. Ferox inde a Turcarum castris clamor se jubilatio propter pugnam aleatoriam jamjam instantem. Ultimus cuniculus prope supra dictam portam repertus in urbe inclusos maxime terrefecit.*

*Machinae bellicae ignem ac lapides in urbem emittere non cessant.*

**Maii 26.** *Ignes festi late patentes et jubilatio in Turcarum castris propter urbem proximo die vi adoriendam. C<onstantino>politani Deiparam precibus ac suppliciis adeunt ut a gentilium furore liberarentur.*

*Ominosa trepidatio in navibus Turcicis.*

**Maii 27.** *Domin. Postera quoque nox festis Turcarum illustratur ignibus. Clamores sublati obsessorum aures obstrepunt, ad Asiae usque littora profusi. Ingentia muri labentis rudera cum fragore procidunt, cui rei mederi C<onstantino>politani in vanum conantur.*

***Maii 28.*** *Sultanus ad tympani sonum per castra edici jubet ut suo quisque loco maneret, mortem minatus et qui aliter fecerit, ob urbem postero mane omnibus viribus premendam. Jam igitur 2000 scalae admoventur. In Turcarum castris alii alios praedae exspectatione inflammant; quippe qui tot Christiana mancipia prehensuri sunt ut uno aureo duo sunt habituri. Graecorum barbas laqueis torquendis se adhibituros esse jocabantur, unde canes suos alligarent.*

*Machinae extremo ardore lapides evomunt. Barbarus Graecorum avaritiam ac perversitatem strenuo vituperat. Non enim nisi data pecunia auxilium vendiderunt eaque re urbi immane quantum damni intulerunt.*

*Jubende dein praefecto, Veneti ad murum interiorem consistunt ut* (*sic enim praefectus eorum monebat*) *per Deum imortalem, terrae salutem et omnium Christianorum honorem vivant et moriantur.*

*Nec minus classiarii circa magnam portus catenam ad pugnam se accingunt.*

*Interim sultanus cum 10000 militibus ad classem provehitur et postquam cum navarcho et caeteris polemarchis Baccho largissime ad ebrietatem usque indulsisset, in castra revertitur.*

*Per totum istum diem grave Turcicum tympanum resonat et nox insequens festis ignibus maxime conspicua est et clamoribus qui auctori nostro ex imo inferno venire videntur, resonat; et dum Turcae diu noctuque Mohamedem precibus pro obtinenda victoria praedaque fatigant, Christiani ante Deiparam et omnes sanctos provoluti cum gemitu ac lacrymis liberationem e manibus gentilium impense efflagitant. Atat Deus Dominus noster pro voluntate sua inexorabili decrevit ut eo ipso die caput Graecorum in manus Mohametis veniret* (el nostro Signor Dio de la aspra sententia contra Griexi, che el vole che questa zittà andasse in questo zorno in man de Macomet).

***Maii 29.*** *Barbarus antiquas de excidio regni Graeci prophetias rememorat, qaurum adimpletio secundum plurima indicia huic ipsi diei reservata fuerit. Tertia ante solis ortum hora sultanus trinos exercitus, quorum unusquisque 50000 armatos haberet, urbem versus procedere jubet. Prima quidem cohors Christianis constabat quos Turcae ad pugnae societatem coegerant; secunda turba imbelli* (zente menuda, zoè vilanie tal zentaia)*; tertia autem janissariis et exercitus robore composita erat; post quos tandem sultanus locum suum occupabat. Ac primi illi scalas muris admovere conantes, ingenti cum damno repelluntur, sed ab insequentibus tanta violentia ad muros adiguntur, ut uno vel altero modo pereundum ipsis esset. Ut Barbarus monet, sultanus Christianos istos propterea in prima acie constituerat ut certissimae morti exponerentur, Turcarum autem vitae parceret, et ut per eorum vel irritam aggresionem defensores urbis fatigaret; id quod re ipsa evenit secundae aciei processione licet a sagittariis et bombardariis urbis multo cum sanguine repellatur. Deinde tertia sultani* *acies novis viribus et cum clamore longe lateque audito, janissarii et robur exercitus leonum instar prorumpunt. Non obstantibus multitudinis urbanae, praesertim mulierum, precibus ac lamentationibus, et quamvis propugnatores in muros fortissime certarent, oriente sole Turcae pulvere et tormento illo maximo efflata obtecti trecenti primo muros transgressi sunt. Sed postquam et hi ipsi audaciam morte expiassent, idemque stratagema renovatum fuisset, postremo ad 30000 milites per disjectas circa S. Romani portam muri partes cum impetu, qualis ferarum esse solet, in urbem irruperunt. Tot vero in ea strage Turcae ceciderunt, ut, si Barbaro fides, 40 naves onerariae cadaveribus transportandis vix suffecerint. Idem refert praeterea Justinianum vulneratum et, Turcas jam urbe potiri clamantem, fugae omnibus causam exstitisse. In urbe vi capta Turcae nulla aetatis sexusque ratione habita sanguinem fundunt, donec inermes, inter quos mercatores Venetos qui in cellis se abdiderant, pretio vendere satius esse judicarint. Sancti Marci et imperatoris vexillis e torribus direptis imperatoris, substituitur canis Turcici ut nuncupant. Urbis itaque expugnatione cognita quicunque 70 naves in portu tenebant et magna classis per Hellespontum adfuit, ne praeda ingenti frustrarerunt, quae eo ipso momento temporis navigiis imponi coepta erat. Refert Barbarus quod Turcae omni domui, monasterio, ecclesiaeve quam ingressi erant, vexillolum praefixerunt quod eos qui praedandi causa subsequebantur ab ulterius procedendo avocabat. Plus 200000 ejusmodi signaculis per totam urbem affixa fuisse videntur, siquidem magna pars domuum decem ejusmodi signis decorata erat. Christianorum deinde strages tanta fuit ut viae publicae vel post imbrem aquis, sic sanguine inundarentur, et cadavera in Propontidem projecta pomorum instar in aequore natarent. Auctor noster de vita et morte imperatoris nihil certi compertum esse dicit, nisi quod, ut aliqui memorant, corpus ejus inter eos inventum est qui a Turcis portam S. Romani intrantibus oppressi fuere.*[2] *Id quoque refert Barbarus quod Venetiani superstites id egerunt ut res suas, praesertim naves, in tuto colloccarent. Inter eos qui salva vita evaserunt, praefectus triremium Tanensium, Diedo, quem aeque ac auctorem Ephemeridum harumce et navarchum Fiurianum praefectus Genuensis Perae captum postea libertate donavit, et qui cum trireme rupta portus catena in mare pervenit. Hieronymi quoque Morosini triremis, et Trapezuntina duce Dolphino, qui loco successerat, et quae die 28 Apr. 164 de suis perdiderat, evaserunt. Incolumes porro aufugerunt triremis Gab. Trevisani a Turcis capti, et tres naves Cretenses quae propter absentiam Turcarum per superiores urbis regiones despersorum aufugerunt. Minus constat quoad naves Genuensium servatas et 5 navigia imperatoria denudata quae hosti in praedam cesserunt. Brevis fit praefecti Veneti supplicio traditi mentio. Numerus captivorum ut Barbarus scribit, est 60000; praeda a Turcis facta 200000 aureorum; alii minorem numerum tradunt. In fine Ephemeridum auctor nomina dat 1) primatum Venetorum qui in pugna contra Turcos*

*ceciderunt; 2) eorum qui cum navibus incolumes evaserunt (33); 3) eorum qui in captivitate remanserunt, quorum quidem 800 infra annum 2000 aureorum pretio redempti sunt; 4) omnium nobilium Venetorum qui Constantinopoli degebant ipso invasionis die (68); 5) eorum qui per totum obsidionis tempus perierunt (60–68); Obvia habes illustrissima reipublicae Venetae nomina, Bembo, Contarini, Mocenighi, Cornaro, Nani, Gritti, Loredano, Pisani, etc., salvis tamen erroribus forte a librariis commissis. Quae de magistratuum ibidem Graecorum occisione feruntur inter versiones apocryphas amandanda videntur.*

## III. Translation of the Latin *Ephemeris* of Nicolò Barbaro

### *Ephemerides* [= *Journal*] of the Siege and Sack of Constantinople in the Year 1453 by Nicolo Barbaro, a Venetian Patrician

This narrative is the work of an eyewitness of events that he personally observed in Byzantium when it was under the siege of the Turks (albeit he was aboard a ship during most of the siege period). He relates everything with the greatest care. The events of the period April 5 to May 29 are set forth in a daily manner that betrays a remarkable memory. The narrative of Barbaro is arranged in chronological order, but we must caution readers that in some cases it differs from that of the authors of Turkish chronicles. In passing, let us mention that Barbaro's *Journal* is composed in an ancient Venetian dialect, which differs substantially from the Italian language. Thus we believe that this translation of that important document is warranted. Besides the dialectical difference, we will not mention that our patrician author from Venice most often speaks against Genoa (*Zenovexe*, as he himself states), and that he shows his anger openly and even fails to spare Giustiniani. Accordingly, the reader is warned to read our author with caution whenever there is a reference to the Genoese. The *Ephemerides* treats the cause and the prelude of the war from the author's point of view.

**1452. March:** Sultan Mehmed (*Machomet bej*) with a fleet of 40 ships from Kallipolis came to the Bosporus (*loca de mar mazor*) in order to begin construction of the fortress Boğaz Kesen, 12 Italian miles from Constantinople.

Then in the middle of August the sultan completed his fortress, ordered the decapitation of two emissaries from the Greek emperor, and began the war in that manner. Next he surrounded the city with 50,000 soldiers for three days. At the same time, the beginning of

September, the fleet returned to Kallipolis.

**November 26:** The ship of Antonio Rizzo was returning from Euxine and because she failed to give the military salute, she was struck by a rather large bombard and sank. The captain was put in jail for fourteen days and then, by order of the sultan, he was impaled. The son of Domenico Maistro was taken to the *seraglio* to be a scribe. With the exception of a few who were sent to Constantinople, the sailors were sawn asunder. There are some who state that this was the cause of the war against the Venetians, once Fabrizio Corner had completed his mission and returned to Constantinople.

**1453:** At this point Barbaro takes events out of their chronological order. In the month of January the sultan mobilized a very large infantry and naval force against the city. In the month of February the siege engines, accompanied by a cohort of ten thousand, approached the city. In the same month the Greeks entered Turkey with three ships and sold their captives in Constantinople, inflaming the sultan's wrath.

**1452:** Mention is made of two Venetian galleys under the order of Gabriel Trevisan, which came to Constantinople. They had been sent by the Venetian Senate to escort three cargo boats that left the Sea of Azov. A Genoese ship is also mentioned, sent by the pope to convey Cardinal Isidore (*el gardenal de Rosia*) to Constantinople to bring about church union. Two hundred archers to defend the city accompanied him. Eight Cretan ships with provisions were also present.

**November 10:** Two large ships from the Tauris peninsula, under the command of Girolamo Morosini (*Jeroluemo Morexini*), escaped doom by pretending to obey the orders that the Turks were shouting from the fortress, ordering them to drop anchor. At this point Barbaro returns to his previous chronological order.

**December 2**: The Turkish garrison from the fortress attacked the Venetian galley from Trebizond (*Trabezonda*), which nevertheless reached Constantinople without suffering any damage.

**1452. December 12 and 13**: The union of the two churches was confirmed in a solemn ceremony in the Church of Hagia Sophia. The emperor, the cardinal of the Russians, the bishop of Mytilene (Leonardo of Chios), and the barons of the Greeks conferred, in the same church, about the necessity of retaining the Venetian ships to help the city.

**December 14:** A verbal negotiation and a written pledge [were accomplished] among the cardinal, the bishop of Mytilene, Greek officials, the *bailo* of the Venetians, captains, and twenty-one prominent Venetians in the city of Constantinople. It was decided that the aforementioned galleys should not depart from Byzantium (cf. [Pseudo-]Sphrantzes 238).

**December 17–20:** After due deliberations the [Council of] Twelve noble Venetians determined the way and means by which they would report to the Venetian Senate their recent decisions.

**1453. January 26:** The Venetians come to an agreement with the emperor under the stipulation that their ships could leave the city without his permission and that they would retain their liberty to load and unload those ships at will.

On the same day Giustiniani arrives in Constantinople; he had set out from Genoa with two ships and 700 soldiers. The emperor appoints him commander-in-chief of the land forces and the prefect of the western city that would be attacked by the sultan's army.

**February 26:** A ship of the Venetians, which, by the conditions of the agreement was prevented from doing so, took advantage of a favorable wind and escaped from the harbor. She was under the orders of Pero Davanzo and was accompanied by six trading ships.

**March 14:** The commander of two galleys from Tana acceded to the emperor's request to hand over his rowers to reinforce the palace next to the Gate of Kynegon by digging a foss.

**March 31:** On Holy Saturday which, like May 29, fell on a Tuesday, the rowers from the same harbor, under the orders of Diedo, the captain of a ship, dug ditches, as the emperor and his magnates watched.

**April 2:** Bartolamio Soligo, by command of the emperor, stretched that famous iron chain, which is described in detail, between Constantinople and Pera and enclosed the harbor.

As four Venetian noblemen requested, the emperor placed under their command the custody of four prominent land gates: Catarino Contarino took the Cresca (χρυσῆν = Golden?) Gate; Fabrizio Cornaro took the second; the third Gate called τῆς Πηγῆς [= [= Fountain] went to Nicolo Mocenigo; and the last, the Gate of Blakhernai, to Dolfin.

There follow the names of sixty-eight Venetian noblemen who were present at the siege, among whom the author of the *Journal* names himself as the physician of the ships from Tana.

**April 5:** Sultan Mehmed encamps with 160 soldiers at a distance of 2.5 Italian miles from the city.

**April 6:** At a distance of one mile from the sea walls he proceeds to the western part of the city, from the Golden Gate to the Kynegon Gate, a distance of six Italian miles. He encamps.

On the same day the emperor with many noblemen and knights were at the Golden Gate. The *bailo* Minotto and many Venetian merchants are assigned within the imperial palace. In addition, we read that the grand duke, who occupies the foremost place after the emperor, is placed in charge of the harbor with a contingent of 100 ready horsemen. The custody of the sea walls was given to monks under the command of Manuel Giagaro (whom the Greeks call Ἴαγρον)) and to Neophytos from Rhodes. Another region of the city is entrusted to Dorgano (who, no doubt, is the same individual as Prince Orhan) and to a contingent of Turkish mercenaries who had defected from the sultan. We will not compare or discuss these assignments with the report of [Pseudo-]Sphrantzes.

On the same day the emperor ordered the sailors from fleet, from the aforementioned three Venetian galleys from Tana and from two others under the command of Trevisan, to parade in formation in order to raise the morale among the inhabitants of the city and to instill fear in the enemy.

**April 9:** A council is convened to discuss the effective defense of the harbor. Nine or ten larger ships with their commanders were named (5 Genoese, 3 Cretan, 1 from Ancona, and 1 imperial). They all placed themselves by the chain to combat any future attempts, while in the upper harbor another seventeen ships were placed in reserve. Among them were the three galleys from Tana. Two other Venetian ships were reserved for communications, and five imperial vessels that were badly armed and under equipped.

**April 11:** The sultan deployed four cannons against the sea walls (cf. [Pseudo-] Sphrantzes, who writes: Ἐν τόποις τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα τὰ τείχη τῆς Πόλεως ἔτυπτο, “he bombarded the walls of the city at fourteen spots”). Then he deployed three bombards against the palace of the emperor at Blakhernai; also three bombards against the Gate τῆς Πηγῆς, “of the Fountain”; two against the Golden Gate; and four were directed against the Gate of Saint Romanos. One of the latter is cited as being enormous, of 1200 pounds, and the other of 800 pounds.

**April 12–17:** On the twelfth day of April (according to [Pseudo-]Sphrantzes, on the fifteenth) the Turkish fleet dropped anchor in the neighborhood of Constantinople's harbor. According to Barbaro, it numbered 145 vessels: 12 galleys equipped in the standard manner; 70–80 *fuste*, 20–25 *parandarie* (that is, cargo boats used in war), and the rest were support vessels. To this should be added another cargo vessel from Sinope carrying bronze missiles (very similar to stone projectiles), and other war supplies. The Turkish fleet sought the Anatolian shore, far from the city. The besieged expected a major assault by the enemy. The bombards fired constantly and nothing worth mentioning took place, outside of skirmishes against the janissaries.

**April 18:** On the night that preceded the eighteenth day of April the first attack of the Turks was repelled by the terrified Greeks; more than two hundred Turks fell.

**April 20:** On the twentieth day of the siege four Genoese auxiliary ships entered the Hellespont, which repelled an aggressive Turkish attack lasting two to five hours and, assisted by luck, they succeeded in entering the harbor at sunset, to the accompaniment of jubilation and music by the galleys of the besieged which came to meet the Genoese.

**April 21:** Mehmed, with an escort of 10,000 horsemen, came to the fleet, and abused the commander of the numerous naval forces and ordered him to resign from his post but granted him his life. In his place as commander of the naval forces was appointed the son of Petro Loredano of execrable memory (perhaps he had defected from Venice).

On the same day the enemy projectiles terribly devastated the western section. A tower at the Gate of Saint Romanos was demolished; mention is made of the efforts by the besieged to repair the damage.

**April 22:** Sunday: On this day the ships of the Turks were transported to a distance of five Italian miles overland from the Bosporus to the harbor of Constantinople. Our author reports, not without pain and grief, that seventy-two armed ships were placed on rollers and transported over the mountain that is situated to the north of Pera. The ships were dragged by hand, by a multitude of Turks. The Constantinopolitans within the city, whose few ships were directly imperiled by the Turkish fleet, placed one galley at the straits that are adjacent to Pera, to give the signal for battle, whenever the Turks made a threatening move.

**April 23:** In the Church of Hagia Maria (Hodegetria, evidently), a council was held to find a way and remove the enemy ships from the harbor.

**April 24:** Lord Jacomo Coco, the captain of that galley from Trebizond, equipped two loaded ships and an escort of two galleys. But the prefect [= *podestà*, Angelo Giovanni Lomellino] of the Genoese inhabitants of Pera informed the sultan of the plan. The Genoese, most untrustworthy men, proposed to the leaders of the Venetians to postpone the attempt for another night. They promised their help but in actuality they were about to help the Turks with all their strength.

**April 25–28**: Nothing worth mentioning happened in this period. Barbaro attributed the eventual misfortune to divine wrath, as the direct result of sins that prevailed in that age.

**April 28:** On that night under the command of Gabriel Trevisan, Girolamo Morosini the knight, and Jacomo Coco, two galleys were sent, in the hope of burning the Turkish fleet. Barbaro provides more details on this operation than all other accounts.

**April 29:** Admiral Diedo nominates Dolphin, the commander of the galley from Trebizond, to replace the post vacated by [the death of] Coco. In his place Giovanni Loredan takes over the protection of the Gate of Blakhernai. The besiegers damage many places defended by the besieged, which are then repaired. In the month of April nothing else worthy of mention took place.

**May 1–2:** The same holds true about these two days. There is scarcity of food in the city.

**May 3–4:** The Constantinopolitans deploy two bombards in the harbor against the enemy. The Turks deploy two cannons of the same kind. For ten days and nights the cannons exert themselves without achieving anything memorable. By order of the emperor a support ship is sent towards Negroponte to search for the Venetian fleet and to ask Jacomo Loredano to come to the aid of the city without delay, as it was breathing its last. Under a Turkish standard and equipped in the Turkish manner, the ship reached the Archipelago [= Aegean Sea]. This much it accomplished and returned to Constantinople.

**May 5:** The Turks placed many bombards on the high mountain of

Pera and turned them against the ships in the harbor along the long chain. The third bronze projectile sent a Genoese ship loaded with merchandise and provision to the bottom of the sea. Without further losses the ships of the Christians sought shelter under the walls of Pera. The Turks then aimed the same cannon at Kynegion without effect. Finally they added those cannon to those that were bombarding the inner wall.

**May 6:** Another Sunday; the bombards thundered without pause.

**May 7:** Thirty thousand Turks launched a strong night assault that was repelled. Horrible cries reached all they way to the Anatolian Sea and prompted the defenders over land and sea to prepare themselves for battle. The Turks made no other attempt, however, but on their way back they tried to burn the Gate of the Palace, but the Greeks from the wall put the fire out. The ships assumed their previous post around the chain.

**May 8:** The [Council of the] Twelve decided to unload the galleys from Tana and store the cargo on land. The armed crews objected to the unloading, as they had no wish to place themselves under the orders of the Greeks. They argued that their galleys were their homes and they would live or die at sea and not on land. Their argument prevailed; they themselves and their admiral remained on the shore of Pera. The Gate of Saint Romanos was incessantly bombarded with cannon projectiles.

**May 9:** Lord Gabriel Trevisan, with 400 soldiers summoned from the two galleys, in accordance with the will and order of the [Council of the] Twelve undertook the protection of the land wall.

**May 10:** In a council held by the [Council of the] Twelve in the Church of Hagia Maria, Lord Diedo was designated as the admiral of the fleet under the same conditions, that he would assume the care of the harbor and of naval matters, as he saw fit.

**May 11:** The gloomy work of the cannon continued.

**May 12:** Five thousand Turks attacked the wall around the palace to the accompaniment of the usual cries and the discordant sound of drums and trumpets. But Jesus Christ had pity and saved the city from doom, because, as Barbaro thinks, the destruction was reserved for the lunar eclipse to take place, in accordance with the prophecy of the emperor, Saint Constantine.

**May 13:** Lord Trevisan, the commander of the fleet with his soldiers, was summoned to defend the damaged land walls. He did not leave this place until the city fell. According to [Pseudo-]Sphrantzes he guarded the sector of Kynegion and the palace of the Caesars as if he were a shepherd and not a mercenary.

The artillery bombardment against the western walls continued without interruption.

**May 14:** As we have already observed, the Turks dragged their artillery from the mountain Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου [= Saint Theodore] through Pera towards the Gate of Κυνήγιον [Kynegion], and up to the Gate of Saint Romanos, where the wall was in sorry condition but the besieged energetically repaired the damage that had been inflicted. Three hundred expert firemen and archers had taken their places at that gate. They were all foreigners, as we may except the Greeks, whose cowardice our author castigates harshly.

**May 15:** Constant cannon fire, constant repairs to the damaged sections, quiet elsewhere.

**May 16:** A number of Turkish support ships approached the chain around the harbor and the ships of the besieged set out [against them], but, without further delay, they retreated, as they were afraid that they would be compelled to do so. Mines dug by the Turks around the Kaligaria Gate were detected and neutralized by the grand duke.

**May 17:** Five Turkish ships proceeded to the chain as far as the harbor to reconnoiter the chain but fled as swiftly as they could, without any losses, as soon as seventy missiles were fired upon them. All fear that the enemy will attack the city with all his strength and all fear that resistance will fail.

**May 18:** Within one night the Turks erected those siege towers, which Barbaro mentions with admiration. He cannot help himself but admires the Turks who in four hours completed a task that all the Christian inhabitants of Constantinople could not do in the space of one month. From this high vantage point the Turks savagely fire volleys of arrows into the city, so that people within are deadly afraid.

**May 19:** At this time a bridge was put together, completed, and placed in operation, over the joined ships, from Galata to Kynegion, as Barbaro says. According to [Pseudo-] Sphrantzes, it was put together after the transported ships occupied the position. We will not mention the chronological confusion of Leonardo, who states that it was put together after the naval battle, a difference of a whole month.

Certainly Doukas agrees closely with Barbaro on this matter. The Turks continued firing bronze projectiles, filling the air with noise; the besieged repaired the damage.

**May 20:** Barbaro mentions the efforts of the besieged to repair the gaping walls; to this task, women, boys, old men, and ecclesiastics gave their help. In addition, he makes mention of that cannon [that fired projectiles] of 1200 pounds. The flying stones that had been fired struck not only the walls, but the city pavement also and shook violently the ships in the harbor.

**May 21:** The entire enemy fleet threatened to launch an attack for a long time before sunrise. After they saw that the ships of the besieged had arranged themselves for battle around the great chain, they made no further attempt but retreated.

Again another mine dug by the Turks under the city was detected near the Kaligaria Gate. It was blocked and the miners were slaughtered. Nevertheless on that day the nearby wall and towers were damaged badly but those in the city exerted untiring efforts but became fatigued.

**May 22:** A mine near the Kaligaria Gate was blocked and frustrated the hopes of the miners. A celestial miracle was seen (Barbaro mentions a lunar eclipse). The Constantinopolitans interpreted it to be a harbinger of imminent doom and a sign for Turkish victory, as they were reminded of the prophecies of Emperor Constantine.

**May 23:** A third mine near the Kaligaria Gate and the palace of the emperor was discovered. Some builders of these were captured who under interrogation revealed the locations of other mines that had been dug. They were decapitated and they were thrown over the walls into the Turkish camp.

On this day the support ship that had been sent to the Archipelago [Aegean Sea] to search for the Venetian fleet on the fourth of the month returned, having evaded a Turkish ambush in the harbor.

The city is plagued by incessant bombardment.

**May 24:** A fourth mine is detected near the Kaligaria Gate; it caused no damage. A ferocious sound from the Turkish camp betrays jubilation for an imminent general assault. A last mine was discovered near the aforementioned gate, which especially terrified the besieged.

The siege engines continue an incessant bombardment with fire and stones.

**May 26:** Widespread festive fires and jubilation in the Turkish camp on account of the general assault to be launched on the next day. The Constantinopolitans ask God with prayers and supplications to save them from the furor of the idolaters.

Ominous signs of trepidation on board the Turkish ships.

**May 27:** Sunday. Later, the Turks illuminated the entire night with festive fires. The noise of the besiegers deafens the ears of the besieged and is carried as far as the shores of Asia. Huge sections of the shaking walls collapse with a roar; in vain do the Constantinopolitans attempt repairs.

**May 28:** To the accompaniment of the drums the sultan issues his orders: each man is to remain at his post under pain of death if chooses to do otherwise, as the city is to be attacked with all strength early the following morning. Already 2,000 ladders are being moved. In the Turkish camp each man encourages the other with the prospect of booty, as they are to capture so many slaves that two will be bought for one gold coin and they will make ropes out of the beards of the Greeks to make leashes for their dogs.

The cannons emit their stones in a final paroxysm. Barbaro vigorously castigates the greed and degenerate character of the Greeks. They will lend a helping hand only if they receive payment and are the harbingers of savage doom for the city.

By command of their prefect [= *bailo*], the Venetians take their place at the inner wall to fight and die for the immortal God, for the salvation of the territory, and for the honor of Christianity (as their prefect [= *bailo*] urged them to do).

The men of the fleet around the great chain prepare themselves for battle also.

Meanwhile, the sultan with 10,000 [men] comes to the fleet, holds a celebration with his admiral and other warlords and indulges in wine (to the point of inebriation), and then returns to the camp.

Throughout the whole day the Turkish drums beat their funereal tattoo and the following night is alive with festive lights and with shouts that appear to our author to emanate from the depths of hell itself. While Turks fatigue, they pray for victory to Mohammed day and night, the Christians pray to God and to all saints with groans and tears for salvation. But our Lord God, in accordance with His unfathomable will, decreed that on that day the capital of the Greeks would fall into the hands of Mehmed (*et nostro Signor Dio de la aspra sententia contra Griexi, che el vole che questa zittà andasse in questo zorno in man de Macomet*).

**May 29:** Barbaro remembers the ancient prophecies predicting the destruction of the Greek kingdom. There were many signs to confirm that that day had been reserved for that purpose. At the third hour before sunrise, the sultan ordered three waves of soldiers to move forth against the city; each wave consisted of 50,000 soldiers. The first wave consisted of Christians who had been compelled to fight for the Turks. The second multitude consisted of those untrained in war (*zente menuda, zoè vilanie tal zentaia*), and the third wave, however, consisted of janissaries, the backbone of the army. The sultan took his place behind them. The first wave attempted to place ladders against the walls but it was repelled with enormous losses. The second wave attacked the walls with so much violence, as if they had to die one way or another. As Barbaro observes, the sultan had placed those Christians in the first wave to meet certain death, sparing the lives of Turks in the second battle line from the archers and the artillery of the city; but they too were repelled with a great deal of bloodshed. Finally, the third wave of the sultan with new strength and war cries that could be heard throughout launched its attack: the janissaries and the backbone of the army fought like lions. The urban non-combatants, especially the women, greatly prayed and lamented as if they were soldiers of the first line. At sunrise three hundred Turks, under the cover of that enormous bombard, entered the walls for the first time. But after they too paid for their audacity with their deaths, the same tactic was repeated and then 30,000 soldiers fell upon the dismembered fortifications around the Gate of Saint Romanos with great force and broke into the city. So many Turks fell in that slaughter that, if Barbaro is to be believed, forty cargo ships could hardly accommodate the corpses for transportation. In addition, he also makes mention of Giustiniani, that he was wounded, that he announced that the Turks were within the city, and that he was the cause of the general flight. In the captured city the Turks made no exception based on age, on sex, or on any other reason, in the bloodshed that ensued. Those who were unarmed, among whom were Venetian merchants hiding in basements, were sold, if they were judged to fetch a satisfactory price. The standards of Saint Mark and the emperor were torn from the imperial towers and those of the Turkish dog were substituted. When it became known that the city had fallen, at that moment all those who were arming the seventy ships in the harbor and those on board the fleet in the Hellespont, left their ship to avoid cheating themselves of the immense booty. Barbaro mentions that the Turks placed small banners on every house, monastery, or church that they had entered, so that those who were still looking for booty would move on elsewhere. More than 200,000 banners of this nature seem to have been placed throughout the city, and the greater part of the houses seem to have been decorated in this manner. So great was the slaughter of the Christians that the public streets were inundated with blood, like rainwater after a storm; the cadavers that were thrown into the Hellespont seemed like melons floating about. Our author states that no news about the fate of the emperor could be ascertained, except that some people mentioned that his corpse had been found at the Gate of Saint Romanos in the press that took place when the Turks entered.[3] Barbaro then relates that the surviving Venetians began to look out for themselves and especially for their ships, seeking safety. Among those who escaped with their lives was Diedo, the commander of the galleys from Tana; the author of this *Journal*; and Admiral Furian, the commander who was captured by the Genoese at Pera but then was given his freedom, and proceeded with his galley to break the harbor chain and reached the open sea. The galley of Girolamo Morosini and the Trebizondian galley, missing 164 of its crew who had died on April 28 under the command of Dolfin (who had taken over), escaped. Also without losses escaped from the harbor the galley of Gabriel Trevisan (who was captured by the Turks), and three Cretan ships, which took advantage of the absence of the Turks who had dispersed into the upper regions of the city. There is no information as to fate of the Genoese ships and the five unarmed imperial vessels, which were plundered by the enemy. There follows a short note on the punishment that was reserved for the Venetian prefect [= *bailo*]. The number of captives, as Barbaro writes, is 60,000. The booty won by the Turks has a value of 200,000 gold coins; others give a different number. At the end of his *Journal*, Barbaro cites the names of the following individuals:

1. The Venetian noblemen who fell in combat against the Turks.
2. Those who escaped unhurt on board the ships.
3. Those left behind in captivity, 800 of whom were ransomed for a price of 2,000 gold coins after one year.
4. All the Venetian noblemen who defended Constantinople until the day of the fall (68).
5. Those who perished in the period of the siege (60–68).

Thus we have in front of us the most illustrious names of the Venetian Republic: Bembo, Contarini, Mocenigo, Cornaro, Nani, Gritti, Loredano, Pisano, etc., with some errors that may have been committed by librarians. In regard to the death of the Greek officials there are only apocryphal tales.

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# Notes

1 It was published in *PG* 158: cols. 1067–1078. This is not the original text of Barbaro. It was first abstracted from Barbaro’s *Giornale* by Adolph Ellissen and was originally composed in German in 1857. The editors of *PG* 158 retranslated the text into Latin, as they inform us in n. 1: “Epitome damus, Latine conversam, quam vernaculo sermone germanico confecit D. A. Ellissen in *Anecdotis* (Lipsiae, 1857).” A detailed ephemeris based on some eyewitness texts and secondary accounts can also be found in Barbara Kouraba-Delvoria, *"Χρονογραφικὴ" καὶ Χαρτογραφικὴ Ἀποτύπωση τῆς Ἁλώσεως* (Athens, 2003).

2 “De l’imperador mai non potè saver novella di fatti soi, nì vivo, nì morto; ma alguni dixe che el fo visto in nel numero di corpi morti; el qual fo ditto, che el se sofega al intrà che fexe i Turchi a la porta de san Romano.” *In margine ms. Veneti legitur*: “L’imperator, pregava che li suoi l’amazasse, et si messe nella furia con la spada, et casco, et rilevo, poi recasco; et così mori.”

3 “In regard to the emperor: it was impossible to ascertain his fate, whether he was alive or dead; but some said that he had been seen among the number of corpses; someone said that he had suffocated at the entry of the Turks by the Gate of Saint Romanos.” In the margin of the *ms. Veneti* a ligature: “the emperor begged his retinue to kill him, and then he entered the fray with his sword. He fell, got up, and fell again; then he died.”

# II: Texts on the Execution of Loukas Notaras

The execution of Loukas Notaras is the only event of this sort that has been provided with details by an eyewitness and the early sources on the fall and sack. While many, especially prominent defenders and numerous Greek noblemen, submitted to the executioner, our sources choose for various reasons to concentrate their attention upon the execution of the grand duke. Yet in spite of the apparent wealth of details, we may conclude that very few authentic touches have survived. The essential point is that no one who may have witnessed the execution wrote down his or her impressions. While Cardinal Isidore was still within the vicinity of conquered Constantinople, busily concealing himself among the Genoese in Pera,[1] for he was sufficiently fortunate to escape the sultan's agents who were actively looking for him (and were aided by the rumor that he had perished), he provides a short account, which cannot be considered an eyewitness account. In all likelihood, the cardinal learned of the grand duke's execution, but he was not present at the event. Further, Henry of Soemmern states that Isidore was ransomed and brought to Pera three days after the Turkish victory, that is, on the same day that Notaras met his fate: *incognitus mansit tribus diebus in magno exercitu Teucrorum*, "unrecognized, he remained in the great camp of the Turks three days." Furthermore, all other accounts can be classified as hearsay, for all of the authors had departed from Constantinople by the time the massacre of the sultan's prisoners had commenced at Vefa Meidan.

Nevertheless, Cardinal Isidore's account presents one essential fact: the grand duke was executed three days after the fall, that is, either June 1 or June 2, the day of the cardinal's ransom. There is no reason to question the cardinal's authority on this point. One regrets, however, the brevity of the prelate's account, which clearly possesses more certitude than what he reports in his letter, but, as with all controversial points in his letter to Bessarion, but, as with all controversial points in his letter to the Cardinal, he either omits specifics on purpose or indicates that he will report the details in person. Similarly, Pusculo, also a prisoner of the Turks, was in the vicinity but his exact whereabouts are unknown. At first, he was probably herded together with the less prominent prisoners into a camp outside the city, where the human booty was being apportioned by the victors and sold to slave dealers. He has a few comments on the execution, but again he must be basing his meager account primarily on hearsay.

Bishop Leonardo departed the vicinity by the time the executions had begun and his account presents the earliest hostile report that casts dispersions upon the character and the motives of the grand duke, but, as it is amply evident in Leonardo's narrative, the bishop, for unknown reasons, had no fondness for Loukas Notaras. He is inclined to feel more friendly towards the sultan's vizier, Halil Candarlı, who, it appears, after all is said and done, had connections with the Greek court and revealed some of the sultan's plans to the Greek high command. Even though the secondary narrative of Doukas agrees on this point, we do not feel confident with Leonardo's version of the execution of Notaras and we should not be blinded by the fact that Leonardo authored the most authoritative and most influential account. Even though he was an eyewitness, his account can be shown to favor the dramatic and he had a tendency for theatrics, which he has interspersed in his otherwise informative narrative. Sometimes he gets carried away and reports what should have happened, *dramatis causa*, rather than the prosaic depressing reality. The most important incident that he seems to have invented deals with the events just before the final assault of the Turks. Leonardo reports that there was a celebration of the liturgy in Hagia Sophia, attended by the emperor and all his commanders. They then moved together to the palace of Blakhernai, and the emperor took the opportunity to deliver a long and tedious speech, and bid a leisurely farewell to his comrades in arms. The emperor in those final hours would have had no opportunity to deliver this speech. This literary creation of Leonardo has inspired some scholars by the majesty of the scene.[2]

Indeed, such passages are characteristic of a tragic mood. But the historian may well inquire as to their accuracy. Was there in fact a last celebration attended by the emperor in Hagia Sophia? Did the emperor actually address his Greek and Italian barons in the palace before the general assault? Was there really an opportunity for dramatic speeches? Aside from Leonardo, who has a flair for the emotional, other eyewitnesses fail to mention such moving scenes. And there is every reason to conclude that Leonardo has provided his own free embellishment of the facts. The speech that he reports and attributes to the emperor may be the bishop's own embellishment, and his effort to add pathos and dignity to a narrative that is about to reach its crucial juncture.

Leonardo is emulated by Pseudo-Sphrantzes, who incorporates Leonardo's narrative into his own account and produces an even longer speech through mere rhetorical *amplificatio*. More likely in the final hours preceding the general assault there was little time for celebration in Hagia Sophia, at least for the active defenders who were concerned with the immediate defense. Such services for commanders and troops must have been celebrated in the vicinity of the land fortifications, where the main attack was anticipated, perhaps in the church of Saint Savior in Khora (now Kariye Camii), which had been functioning as the imperial chapel for a number of years prior to the siege. It is inconceivable that the emperor and all his important commanders, Greek, Venetian, and Genoese, would leave their posts, move in a procession all the way across the city to Hagia Sophia by the Golden Horn, then make their way to the "palace" where Constantine delivered a leisurely and tedious speech. Only then, after this long absence from the walls, they took their places on the fortifications, moments before the commencement of the final hostilities. The plain fact is that Constantine had abandoned his imperial quarters at the palace of Blakhernai, which had been turned over to the Venetian *bailo* and his troops during the siege.[3] And we do know from other eyewitness sources that Constantine XI had erected a tent to house himself and to serve as his headquarters in the enclosure between the great and outer walls at this late stage in the drama.[4] The emperor and his commanders, who had been continually repairing the collapsed defenses with their troops and workers, would have had no opportunity to assemble for last-minute processions, speeches, and farewell scenes, however moving and dignified they might be. In all likelihood, they were all too busy supervising the last-minute repairs that must have been going on at a feverish pace, as the general assault of the Turks was expected. If any speeches were made, they would have been very short and hastily improvised at the critical sector. If any church services were conducted for the troops and commanders of the land sectors, they took place in the vicinity of the walls and not in Hagia Sophia at the tip of the Golden Horn. We can only conclude that Leonardo paints this fictional scene in the ancient cathedral and in the imperial palace in order to add nobility, atmosphere, and pathos to his narrative, for he wished to wrap the slain emperor in a shroud of tragic dignity.

Leonardo is followed faithfully by his imitators: Languschi-Dolfin, the *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle*, and Sansovino, each of whom (or which) adds nothing to his narrative. Sansovino's recital will not be quoted here, as it is essentially identical to the accounts of the other disciples of Leonardo. Leonardo's Greek follower, however, Pseudo-Sphrantzes, goes further and adds information to cast the grand duke in even darker colors. What animosity Pseudo-Sphrantzes had against the grand duke is not known. By the time he came to Italy and elaborated the authentic narrative of Sphrantzes, the grand duke had been dead for over one century and no identifiable and direct descendants were alive in Italy. His most influential daughter, Anna, had died, *more virginis*;[5] her sisters, however, had left descendants and Pseudo-Sphrantzes, among his travels, had also visited Venice and had sought support of the Greek émigrés.[6] Could it be that a distant descendant of the grand duke had rejected him and he then decided to cast the grand duke in a very negative portrait? Pseudo-Sphrantzes went out of his way to incorporate even a folk tale that was already superannuated, as it appears in the narrative of Marco Polo.[7] Thus again, in this case, we cannot anticipate accurate details.

From the textual point of view, the accounts of Sekoundinos, Moskhos, Doukas, and di Montaldo have to be considered concurrently. They are independent of the surviving narratives that we have just examined, but they seem to have a certain relationship to one another. What they all have in common is the speech that supposedly Notaras pronounced to encourage his sons and son-in-law to submit willingly to the executioner and not to convert to Islam in order to save their own lives. The previous sources do not mention any such address. Of the three accounts, Sekoundinos' is the earliest, as it is part of a speech that he pronounced in the court of Naples in January 1454, within months after the fall.[8] Further, it should be recalled that Sekoundinos had lately returned from the occupied capital of the Greeks, where he had been included in a Venetian embassy that had visited Mehmed II in order to ascertain the fate of some Venetian prisoners, and to ransom those that were still languishing in Ottoman prisons. He as well was to establish some *modus vivendi* with the conqueror. Sekoundinos probably interviewed survivors, to satisfy his own curiosity at the very least, and he may have acquired stories about particular events that followed the sack. He may have even learned of the execution of Notaras and may have been informed that the grand duke encouraged his sons and son-in-law before their executions. The speech that Sekoundinos ascribes to Notaras, with the detailed argumentation, is probably his own invention and elaboration.

# I. CARDINAL ISIDORE:[9]

*Post tres dies decrevit ac iussit primo quidem duobus filiis Notarae – alter enim gloriose dimicans interierat – capita in conspectu patris amputari, ipsi deinde patri, postea magni domestici filios tres pulcherrimos et optimos occidit et insuper patrem eorum.*

Three days later [after the sack, that is, June 1 or June 2] he [Mehmed II] ordered, with a decree, the decapitation of Notaras' two sons (the third had perished gloriously in the fight) before their father's eyes; and then the father was beheaded.

## II. PUSCULO:[10]

*Cogit in unum / captivos Danaum primos, postquam omnia praeda / hausta manent, victor: crudelis funere cunctos / nudatos jussit crudeli occumbere, caesos / ut pecora: ad caedem gladiis certantibus omni, / Notare, te finis crudelior funere mansit. / Namque videns gnatam raptam, puerumque turanno, / ac stirpe geminam cernens occumbere dulcem, / truncatam primo ante oculos, et sanguine sparsus, / sanguine natorum faciem, post occidis ipse.*

The victor [= Mehmed II] gathered in one place the foremost Danaan [Greek] prisoners after all booty had been collected. The cruel master ordered them all to strip and be slaughtered cruelly, as if they were sheep. But for you Notaras there was an even more savage end than the general massacre. For you saw your son abducted by the tyrant [= sultan], and you saw your two sweet sons succumb and be slaughtered before your own eyes. Their blood sprinkled you; and then you yourself were executed.

# III. BARBARO:[11]

Additional note by Marco Barbaro: *Et dicesi che uno gran baron greco, per farsi grato a esso Turco, gli mandò doi sue figlie con uno piato per una in mano, pieni de dinari, onde il Turco facea grande onore a ditto barone, et mostrava averlo molto grato. Vedendo li favori che avea costui, altri nobili grechi, ciascuno tolse quella quantità de denari che puotè, et per gratificarsi gli la portò a donare; lui accettò li presenti, et li portatori di essi metteva in grado onorato; ma chessato che fu tali presenti, el fece tagliare la testa a quanti lo avea presentato, dicendo che erano stati gran cani a non avere voluto prestarli al suo signore et avere lasciato perdere la città.*

They say that a great Greek baron attempted to win the good will of the Turk [= Mehmed II] and sent his two daughters, each bearing a plate filled with money. At that time the Turk [= Mehmed II] honored greatly the aforementioned baron and bestowed favors upon him. Seeing his good fortune, the other Greek noblemen took as much money as each could carry and offered it to him in order to win his good will. He accepted their gifts and showered favors on the bearers. But when such presents ceased from coming, he ordered the decapitation of all of them and said that they were the lowest dogs because they had refused to lend [their riches] to their lords and had allowed the city to perish.

# IV. LEONARDO:[12]

*Vocatis igitur ad se* [Mehmed II] *Chirluca ceterisque baronibus consularibus et reprehensis quod non suasissent imperatori vel pacem petendam vel dandam suae dicioni urbem, Chirluca…culpam retorquere curavit…. At Chirluca malitiae poenam non evasit, qui protinus perditis primum in bello duobus liberis maioribus, alio impubere luxui regali reservato, coramque oculis tertio filio caeso cum ceteris baronibus decollatur.*

Mehmed summoned before him Lord Loukas and other barons and functionaries and berated them because they had failed to persuade the emperor to sue for peace and to surrender the city to his authority. Lord Loukas attempted to escape blame…. But Lord Loukas did not escape punishment for his malice. First he lost his two older sons in the war; his third young child was reserved for the carnal pleasures of the king [= the sultan]. Before his own eyes a third son was beheaded with the other barons.

## V. LANGUSCHI-DOLFIN:[13]

*Et chiamato a se chir Luca Notara mega duca et altri baroni greci, represe quelli che non persuadesse a lo Imperator, o inclinarsi a domandarli pace, o hauerli data libera la citade. Alhora Chirluca che cerchaua mettersi in gratia del Signor, et in disgratia Uenetiani et Genoesi de Pera, li qual fono quelli che dauano consilio, armi et militi in li qual uolatua ogni colpa, et per star in sua gratia lo imperator faceua resistentia, uogliando quello misero che sempre cerchaua gloria cum mendacio et scisma hauer mazor gratia. Callibasa…quello accuso esser amico de Greci lo qual cum frequente lettere a lo Imperator confirmo el suo animo a star forte et constante, et le sue lettere saluate in fede de questo apresento al turcho…. Ma Chirluca non scapolo la pena de la malitia sua, che nel suo conspetto fece occider do grandi sui fioli, laltro impubere zouenetto reservo a sua luxuria et lui in ultimo cum sui baroni fu decapitato.*

He summoned before him Lord Loukas Notaras, the grand duke and other Greek barons and berated them for failing to persuade their emperor to sue for peace or to surrender the city. The Lord Loukas attempted to win the good will of the sovereign [= sultan] and blamed the Venetians and the Genoese of Pera, who had advised him and assisted him with weapons and soldiers. They had persuaded the emperor to resist. The wretch was always seeking glory and good will through lies and perversion. He charged that Halil Pasha…who was a friend of the Greeks, had often sent letters to the emperor and encouraged him to be brave and firm. He had saved those letters and presented them to the Turk…. But Lord Loukas did not escape punishment for his malice. He witnessed the decapitation of his two older sons, while the third, a young boy, was reserved for his carnal pleasure. Finally, he was beheaded with the other barons.

# VI. SEKOUNDINOS:[14]

*Exponam pr<a>eterea genus piisimum mortis maxima auctoritate et prudentia viri Luc<a>e, cui "magnus dux" honoris causa cognomen erat pro more patrio decreto regio condonatum. Is, captus vivus cum uxore et liberis, ad regem* [= Mehmed II] *victorem adductus est; cum autem benigne et comiter per aliquot dies rex ipse se visus esset affectus, misit qui ut filius adulescentulus, egregi<a>e indolis form<a>e honest<a>e, sibi mittere<tur> peteret. Animadvertit vir prudentissimus filiolum ad nefandum expeti flagitium. Quamobrem diu recusavit dixitque malle se mori quam filiolum flagitio subiiecere tali. Rex hinc iratus adolescentulum quidem vi e complexibus sinuque parentum evelli et detrahi iussit. Lucam vero cum duobus aliis filiis generoque morte damnavit. Ubi itaque spiculatorem astare vidit, ratus viro forti ac gravi <a>equo animo glorioseque esse moriendum, timens filiis generoque ne, per <a>etatem et mollitiem animi, patre mortuo, vit<a>e indulgentes, ad t<a>etrum facinus et fidei sacratissim<a>e declinarent mutationem, precibus a spiculatore impetravit ut filios et generum prius, se deinceps trucidaret. Vertit deinde se vir amplissimus ad generum filiosque:*

*"Subite," inquit, "filii carissimi, <a>equo animo mortem: nobis vita potius, merito, quam interitus est reputanda. Quibus enim oculis solem ipsum aspicere et luce frui possemus, qua tandem conditione vitam producere qui sempiternis miseriis et calamitate nefanda impliciti simus, qui libere nati, ingenue ac laute educati, servitutis acerbissima premamur iam sarcina, – rege, regno, patria nobilissima, templis, civibus, equaliter, truculenter extinctis, honoribus patriis, vetustissimis moribus, legibus ritibusque funditus sublatis, laribus, focis domesticis, parietibus suavissimis, omnibus penitus pariterque eversis, fortunis in pr<a>edam et direptionem hostis datis. Moriamini igitur, non modo forti, verum etiam at alacri animo pietateque in Deum incolumi; fide ill<a>esa, fide integra traducite vos, morte hac momentanea carnis, ad immortalem ac perpetuam animorum vitam. Funere vestro parentalia ex<s>equamini patris, qui la<e>tus moriar, ubi videro vos ex hoc patri<a>e gentis reliquarumque regni naufragio mox ad portum salutis pie et fideliter pervenisse. Non amplius nobis hostis erit timendus, non patriam colemus moenibus fragilibus cinctam, qu<a>e possint tormentis labefactari et machinis; non supellectilem possidebimus, qu<a>e dari possit militi ut direptionem. <a>eterno fruemur gaudio, <a>eterna pace, <a>eterna quiete."*

*Hac exhortatione vir gravissimus ita animavit filios generumque, ita*

*affecit, ut l<a>eto animo et h<i>lari vultu colla securi porrexerint et pie spiritus Creatori commisserint, apte modo spectante atque hortante, verum etiam l<a>etitia incredibili ex<s>ultante. Qui post h<a>ec flexis genibus Deum adoravit eiusque ineffabili clementi<a>e animam commisit. Spiculatorem deinde ut officium ageret invitavit, ac impigre virum clarissimum f<o>de, t<a>eterrime iugulavit.*

Now let me turn to the death of Loukas [Notaras], an extremely pious and prudent man who commanded the greatest respect. The honorific title 'grand duke' had been accorded to him in accordance with the ancestral custom and an imperial decree. He was captured alive with his wife and children and he was brought before the victorious king [= sultan]. For a few days the king [= sultan] himself seemed to treat him kindly and politely. He then summoned and sent for his young son, who was exceptionally handsome. That most prudent man realized that his young son was being summoned to participate in the unspeakable vice. And so he refused to obey the summons and said that he would rather die than subject his little boy to such perversion. The king [= sultan] became angry and ordered that the son be snatched away from the arms and embraces of his parents and be hauled before him. He condemned Loukas, his two other sons, and his son-in-law to death. When he saw the executioner standing by, he decided that a brave and notable man must accept a glorious death. He feared, though, that, once he, the father had died, his sons and son-in-law (because of their age and tender minds) would choose to live by committing a most foul crime and deny their most sacred faith through conversion. So he asked the executioner to slaughter his sons and his son-in-law first and then execute him. Then that authoritative man turned to his son-in-law and his sons:

"My dearest sons," he said, "go on to your death without worry. We must reject life and embrace extinction. Now we can see the sun and enjoy light but we are compelled to live in eternal misfortune and in criminal circumstances. We who have been born free and have been highly educated now must endure the burden of a most bitter enslavement. Gone are our emperor, our empire, and our most noble homeland. Our churches and citizens have all been savagely destroyed. Our ancestral honors, our most ancient customs, our laws and religion, have been uprooted. Our shrines, our homes, and sweetest houses have been irrevocably lost. Our fortunes are being plundered and looted. So let us die as brave men with a determined mind and with our faith in God uninjured. With steady, absolute faith comport yourselves. This is only the momentary death of the flesh. We are going to the immortal, eternal life of the soul.”

With this exhortation that most influential man so strengthened the spirits of his sons and of his son-in-law, and affected them in such a way that they stretched their necks for the ax with a joyful mind and with eager disposition they piously committed their souls to the Creator, as their father looked on, encouraged them, and was even delighted with incredible cheer. Then he invited the executioner to perform his duty. He miserably executed that wonderful man of steadfast faith.

# VII. DI MONTALDO:[15]

*Lucas, Magnus Dux cognomento honoris dictus, quem proditionis infamia reum fecit, vigesies centenis aureorum milibus extrusus est. Cumque noluisset natum regi libidinose eum rectius scelerate machinanti dare, dum benigne prius ac comiter habitus fuisset, in regis indignationem devenit. Quam quidem ob rem mox clamitantem e complexibus parentis arripi puerum jussit, cumque invitum violasset, eundem cum patre ac altero fratre morte multandum dedit, objecta de proditione civitatis culpa, quam perperam tradisse patrem asserebat.*

*Ob ipsas res maxime spiculatori jusso obtrucandos eos dedit, ut ad proditorum exempla fore lumen justitiae diceretur. Quod quidem respiciens pater spiritu adauctus, timuit fidei abnegandae periculum, in quo nati futuri essent, si ante mori oporteret; ea cognita, a spiculatore mortem inferendam prius caeteris impetravit quam sibi.*

*Quo facto hujuscemodi pater orandi modo in cohortandis liberis usus est: Euge praeclara proles, dilecti adolescentes Deo, laeto, inquit, animo martyrium sumitote, vitam, non necem, non poenas, sed salutem pro aeternae lucis supplicio recepturi; hanc plerique sane homines affectavere, quibus in obtinendis nulla facultas fuit. Nos, si deum animo cognoscimus, Platone testante in libro de animorum aeternitate, ut a gentilibus incipiam, cuius ex monumentis Catonem vita excessisse compertum est, mortem appetemus. Nonne Cleanthes atque Empedocles pari modo consumpti sunt? Quanto felicius nos, quibus est vera fides, mortem debemus expetere, quam antiquorum cujusque virorum generis, adolescentium, virginum, tum maiorum natu copia permagna tulit! Nonne etiam modernorum permagnus numerus majoris spe gloriae vitam pro martyrio contempsere? Si vero forte hanc tempestatem appetimus mundi, quem fere caducum et labilem ii cognoverunt, sempiternam, in quam devenimus, miseriam contemplemur. Patriam, opes libertatem amisimus! Quibus ergo animis vivendum aut intuendum lucem videretur, qui tanto infortunio calamitateque nostris sub nefandorum atque infidelium triumpho hostium succumbamus. Amissis ut opibus tanto vituperio degendum ingruat, dura egestas foret. Vitam igitur poenarum labili momento subeamus, spe, caritate, fide in salutari Deo. Filii, exoro, cum patientia, vestro laetum patri exitum praeparetis, qui percontentus ac perjucundus emoriar, dum praevidero ex hoc tanto, vos, naufragio ad salutis portum, pie, constanter, fideliter pervenisse.*

*Hac oratione accensi adolescentes inanimati adeo sunt, ut hilari fronte sibi uterque necem esse solatium arbitrarentur. Deinde a patre veniam et*

*benedictionem petentes capitali vitae exitum supplicio sustulerunt. Lucas contentus spiculatori eidem supplicem se subegit, Deoque animam pari martyrio in admiratione videntium dedit. Bona mobilia pretio inaestimanda atque admiranda rex Mahometus tanto opum cumulo contraxit. Uxorem ejus, cum pro vilipendio prostituendam praecepisset, desperatione consciam praecipitu mortem tulisse ferunt; filiam, forma admirandam, pellicem sibi factam.*

Loukas, who bore the honorific title grand duke, and who has been ignobly accused of being a traitor, extricated himself with 20,000 coins of gold. And when he rightly proved unwilling to submit his son to the king's [= sultan's] erotic advances, the king [= sultan] became angry with him, even though thus far he had treated him politely and amiably…. He soon ordered that the boy be snatched, in spite of his tears, from the arms of his parents. He raped the protesting boy and then he ordered that the boy with another brother of his, as well as the father, be punished with death.[16] There was always the charge that the father betrayed the city.

For these reasons he ordered that they be slaughtered by the executioner, to make a shining example of meting justice. The determined father looked back and began to fear that his sons would come perilously close to rejecting their [Christian] faith to avoid death. With realization, he begged the executioner to put them to death before him.

After his request was granted, the father encouraged his sons in a speech of the following manner: "Come now, my noble sons; you have been favored by God. In good spirit undergo your martyrdom, as you will suffer neither punishment nor death but you will receive a life of eternal light instead of a penalty. Have no doubt; many men have been so afflicted, when they found themselves powerless. We know that God is within our intellect (as Plato testifies in his work about the eternal nature of the soul, if I may start with the gentiles). How Cato departed from life is well known; did not Cleanthes and Empedocles perish in the same manner?[17] How much happier are we, who, with our true faith, should seek death, than all those men, those young men, and virgins of old, whom antiquity bore as our examples! Even in our own times have there not been so many who disdained life and chose martyrdom for greater glory? If we embrace the ephemeral world, which those people recognized as shaky and slippery, we, in degradation, will embrace eternal misery. We have lost our fatherland, our fortune, and our freedom. Our choice is to live with the spirits or to look upon light. We must not succumb to our misfortune and adversity in this triumph of our criminal and infidel enemies. In this loss of our wealth and in such criminal circumstances we must endure. Let us depart life in a gliding instant of pain, with hope, charity, and faith in our God for salvation. My sons, I beg you: patiently prepare a joyful departure for your father, so I may day in joy and contentment, realizing that you have faithfully, piously, and steadfastly reached the haven of salvation from this total shipwreck."

With this speech the young men became so determined that each one offered his neck in good cheer and considered death his solace. Then they asked their father's pardon and blessing and ended their lives, as it had been decreed. Loukas was content and surrendered himself to the executioner. He gave up his soul like a martyr and won the admiration of all present. His possessions, whose value was so high that they could not even be estimated, were admired and then were confiscated by the King [= Sultan] Mehmed. When his wife discovered that she was destined to be prostituted cheaply, in desperation she committed suicide, they say. His daughter, an exceptional beauty, became his concubine.

# VIII. MOSKHOS:[18]

Τῆς Πόλεως μέντοι ἁλούσης, καὶ φόνου ἀμέτρου καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ γενομένου, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὅμως ἐτήρησεν ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ θανεῖν, ἵν᾽ ἐκδηλοτέρα πᾶσιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐκείνου καὶ ὃν εἶχεν ἐκ παίδων ἔρωτα πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὡς μηδὲ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοῦ φείδεσθαι τοῦ πᾶσιν ὄντος ἀνθρώποις ἐπεράστου. Ὁ βάρβαρος τοίνυν μετὰ σπουδῆς τὸν ἄνδρα ζητήσας, τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐκείνου ἀξίας αἰδούμενος, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ζῶντα, ταχὺ κελεύει ἀχθῆναι· καὶ ἰδών, πᾶσαν ὠμότητα βαρβαρικὴν ἀποθέμενος, προσηνέσι λόγοις ἐχρῆτο καὶ δωρεαῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγαις καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις μεγίσταις, αἳ καὶ αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξέπληξαν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺ διαμένειν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν, οὔτε τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως μεταβολήν τινα δέξασθαι δυναμένης, οὔτε μὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγχωροῦντος τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦ γένους αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὁρᾶν καὶ ταύτην φωναῖς ἀσεβέσι μιαινομένην καὶ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἤθεσι δουλεύουσαν βαρβάροις προσήκουσιν. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁτῳδήποτε τρόπῳ θανεῖν προσέταξε τοῦτόν τε καί τινας ἄλλους τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, ἀπῄει μὲν ἀγῶνα τρέχων οὐκ ἐλάττω καρτερικοῦ, ἢ γὰρ ἂν καὶ κρεῖττον ἢ ὡς ἄν τις ἤλπισεν ἄν, καὶ πρὸς Χριστὸν ἔρωτα ἔδειξε καὶ τὸν πρὸς ἁγίους μάρτυρας ζῆλον, εἴ τις αὐτῷ περὶ εὐσεβείας ἠνόχλει, καὶ φειδὼ μηδεμιᾶς βασάνου καὶ τιμωρίας ἐποίησεν, ἔχαιρε δὲ καὶ ἠγαλλιᾶτο ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐπικήρου βίου τὸν ἀΐδιον ἐκεῖνον μέλλων βιοῦν. Ὡς δὲ ὁ δήμιος ἤδη παρὼν τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ τυράννου βαρβάρου ἐζήτει ποιεῖν, τό τε ξίφος ἔφερε τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἕτοιμος ἦν αὐτὸν ἅμα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· ὡς δὲ ἕνα τούτων ἑώρα πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἀποδειλιῶντα καὶ δέει, ὥσπερ εἰκός, κατεχόμενον, πρὸς μὲν τὸν δήμιον (ὢ γενναιότατης ἐκείνης ψυχῆς, ὢ φρονήματος σταθεροτάτου καὶ μυρίων ἐπαίνων καὶ θαυμάτων ἀξίου!) "ἐπίσχες, ἔφη μικρόν," πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὀκνοῦντα καὶ δεδιότα υἱόν· "ποῦ σου," ἔλεγε, "φίλτατε, ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αἰδώς; ποῦ ἡ στοργὴ καὶ διάθεσις; ποῦ αἱ πολλαὶ ὑποσχέσεις, ἃς ὑπέσχου πολλάκις, ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προθύμως ἀποθανεῖν; ποῦ τὸ φίλτρον; ποῦ τίθης τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀκουσάντων σου ταῦτα; ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μόνον ὑπολαμβάνεις ἐκεῖνα ἀκηκοέναι, θεὸν δὲ μὴ εἰδέναι, μηδὲ παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἥν μοι πολλάκις ὑπέσχου, ζητεῖν ἐν τῇ τῆς φρικτῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας ἡμέρᾳ; ποῦ πατρίς, τέκνον; ποῦ περιφάνεια γένους; ποῦ βασιλεία Ῥωμαίων; ποῦ ἠθῶν εὐκοσμία καὶ σεμνότης καὶ εὐταξία; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὡς ἀπόλωλε πάντα; φρόνημα τοίνυν εὐσταθὲς καὶ γενναῖον καί σοι προσῆκον ἀναλαβών, φάνηθι θανάτου καταφρονῶν. Ἐγγὺς ὁ κοινὸς δεσπότης· ἀμείψεταί σοι δωρεαῖς ἀγαθαῖς τὰς πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν πατέρα ὑποσχέσεις ἀποπληροῦντα." Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ τοῦ νέου φρόνημα νεανικὸν καὶ ἀπτόητον καταστήσας, "τούτους," φησὶ τῷ δημίῳ, "πρότερον ἀνελών, ὕστερον δὲ ἐμὲ δράσεις ταὐτά." Ὢ θείας καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐκείνης ψυχῆς! ὢ γενναιότητος! ὢ φιλοτεκνίας! ὢ πατρικῆς διαθέσεως! Συνεφείλκετο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῶντας καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἄλλο τι βουλεύσασθαι, δεδιώς, ὡς ἔοικε, μήπω φανείη κἂν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου τῆς ἐκείνων κηδεμονίας ὀλιγωρῶν. Ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνος πρῶτον ἀνεῖλεν ὁρῶντος ὁ δήμιος, δόξα σοι, χαίρων εἶπε, "Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ," καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας μετὰ δακρύων, "δέξαι μου," ἔλεγε, "τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ δώρησαί μοι τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος, καὶ δεῖξόν με κληρονόμον τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ μέτοχον τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς." Εἶτα, τῷ δημίῳ νεύσας, τὸ μακάριον τέλος ἐδέξατο.

τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας μετὰ δακρύων, "δέξαι μου," ἔλεγε, "τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ δώρησαί μοι τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος, καὶ δεῖξόν με κληρονόμον τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ μέτοχον τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς." Εἶτα, τῷ δημίῳ νεύσας, τὸ μακάριον τέλος ἐδέξατο.

So the City was captured and there was endless slaughter and enslavement. Yet God's providence preserved this man from death so that his virtue and his love of God (which he had cultivated since childhood) could become known more widely.

The barbarian [= the sultan of the Turks] searched for him carefully, as he had respect for the man's authority. He knew that he survived and he issued orders that he be brought before him forthwith. Once he saw him, he lost all his barbaric cruelty, spoke mild words, promised him many favors, and gave very strong pledges, which surprised even the barbarians [= Turks]. But this situation could not last very long, as his barbaric nature was not capable of enduring any permanent change. Furthermore, God did not allow him [*sc*. Notaras] to see the destruction of our people and our homeland, as she was being polluted by the infidel's [= Turks'] language and servitude to the barbarians [= Turks], who imposed their own government and customs. He issued orders that he and other illustrious men in his company be executed. So he took the uphill road to martyrdom and displayed his love for Christ (more so than anyone would have thought possible) and his devotion to the saintly martyrs. He proved his piety. He was spared neither torture nor punishment. And he was glad to leave this life full of toil and to move on to the next life.

The executioner already present prepared to fulfill the command of the barbaric tyrant [= the sultan of the Turks], drew his sword, and was ready to put him and his sons to death. But he saw that one [of his sons] was afraid to die and he made a request to the executioner (what a noble soul! what firm resolution worthy of countless praises and miracles!): "Stay your hand for a moment," he said and turned to his hesitating and terrified son: "Don't you have respect for your father, dearest son?" He went on: "Where are your affection and your character? Where are your many pledges, which you extended so often, stating that you would die for me willingly? Where is the duty to your father? Have you forgotten that others heard you speak in this manner? Or is it that you think that only men heard such words, that they failed to reach God, who will inquire about your awesome promise in the day of His terrible coming? Where is your homeland, son? Where is your pride in your family? Where is the empire of the Romans [= Greeks]? Where are your good character, your good manners, and your willingness to obey? Can't you see that all is lost? So be of a firm, noble mind, as it is appropriate for you. Do show contempt for death. The lord of all is drawing near. He will reward you for keeping the promises you made to me, your father."

Thus he spoke and confirmed the young man’s mind. He said to the executioner: “First execute them and then turn to me.” What a divine, magnificent soul! What nobility! What affection for his sons! What fatherly concern! He preferred to see his own sons dead, whom he had no desire to leave behind alive in case their faith should weaken. He feared that his guardianship over them might be found lacking, even at the very end of their lives. So the executioner put them to death while he looked on. Afterwards he said: “Glory be to you, Christ our king.” He raised his arms and said in tears: “Accept my soul and grant me your great mercy. Make me an heir to your kingdom, and let me share in the immortal life.” Then he gestured to the executioner and received the blessed end.

# IX. DOUKAS:[19]

...ἐζήτησε [*sc.* Mehmed] τὸν μέγα δοῦκα καὶ αὖθις παρέστησαν αὐτόν. Ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ προσκυνήσας εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "καλῶς ἐποιήσατε τοῦ μὴ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν; Ἰδέ, πόση ζημία ἐγεγόνει, πόσος ὄλεθρος, πόση αἰχμαλωσία." Ὁ δὲ δοὺξ ἀπεκρίνατο· "Κύριε, οὐκ εἴχαμεν τόσην ἡμεῖς ἐξουσίαν τοῦ διδόναι σοι τὴν Πόλιν, οὐδὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτός· ἄλλως ὅτι καί τινες τῶν σῶν ἐνεδυνάμουν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν λόγοις γράφοντες...." Τοῦτο γοῦν ὑπέλαβεν ὁ τύραννος διὰ τὸν Χαλὶλ πασιάν .... Πρωίας δὲ γενομένης παρελθούσης ἐκείνης τῆς ζοφερᾶς ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ ἐγένετο ἡ πανωλεθρία τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ τύραννος καὶ εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς ἐλθών, ἐξελθὼν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτόν, εἰσῆλθεν ἐντός. ἦν δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀσθενοῦσα κλινήρης... ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ, καί...ἐξῆλθε περιοδεύων τὴν Πόλιν.... Τότε ὁ τύραννος διελθὼν τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς Πόλεως καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τοῦ παλατίου μέρεσι συμπόσιον ποιήσας εὐφραίνετο· καὶ δὴ καταβαπτισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ μεθυσθεὶς ὥρισεν τῷ ἀρχιευνούχῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προστάξας εἶπεν "ἄπελθε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός, καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ, ὁρίζει ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἵνα στείλῃς τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν νεώτερον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ." ἦν γὰρ εὐειφὴς ὁ νέος, ἄγων τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπενεκρώθη, καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ἠλλοιώθη, καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀρχιευνούχῳ, "οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ διαγωγῇ τοῦ παραδοῦναι τὸ ἐμὸν παιδίον οἰκείας χερσὶν μιανθῆναι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ. κρεῖττον ἂν ἦν μοι τοῦ στεῖλαι δήμιον καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν κεφαλήν μου ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ." ὁ δὲ ἀρχιευνοῦχος συμβουλεύσας αὐτὸν τοῦ δοῦναι τὸ παιδίον...ὁ δὲ μὴ πεισθεὶς ...τότε ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος στραφεὶς εἶπε τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἅπαντα...τότε ὁ τύραννος θυμωθεὶς εἴρηκεν τῷ ἀρχιευνούχῳ, "λάβε τὸν δήμιον σύν σοι, καὶ στραφεὶς ἄγε μοι τὸ παιδίον. ὁ δὲ δήμιος ἀγαγέτω τὸν δοῦκα καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ."· καὶ μαθὼν τὸ μήνυμα ὁ δοὺξ ἐπορεύετο σὺν τῷ δημίῳ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Καντακουζηνός. τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἔλαβεν μεθ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος. εἰσελθὼν οὖν καὶ δείξας τὸ παιδίον τῷ ἡγεμόνι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ παλατίου ἱσταμένους, ὥρισε τῷ δημίῳ ξίφει τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἀποτμηθῆναι. τότε λαβὼν αὐτοὺς μικρὸν κάτωθεν τοῦ παλατίου, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δήμιος τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν σφαγὴν ἔκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ γενναίως σταθεὶς ἐνεδυνάμωσε τοὺς νέους, στηρίζων αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγων "τεκνία, εἴδατε τὴν χθὲς ἡμέραν ἐν μιᾷ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ τὰ ἡμέτερα πάντα φροῦδα γεγονότα. ὁ πλοῦτος ἡμῶν ὁ ἀκένωτος, ἡ δόξα ἡ θαυμαστή, ἣν εἴχομεν ἐν τῇ μεγαλουπόλει ταύτῃ, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ, ἣν οἰκοῦσι Χριστιανοί. νυνὶ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐνελείπετο ἄλλο εἰς ἡμᾶς πλὴν ἡ παροῦσα αὕτη ζωή. ἔσται δὲ ἡμῖν αὕτη οὐκ ἀτελεύτητος· ὀψὲ γὰρ θνηξόμεθα. καὶ ταῦτα πῶς; ὑστερούμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν ὠλέσαμεν, τῆς δόξης, τῆς τιμῆς, τῆς αὐθεντίας, παρὰ πάντων ὀνειδιζόμενοι καταφρονούμενοι καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενοι, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ θάνατος, λαβὼν ἐκ τῶνδε ὧδε ἀτίμους. ποῦ ὁ ἡμέτερος

βασιλεύς· οὐκ ἐσφάγη χθές; ποῦ ὁ ἐμὸς συμπέθερος καὶ σὸς πατὴρ ὁ μέγας δομέστικος; ποῦ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ πρωτοστράτωρ σὺν τοῖς δύο υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ; οὐκ ἐσφάγησαν χθὲς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ; εἴθε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν αὐτοῖς, πλὴν καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὥρα ἱκανή ἐστι, μὴ πλημμελήσωμεν πλέον. τίς γὰρ οἶδε τὰ ὅπλα διαβόλου, εἰ καὶ βραδύνοντες πληγῶμεν παρὰ τῶν ἰοβόλων βελῶν αὐτοῦ; νῦν τὸ στάδιον ἕτοιμον. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θανόντος καὶ ἀναστάντος ἀποθάνωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπολαύσωμεν τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ στηρίξας τοὺς νέους, ἐγεγόνεισαν πρόθυμοι τοῦ θανεῖν. καὶ λέγει τῷ σπεκουλάτορι, "ποίησον τὸ κελευσθέν σοι, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοὺς νέους." καὶ ὑπακούσας ὁ δήμιος ἀπέταμε τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νέων, ἱστάμενος ὁ μέγας δοὺξ καὶ λέγων τὸ "εὐχαριστῶ σοι κύριε: καὶ τὸ "δίκαιος εἶ κύριε." τότε εἶπε τῷ σπεκουλάτορι, "ἀδελφέ, δός μοι ὀλίγην ἀνοχὴν τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ προσεύξασθαι." ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ ναὸς μικρός. ὁ δὲ ἀφῆκε, καὶ εἰσελθὼν προσεύξατο. τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ (ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὰ σώματα τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἔτι σπαραττόμενα) καὶ πάλιν δοξολογίαν πέμψας τῷ θεῷ ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλήν. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ δήμιος τὰς κεφαλὰς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, ἐμφανίσας αὐτὰς τῷ αἱμοβόρῳ θηρίῳ. τὰ δὲ σώματα γυμνὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄταφα κατέλιπεν.

…he [*sc.* Mehmed II] inquired about the grand duke and he was summoned before him without delay. He came and knelt before him. He said to him: “Was it a good thing that you failed to surrender the city? Look at all the damage, the destruction, all the prisoners.” The duke responded: “Lord: we did not have the authority to surrender the city to you; not even the emperor had this authority. In any case, some of your own men encouraged our emperor with written messages….” The tyrant [= the sultan] understood that this comment involved Halil Pasha…. In the morning after that horrible day, in which our nation was destroyed the tyrant [= the sultan] entered the city and came to the house of the grand duke. He came out to meet him and knelt before him; then they went in. His wife was sick in bed…. His sons came and knelt before him and…he left and toured the city…. Then the tyrant [= the sultan] went through most of the city and celebrated in good cheer with a symposium held in the neighborhood of the palace. After he had drunk a great deal of wine and was intoxicated he summoned his chief eunuch [= *kislar aga*] and commanded: “Go to the house of the grand duke and tell him that his lord commands him to send his youngest son to my symposium.” The boy was handsome, about fourteen years old. The father of the boy heard the message and was almost struck dead. His face changed and he said to the chief eunuch: “Our upbringing does not allow me to surrender my son, with [my] own hands, to be polluted by him. It would be much better for me to be sent to the executioner and be beheaded.” The chief eunuch advised him to surrender the boy…but he was not persuaded…. Then the chief eunuch returned and informed the lord…. Then the tyrant [= the sultan] became angry and said to his chief eunuch:[20] “Take the executioner and go [to the grand duke’s house] to bring me the boy. Let the executioner escort the grand duke and his sons.” …the grand duke was told this message…he, his son, and his son-in-law, Kantakouzenos, went with the executioner. The chief eunuch escorted the boy. He entered and showed the boy to the lord, while the rest were standing at the gate of the palace. He commanded that the executioner behead them with the sword. Then the executioner took them a short distance away from the palace and announced the sentence to them. When his son heard that they were going to be slaughtered, he cried. His father stood by bravely, encouraged, and strengthened the young men, and said: “Sons: you saw how yesterday, in a single sweep of time, we lost everything we possessed: both our endless wealth and the admirable glory that we had in this great city and, through it, throughout the entire world inhabited by Christians. All we have left, at this hour, is our ephemeral life. But even that cannot continue on without an end. Eventually we will die. And in what condition? We have been deprived of our goods: we have lost glory, honor, and lordship. We are facing universal contempt and disdain. We will suffer until death comes to take us away in dishonor. Where is our emperor? Was he not slaughtered yesterday? Where is my relative-in-marriage, your father, the grand domestic? Where are our *protostrator* Palaiologos and his two sons? Were they not slaughtered in battle yesterday? Let us also desire to die with them. This is a good hour to die. Let us delay no longer. Who knows the weapons of the devil? Perhaps if we delay, his poisoned arrows will strike us.[21] In the name of the One who was crucified for us, who died, who was resurrected, let us also go to our death, so that we may enjoy a reward with Him.” So he spoke and gave strength to the young men who expressed willingness to die. Then he said to the executioner: “Fulfill your command, but do start with the young men.” The executioner obeyed and he beheaded the young men. And he [Notaras] confirmed the resolution of the young men, who accepted death willingly. The grand duke stood by and said: “Thank you, Lord! You are just, Lord.” Then he said to the executioner: “Brother: grant me a respite to enter and pray.” For at that place was a small church. He allowed him to do so; he entered and prayed. Then he exited from the church’s gate (where the bodies of his sons were still writhing) and once more he glorified God before he was beheaded. And so the executioner took the heads and came to the [sultan’s] drinking party. He showed them [the heads] to the bloodthirsty beast [= the sultan]. He left there [at the place of execution] the bodies, naked and unburied.

## X. KHALKOKONDYLES:[22]

Νοταρᾶν δὲ τὸν βασιλέως Ἑλλήνων πρύτανιν [= μεγάλον δοῦκα] αὐτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξωνησάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας, καὶ χρηματίσας αὐτῷ, ἅττα ἠβούλετο συνιέναι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅσα ᾔδει προσδόκιμα, ἐτίμα τε καὶ συνεγένετο χρόνον τινά, καὶ Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι ἠλευθέρωντο, συνελέγοντο αὖθις ἐς τὴν Βυζαντίου πόλιν [*sc.* Κωνσταντινούπολιν], τούς τε προσήκοντας αὐτῶν ἐλευθεροῦντες καὶ ἐπιτηδείους. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπώλοντο. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ὡς ἀνηνέχθη ἐς βασιλέα παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Νοταρᾶ νήπιον δωδεκαετῆ, ἔπεμψε τῶν οἰνοχόων αὐτοῦ ἕνα, αἰτούμενος τὸν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ παρὰ τοῦ οἰνοχόου, χαλεπῶς τε ἔφερε καὶ ἐποιεῖτο δεινόν, λέγων "ὦ οἰνοχόε, οὐκ ἀνασχετά ἐστι, βασιλέα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν ἔχων, ὅ τι ἂν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιμέμψασθαι, ἐπεί τε συνέγνω ἡμῖν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξωνησάμενος. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὕτω ἡμᾶς ποιοίη, τί οὐ κελεύει ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς κακίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ παραδοῦναι"; ταῦτα ἔλεγε, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη ἑκὼν εἶναί ποτε τὸν παῖδα ἀναίτιος ὢν ἐκδώσειν. ἐπιπλήττοντι δὲ τῷ οἰνοχόῳ καὶ παραινοῦντι μήτε λέγειν μήτε ποιεῖν οὕτω ἐς βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτίκα ἀπολούμενον, οὐκ ἔπειθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑποστρέφων ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ συμπαρῆσαν, ἀπαγαγόντα κατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπὶ τούτου ταχθέντες. ἐδεῖτο μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ἀνελεῖν τὰ πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἑαυτὸν καταχρήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν παῖδες αὐτοῦ καταδείσαντες τὸν θάνατον ἐδέοντο τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ὅσα ἐνῆν σφίσι χρήματα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, παραδόντας περιποιῆσαι σφᾶς, ὥστε μὴ ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἴα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκέλευε θαρροῦντας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον. καὶ τούτους μὲν πρῶτα ἀνεῖλον, μετὰ δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρείχετο διαχρήσασθαι.

The king [= the sultan] personally ransomed Notaras the *prytanis* [= grand duke] of the Hellenes [= Greeks], his wife, and his sons. He spent some time with him and discussed his affairs, all matters concerning Italy, as well as his expectations. He honored him and they spent time together. Those Hellenes [= Greeks] who had been liberated assembled again in the city of Byzantium [= Constantinople] to free their relatives and friends. A short time later they were all eliminated by the king [= sultan]. It came about in the following manner. When it was reported to the king [= sultan] that Notaras had a twelve-year old son, he sent one of his cupbearers to ask for this child. When the cupbearer told him of this, he became upset and considered it a misfortune. He said: “Cupbearer: such orders cannot be endured; the king [= sultan] cannot deprive us of our sons. He has no complaints about me at this time; after all, he pardoned my mistakes when he ransomed me. If he intends to treat us in this manner, why does he not order the worst manner of death for me?” So he spoke and added that, as he was innocent, he would never willingly surrender his son. The cupbearer urged him and advised him not to say such words about the king [= sultan] and not to act in this manner, as he would be signing his own immediate execution, but he could not persuade him. He returned and announced to the king [= sultan] what had happened with the Hellenes [= Greeks]. Without further delay, he commanded that he and all of his sons present be taken away and be slaughtered. So those who had been charged with this task came to his house. He asked them to execute his sons first, in front of him, and then to execute him. Fearing death, the sons asked their father to surrender all the money that they had in Italy to avoid execution. He did not allow it but he urged them to have courage and go to their death. So they killed them first and then he submitted himself to the executioners.

# XII. PSEUDO-SPHRANTZES:[23]

ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς τῇ νίκῃ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ πλείστης κενοδοξίας πλησθεὶς τὴν ὀφρὺν ἐπαρθεὶς ὠμὸς καὶ ἀνελεήμων ἐφάνη. Προσελθὼν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ μέγας δοὺξ ὁ κὺρ Λουκᾶς ὁ Νοταρᾶς προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν καὶ δείξας αὐτῷ θησαυρὸν πολύν, ὃν εἶχε κεκρυμμένον, καὶ λίθους καὶ μαργάρους καὶ ἕτερα λάφυρα ἄξια βασιλεῦσιν, ἃ ἰδὼν ὁ ἀμηρᾶς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασαν. Ὁ δὲ Νοταρᾶς εἶπε τῷ ἀμηρᾷ· "ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαττον διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν σου· καὶ ἰδοὺ τὰ νῦν χαρίζομαί σοι δῶρον καὶ δέομαι δέξαι τοῦ δούλου σου τὴν δέησιν καὶ παρακάλεσιν." Ἔλπιζεν οὖν οὗτος δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ. Ἀπελογίσατο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀμηρᾶς καὶ εἶπεν· "ὦ ἡμικύον καὶ ἀπάνθρωπε μηχανορράφε καὶ πολύτροπε, τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον εἶχες καὶ οὐκ ἐβοήθησας τῷ βασιλεῖ και αὐθέντῃ σου καὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ πατρίδι σου; Νῦν δὲ μετὰ τοιούτων πονηριῶν καὶ πανουργιῶν, ἃς οἶδας ποιεῖν καὶ πράττειν ἐκ νεότητος, βούλῃ ὑποσκελίσαι κἀμὲ καὶ φύγῃς τοῦ πρέποντος σοι; Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ ἀσεβές, τίς ὁ χαρίσας μοι τὸν πλοῦτον τὸν σὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην εἰς χεῖρας μου;" Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Νοταρᾶς· "ὁ Θεός." Ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "ἐπεὶ ὁ Θεὸς ταῦτα μοι ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ σὲ καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας μου δούλους ἔδωσε, τί σὺ λέγεις, πονηρέ, καὶ φλυαρεῖς; Πῶς οὐκ ἔστειλάς μοι αὐτά, πρὶν τὴν μάχην κινήσω καθ᾽ ὑμῶν ἢ πρὶν τὴν πόλιν κινήσω, ἵνα ὀφείλω σοι τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἀνταμοιβήν; Νῦν οὖν οὐκ εἶ σὺ ὁ χαρίσας μοι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ ὁ Θεός." Καὶ εὐθὺς ὥρισεν τοῖς δημίοις ἵνα εἰς φυλακὴν βάλωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τηρῶσι.

Τὴν δὲ ἐπαύριον προστάξας ἤνεγκαν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος αὐτοῦ· καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· "ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησας βοηθῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι σου μετὰ τοσούτου θησαυροῦ ἀναριθμήτου, ὃν εἶχες, καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἐβούλευσας τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτε ἐμήνυσα αὐτῷ, ἵνα μετ᾽ εἰρήνης μοι δώσῃ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄλλον ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς τόπον δώσω μετ᾽ ἀγάπης καὶ φιλίας, ἵνα μὴ τοσοῦτοι φόνοι ἀνὰ μέσον ἡμῶν γενήσωνται;" Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· "ἐγὼ ἀναίτιός εἰμι τῷ βασιλεῖ, στεῖλαι εἰς βοήθειαν ἀλλ᾽ οἱ Ἐνετοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ Γαλατᾷ, οἳ ἔτασσον τῷ βασιλεῖ, στεῖλαι εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῷ στόλον καὶ στρατόν." Ὁ δὲ ἀμηρᾶς, "πολλὰ οἶδας," λέγει, "ψεύδους ἐφευρήματα, τὰ νῦν καιρὸς ψεύδους οὐκ ἔστιν, ἵνα σοι βοηθήσωσι." Καὶ προστάξας ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξηροῦ Λόφου ἀγορὰν κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ θανατώσωσι τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ...εἶτα καὶ αὐτὸν θανατώσωσι, ὡς καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ οὕτω τὰ τοῦ Λουκᾶ Νοταρᾶ πέρας ἔλαβον.

The sultan was elated with his victory, became vain, and demonstrated his savage and merciless nature. Our grand duke Lord Loukas Notaras came to his court, prostrated himself, and presented him with his huge treasure, which had been concealed up to this day. It consisted of pearls, precious stones, and gems worthy of royalty. The sultan and all his courtiers were amazed. Then Notaras spoke: “I have guarded this treasure for the beginning of your reign. Accept it, I beg you, as my personal gift. I am now your liege man.” He had hopes that he and his household would thus escape slavery.

The sultan responded: “Inhuman half-breed dog, skilled in flattery and deceit! You possessed all this wealth and denied it to your lord the emperor and to the City, your homeland? And now, with all your intrigues and immense treachery, which you have been weaving since youth, you are trying to deceive me and avoid that fate you deserve. Tell me, impious man, who has granted possession of this City and your treasure to me?” Notaras answered that God was responsible. The sultan went on: “Since God saw fit to enslave you and all the others to me, what are you trying to accomplish here with your chattering, criminal? Why did you not offer this treasure to me before this war started or before my victory? You could have been my ally and I would have honored you in return. As things stand, God, not you, has granted me your treasure.”

Forthwith the sultan ordered his executioner to place Notaras under arrest and to guard him closely. On the following day, Notaras was brought before the sultan’s throne. The sultan addressed him again: “Why were you unwilling to assist the emperor and your homeland with your immense wealth? Why did you not advise the emperor, when I sent word to him, to surrender the City in peace? I would have transferred him to another location in friendship and affection. Much blood[shed] and destruction would have been prevented.” Notaras replied: “I am not responsible for the emperor’s actions. The Venetians and the inhabitants of Galata [= the Genoese Perenses] had convinced him that their army and fleet were on their way to his aid.” The sultan spoke again: “You are still able to invent many lies, but they will be of no avail to you any longer.”

Then he ordered that on the following day, Notaras be taken to the Xeros Hill and to witness the execution of his two sons…and then be put to death. So it happened, and Lord Loukas Notaras passed away in this manner.

# XIII. *ANONYMOUS BARBERINI:*[24]

Τότε ἔβαλε καὶ ἐκράξανε τὸ κὺρ Λούκα, ὁποὺ ἥτονε πρῶτος ἄρχος, ὁποὺ ἀκράτειε τὰ σκεύη τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ἦρθε ὀμπρός του· ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντες. Τότε τοὺς εἶπε· "διατί δὲν ἐπαρακαλέσετε τὸν βασιλέα νὰ μοῦ δώσῃ τὴν χώραν καὶ νὰ κάμῃ ἀγάπη;" Τότε ἀποκρίθη ὁ κὺρ Λούκας, τάχα νὰ ἔχῃ τὴν φιλία του, καὶ εἰπέ του: "᾿Αφέντη, οἱ Γαλατιανοὶ καὶ οἱ Βενετζᾶνοι δὲν τὸν ἀφήσανε, διατὶ τοῦ ἐδώσανε φλωρία καὶ ἄρματα καὶ σολδάνους πολεμιστᾶδες, καὶ τοῦ εἴπανε, κράτειε, καὶ ἐμεῖς σοῦ βοηθοῦμε· μόνε μὴν παραδοθῇς εἰς τὸν Τοῦρκο." Ὦ, τὸν κακότυχο, ὁποὺ ἤθελε νὰ κάμῃ φιλίαν μὲ ψέματα εἰς τὸν σουλτάνο, ὁποὺ αὐτὸς ὁ κὺρ Λούκας ὅλην του τὴν ζωὴν ἥτονε διεστραμμένος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ περισσότερο ὁποὺ ἐκατάδωσε τὸν ᾿Αλῆ πασᾶ [*sc*. Halil Candarlı], τὸν πρῶτο του βεζύρη, καὶ εἶπε: ᾿Αφέντη, ὁ ᾿Αλῆ πασᾶς ἥτονε πολλὰ φίλος τοῦ βασιλέου μας καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων καὶ τοῦ ἔστειλνε συχνὰ γραφές, ὅτι νὰ στέκῃ δυνατὸς νὰ πολεμᾷ καὶ νὰ μὴν παραδοθῇ. Καὶ ἰδὲς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὁποὺ λέγω: ἐγὼ ἔχω ἐδῶ καὶ τὰ χαρτία, ὁποὺ ἔστειλε μὲ τὴν βούλλα του, ὁποὺ τὰ ἐφύλαγα.

Καὶ τὸν κὺρ Λούκα τὸν ἐπλήρωσε κατὰ τὰ ἔργα του. Καὶ τί ἔκαμε; Αὐτὸς εἶχε τέσσαρους υἱούς, καὶ τὶς δύο τοὺς ἐσκοτώσανε εἰς τὸν πόλεμο, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου ἔκοψε τὸ κεφάλι του ὁ σουλτάνος καὶ τὸν μικρότερον τὸν ἐπῆρε ὁ σουλτάνος διὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν του· καὶ τὸν κὺρ Λούκα ἔκοψε τὸ κεφάλι του.

Then he summoned Lord Loukas [Notaras], the foremost noble who held the vessels of the empire before him; similarly, he summoned the other nobles. Then he said to them: “Why did you not ask your emperor to give me the City and to have peace?” Attempting to win his friendship, supposedly, Lord Loukas responded: “Master, the inhabitants of Galata [Pera] and the Venetians did not let him, because they gave him florins, weapons, and fighting soldiers. They said to him: “Hold firm and we will help you. Do not surrender to the Turks.” Woe to the miserable man, who tried to create friendship with his lies to the sultan. This Lord Loukas had been a perverted individual throughout his life. On top of this he informed on Halil [Candarli] Pasha, the sultan’s first vizier, and said: “Master, Halil Pasha was a close friend to our emperor and of the Romans [= Greeks]. He often sent him letters, urging him to remain firm, to fight on, and to avoid surrender. Here is proof to my words. Look at it. I have here the letters with his seal, which I saved.”

Upon hearing this, the sultan became enraged and ordered the destruction of Galata [Pera]. Then he ordered that Halil be out in irons and be imprisoned in a tower. His property and wealth were confiscated. When the sultan went to Adrianople, he ordered his decapitation.[25] His death was greatly mourned by his attendant and by the entire army, because they loved him, because of his kindness. Lord Loukas reaped a suitable reward for his deeds. What did he do? He had four sons: two were killed in the war; the sultan beheaded the third and took the youngest to be his servant. He beheaded Lord Loukas; similarly, the other noblemen of the City were decapitated.

# XIV. KRITOBOULOS:[26]

ἐκλέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἐμάνθανε γένει τε καὶ φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ δὴ καὶ Νοταρᾶν αὐτόν...καὶ τιμᾷ τοῦτον τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ παρ᾽ αὐτόν, καὶ λόγων μεταδίδωσι μειλιχίων καὶ χρησταῖς ἀνακτᾶται ταῖς ἐλπίσιν...τὸν δέ γε Νοταρᾶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιστάτην ἐπισκόπει καταστῆσαι καὶ τοῦ ξυνοικισμοῦ ταύτης κύριον, ξυμβούλῳ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ πρότερον περὶ τούτου· ἀλλ᾽ ἄφθησαν αὐτοὺς τὰ τοῦ φθόνου βέλη βαλόντα καιρίαν, καὶ κυροῦται θάνατος ἄδικος κατ᾽ αὐτῶν.... Τούτοις πεισθεὶς ἢ μᾶλλον παραπεισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Οἱ δὲ ἀναιροῦνται, καὶ ξυναναιρεῖται τούτοις ὁ μέγας δοὺξ ξὺν τοῖς δυσὶ υἱέσι. Φασὶ γέ τοι τοῦτον, ἐς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἀπαχθέντα, παρακαλέσαι τὸν δήμιον πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς παῖδας, τοῦ μὴ τὸν θάνατον δείσαντας ἀρνηθῆναι τὴν πίστιν, εἶθ᾽ οὕτως αὐτὸν τοῖς πασὶ ἐπιθῦσαι. Ἱστάμενον οὖν ὁρᾶν ἀτενὶ σφαττομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ ὄμματι καὶ ἀπτοήτῳ τῇ γνώμῃ, εἶθ᾽ οὕτως εὐξάμενον καὶ θεῷ χάριτας ὁμολογήσαντα τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὑποθεῖναι τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξίφει. Οὕτω γενναίως καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος καθεστῶτος καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρείας ἀπέθνησκεν... ὕστερόν γε μὴν καταφωράσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δόλον καὶ τὴν κακουργίαν τῶν ἀναπεισάντων αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ μισήσας τῆς κακουργίας αὐτοὺς ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ποιεῖται, τοὺς μὲν θανάτῳ ζημιώσας, τοὺς δὲ παραλύσας τῆς ἀξίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς.

Among the illustrious men, who were above all others, as he [Mehmed II] discovered, by birth, intelligence, and virtue, he chose some. Among them was indeed Notaras himself, an influential and most illustrious man in intelligence, wealth, and political power. And he honored him at the time of his entry [into the city] and conversed with him in mild words and gave him hope, both to him and to the others who came to him. He felt pity for them and their sorry condition, since they had lost such happiness and came to such misfortune. His original intention was to help them, but ill will prevailed shortly thereafter. In the early days he wished to appoint Notaras to be governor of the city and place him in charge of resettlement of populations, as his main advisor. But well-aimed arrows of envy destroyed them and they died an unjust death.... And so the king [= sultan] was persuaded, or rather was led astray by them and ordered the execution of the men. And they were executed and with them was executed the grand duke with his two sons. They say that when they reached the place of execution, this man asked the executioner to kill his sons before his eyes, as he feared that his sons would be terrified by death and would convert to Islam. His execution could follow afterwards. So he stood by and looked on, without averting his eyes and confident in his beliefs, as his sons were put to the sword. Then he prayed and praised God for His Grace in accepting his sons. He then offered his neck to the

> sword. And so he died bravely with his convictions as a courageous soul. Later the king [= sultan] detected the deception and the evil deed of those who had convinced him to put those men to death. He was offended by their evil deed and removed them from his presence. Some he punished with death and others forfeited their positions and honors.

Finally, the escape of Loukas Notaras' youngest son from the *seraglio* of Mehmed II, as a footnote to the execution of his father, is treated in the following texts. It should be noted that the Greek Ἔκθεσις Χρονική knows the young man as "Isaakios," while an Italian document[27] establishes his true name as Iakobos-Jacob. The erroneous testimony of the Greek text has caused some confusion among scholars,[28] and the name of the young man is variously stated. Jacob Notaras was not the only young nobleman that was taken to Mehmed's *seraglio* after the fall. The young son of George Sphrantzes was taken, but was not as fortunate as Jacob Notaras. Mehmed II eventually put him to death, as Sphrantzes himself testifies.[29]

## *ΕΚΘΕΣΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ*:[30]

Μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν ἡμερῶν πέντε γέγονε ζήτησις τῶν μεγάλων ἀρχόντων, τόν τε μέγα δοῦκα καὶ τὸν μέγα δομέστικον καὶ τὸν πρωτοστράτορα υἱὸν τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ μεσάζοντος καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκλεκτοτέρους, καὶ ἀπεκεφάλισεν [*sc.* Mehmed II] ἅπαντας. Τὸν δὲ μέγαν δοῦκα ἔσφαξε τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· τὸν δὲ νεώτερον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰσαάκιον ἔβαλεν ἐν τῷ σαραγίῳ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀπέδρασεν ἐκ τοῦ σαραγίου ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει καὶ ἐγένετο ἀφανής· ὕστερον δὲ εὑρέθη ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ [*sc.* Anna Notaras or one of her two sisters] σταλεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως μετὰ πλούτου ἀπείρου.

After five days had passed [that is, after the sack], they began a search for the magnates, the grand duke, the grand domestic, and the *protostrator*, the son of the *mesazon* Kantakouzenos, along with a few other prominent individuals. He had them all beheaded. He slaughtered the two sons of the grand duke in his presence and then he slaughtered him. The grand duke’s youngest son, Isaakios, he sent to the *seraglio*. Shortly thereafter, he escaped from the *seraglio* in Adrianople and vanished. Later he came to his sister [Anna Notaras] in Rome, who had been sent there with a countless fortune by her father before the siege.[31]

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# Notes

[1] The narrow escape of Cardinal Isidore is narrated by Henry of Soemmern (September 11, 1453) [*CC* 2: 92–94, with Italian translations of some selections; for the entire text with English translation, cf. Philippides, *Mehmed II the Conqueror*: *Cardinalis Ruthenus* [*sc.* Isidore]…*per aliquos servitorum suorum coactus, fugit in ecclesiam* [*sc.* Hagia Sophia]*, ubi captus est a Turcis et tanquam incognitus mansit tribus diebus in magno exercitu Turcorum. Et erat ei praesidio quod famabatur et ab imperatore Turcorum credebatur occisus. Tandem cardinalis ipse redemptus est pro C ducatis et vectus est in Peram mansitque absconditus VIII diebus fugiendo de domo in domum occulte*…. On the day of the sack, it was practically impossible to discover what had happened to him. So states Benvenuto (*TIePN*, p. 4), who may also imply that it is his opinion that the cardinal had been executed: *Item quod de reverendissimo domino cardinali nichil scit det<e>rminate, nisi quod stabta super murum ad custodiam; vidit* [*sc. Benevenutus*] *tamen multos eici mortuos et vivos de muris.* Stefano Magno provides a different account, which is not encountered in the literature that appeared soon after the sack (*NE* 3: 299): *Isidor, arcivescovo pruteno, cardinal legato Sabinense, il quale si attrovava legato di papa in detta cittade, mutado habito et vestido de habito da huomo vilissimo, con molti altri, che fuggivano, missiado, se ne fuggi dalla furia predetta et passò per mare a Pera, etc*.

[2] E.g., *FC*, pp. 130–131, who has accepted the entire event as historical without due caution.

[3] During the siege the Venetians defended the area around the imperial Blakhernai Palace. Since the banner of Saint Mark flew above the official residence of the Greek emperor, one might think of an intriguing and diplomatically thorny situation that would have resulted had Constantinople been saved in 1453.

[4] That the emperor had actually established his headquarters about the critical sector is stated explicitly in Pusculo's hexameters (4.1007–1013 [81], omitted by *CC* 1); Pusculo relates that the emperor attempted to catch some sleep in this tent before Giustiniani was wounded in the final assault: *intra tentoria* (4.1008 [81]). There is no reason to doubt the evidence supplied by this eyewitness.

[5] M. Sanuto, *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. R. Fulin, 7 (Venice, 1882): 115, who further comments on her wealth and adds that she had been over one hundred years old when she died. The date of her death is noted as July 5, 1507. That she was over one hundred years old at the time of her death is justly doubted by Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, p. 108.

[6] Pseudo-Sphrantzes was brought first to Corfu by a Venetian galley under the command of Antonio Eudaimomonoiannes (or Eudomonoziani, in its Italian form), a descendant of a noble Moreot family. From Corfu Pseudo-Sphrantzes proceeded to Venice in March 1573. After his journey to Spain he returned to Venice once again and sought the support of prominent Greeks for his claims to earn a pension because of the services he had rendered on behalf of the *Sacra Liga* before the battle of Lepanto. On his trips to Venice, cf. Khasiotes, Μακάριος pp. 46–54.

[7] For this motif, cf. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 150, n. 7. On the story that is reported by Marco Polo, concerning the Mongol capture of Baghdad in 1258, cf. *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. R. Latham (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 52–53.

[8] This speech was pronounced on January 25, 1454.

[9] Hofmann, "Ein Brief," pp. 405–414 [the section quoted here is omitted in the selection published by *CC* 1].

[10] 4.1065–1074 (82) [omitted by *CC* 1].

[11] *CC* 1: 38.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[13] Fol. 321 [32–33].

[14] *NE* 3: 320–322 [omitted by *CC* 2].

[15] Chs. 28–32 [pp. 339–341].

[16] Of course, di Montaldo errs. The boy Jacob entered the sultan's harem and later made his escape and joined his sisters in Italy. Cf. *infra*, passages with nn. 27 and 28. Is it plausible that one of his daughters, perhaps because of her young age, had not been sent to Italy with her older sisters prior to the onset of the siege? On this, cf. M. Popović, "Eirēnē – Gefangene und Geliebte Sultan Mehmeds II. Nach dem Fall Konstantinopels," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007): 215–224. Popović, p. 217, reproduces a painting of the consort Irene that is displayed in the Kunst-historisches Museum, Vienna, and bears the inscription (pp. 217 and 221): Irene VX: Mehme. / Tis Sec: Turcar: / IMP:.

[17] Di Montaldo is alluding to the famous cases of people who committed suicide in antiquity: a statesman – Cato, a philosopher – Cleanthes, and a philosopher-shaman – Empedocles.

[18] E. Legrand, "Ἐπιτάφιος Λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνδοξωτάτῳ καὶ ἐκλαμπροτάτῳ μακαρίτη μεγάλῳ δουκὶ κυρῷ Λουκᾷ τῷ Νοταρᾷ, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μόσχου," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 2 (1885/1886): 413–424.

[19] 40; a very short extract with Italian translation in *CC* 2: 188–190.

[20] By the term ἀρχιευνοῦχος Doukas is probably rendering the Turkish title of *kislar aga*, the eunuch in charge of the sultan's harem.

[21] This is an allusion to his fears that his relatives would convert to Islam to avoid death.

[22] 8.429B-430B (2: 166–167). English translation in Melville Jones, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, p. 54.

[23] 3.11.3, 4. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 132-133 (with some limited commentary).

[24] 33. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans*, p. 72 (with some commentary).

[25] İnalcik, "Mehmed the Conqueror," pp. 408-427, esp. p. 412, discusses the date of Halil's execution. İnalcik concludes that the execution took place either in August or in September. *MCT*, p. 102, is under the impression that Halil was executed earlier, on July 10, soon after his arrest on May 30.

[26] I.73,1-14. English translation: *Kritovoulos* (ed. Riggs), pp. 83-84.

[27] Cited in the next note.

[28] Cf., e.g., Nicol, *The Byzantine Family*, no. 69 (pp. 181-182, n. 17), who is apparently unaware of the existence of the Italian documents published by C. Desimoni in his introduction to di Montaldo's text: "Della Conquista di Costantinopoli per Maometto II," pp. 299-300, n. 1. On Jacob Notaras, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," nn. 125 and 126. The document that cites Jacob by name, a letter of introduction dated *Janu<a>e die VI Januarii 1468*, reads, in part, as follows: *Pro domino Jacobo Notara. Sacramorus Vicecomes ducalis vicegubernator, et Consilium Antianorum Communis Janue. Non ignari sumus amice cum genuensibus versatus sit clarus olim et magnificus vir dominus Lucas Notara constantinopolitanus et tunc magnus dux romeorum; quem iniqua et acerba illius fortuna vita et magne parte familie ac bonorum privavit; que res non modo compatiendum illi mortuo quemcumque christianum movere potest; sed nos maxime, qui eum inter genuensis nominis amicissimos et in ea urbe fautores habuimus cognovimusque s<a>epenumero. At multo magis prospiciendum superstitibus eius filiis quos divina bonitas a tanta clade salvos*

*reservavit. Nam nihil est quod in humana vita magis equum videatur, quam calamitosis officio charitatis succurrere et eos iuvare quos ipsa fortuna non vitium non ulla culpa oppressit.*

[29] *Minus*, 35.12: Τοῦ δὲ κάλλους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν τῶν παιδίων μου οὐ δυναμένου κρυβῆναι, μαθόντος δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀμηρᾶ [= sultan] ἀπῆρεν αὐτὰ δοὺς πρὸς τὸμεραχούρην [= *Mir Ahor*] ἄσπρας χιλιάδας πολλάς.. And again *Minus*, 37.3: Ἐν ᾧ δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ μηνὶ [= December. 1453] ἀνεῖλεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ τὸν φίλτατόν μου υἱὸν Ἰωάννην ὁ ἀσεβέστατος καὶ ἀπηνέστατος ἀμηρᾶς [= sultan] ὡς δῆθεν βουληθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ…….

[30] Ἔκθεσις Χρονικὴ 36 (52); for a translation of this chronicle, cf Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans of Constantinople.*

[31] On Jacob Notaras and his sisters in Italy, cf. *supra*, ch. 1: “Scholarship and the Siege of 1453,” II. B. 12.

# III. Kerkoporta

There is no precise topographical evidence to fix the exact location of the entry at the northern terminus of the Theodosian walls that has been identified in the sources as the Kerkoporta.[1] Its name has been given variously and inextricably as πόρτα/πύλη τοῦ Ξυλοκέρκου and Ξυλίνη πυλίς (the Gate of the Wooden Circus and Wooden Postern),[2] or Κερκόπορτα (the Gate of the Circus).[3] Scholarly literature as well has disputed the location and even the designation(s) of the gate(s), which calls for the need to restudy this question.

Two possible sites are generally considered in scholarly literature. The first is an entry at the northern limits of the Theodosian Walls, although this temporary addition most probably was a construction belonging to the Heraclean period. Van Millingen[4] advances the supposition that this is probably a sixth military gate. There is no credible evidence to support his conjecture. As well, there is no evidence, neither physical nor literary, that the gate was enclosed on either side by towers or even supported by a single tower. In all probability, the entry is a postern, a side entrance that had limited use. Nearby on the city-side, close to the Chora Monastery on its south, is an entry with a metal door (pl. 69), which we observed during our surveys of the area. It is quite possible that the Kerkoporta was of similar design and function. The claim is advanced by Doukas[5] that the postern in a transverse wall provided access for military units to the *peribolos*, however this appears unlikely.[6] There survives no physical evidence that an outer wall extended northward to the terminus of the Theodosian Walls. Even Müller-Weiner and Meyer-Plath and Schneider do not depict an extension of the outer wall to this sector.[7] Rather, we should conclude that this was a temporary construction of the post-Theodosian period, and a postern was included for access into and out of the city.

The alternative site should properly be labeled as the Ξυλοκέρκου or Ξυλίνη πυλὶς to distinguish it from the Κερκόπορτα.[8] The “Gate of the Wooden Circus” is nestled between the southwestern corner of the Porphyrogenite Palace (Tekfur Sarai) and a military tower (pl. 70). The gate provided easy entry to the palace ground floor where entertainers assembled for their presentations or for military units operating within the sector.

Van Millingen[9] is predisposed to argue that the Ξυλοκέρκου and

Κερκόπορτα are one and the same gate. His reasoning is problematic. As we have previously considered the question, the two gates are not one and the same postern. Even Paspates[10] believes them to be distinctive gates. But the difficulty with his position is that he incorrectly maintains the Ξυλοκέρκου and not the Κερκοπόρτα had disappeared, when in fact the sealed tower gate survives. Rather, we should believe that the Κερκόπορτα disappeared late in the nineteenth century.

But in the early hours of 29 May 1453, the Kerkoporta, played a role (whether significant or insignificant is arguable) in the battle for Constantinople and influenced its outcome if we accept the veracity of our principal source on this point, Doukas. He has woven a yarn that is not corroborated by any other eyewitness source. Whether he based his narrative on the oral accounts of Greek survivors or drew upon Ottoman sources, for his text lacks clear attribution, this is not evident. It is quite probable that he is drawing upon multiple sources. The first of two sub-chapters in his narrative reads:[11]

> Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ κελεύσας τὰς κληματίδας ἁπάσας τὰς εὑρισκομένας ἐν τῇ πόλει συναγαγεῖν καὶ τεθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις, κατασκευάσας ἄλλην τάφρον ἔνδοθεν, τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τὰ τείχη τὰ φθαρέντα, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἰδόντες τὴν εἰσοδοέξοδον αὐτῶν φανερὰν γενομένην καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ἐξιέναι ἔξω τῆς πύλης καὶ ἀντίστασθαι τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐν τῷ ἐξωκάστρῳ, ἀπερικαλύπτους ὄντας, τῶν τειχέων καταπεσόντων, ἦσάν τινες τῶν γερόντων ἐπιστάμενοι παραπόρτιον ἓν πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀσφαλῶς πεφραγμένον, ὑπόγαιον, πρὸς τὸ κάτωθεν μέρος τοῦ παλατίου. Καὶ δηλώσαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ, διὰ προστάξεως αὐτοῦ ἠνοίχθη· καὶ ἐξήρχοντο ἐξ αὐτοῦ περισκεπόμενοι τοῖς τείχεσι τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ ἀντεμάχοντο τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐν τῷ περιβολαίῳ. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς κρυφῆς ἐκείνης πύλης ἐκαλεῖτό ποτε Κερκόπορτα.

> But Giovanni [Longo Giustiniani] fought throughout the night and he commanded that all vine twigs [branches] found within the city be gathered together and be placed on the ruins. He constructed another moat within in order to guard the walls that had been harmed. The Romans [= Greeks] realized that their entries and exits had become evident and that they would no longer be able to exit through the gate to oppose the Turks in the outer defenses, as they would have no protection in the area of ruined walls. There were some old men who knew of a sally port that had been sealed many years ago. It was low and on the lower part of the palace. They informed the emperor and by his order it was opened. Through it they could come out and, protected by the unharmed walls, they opposed the Turks in the *peribolos*. The name of this secret gate was Kerkoporta ["the Circus Gate"].

There are problems with Doukas' description and location of the

Kerkoporta. Clearly, he is not making reference to the Ξυλοκέρκου, which is a palace-tower gate. That he writes of a secret gate can only refer to a gate hidden by the transverse wall at the northern terminus of the Theodosian Walls, but is almost at a right angle to them. This would afford concealment for the Byzantine forces exiting through it either to attack Turkish units or to conduct reconnaissance against them. This would not be practicable or possible at the Ξυλοκέρκου, that is easily observable and in full view of the Ottoman forces in the area. And further, the latter does not provide an element of concealment. Doukas, however, is in error when he states that the Byzantine and their allied forces "opposed the Turks in the *peribolos*." There is little evidence of an outer wall above the Adrianople Gate and the existence of a *peribolos* to the northern limits of the inner walls is doubtful. And the distance between the Kerkoporta and the location of Giustiniani at the Pempton is too great, over a half mile, to permit free movement of troops for attacks against the Turks about the Fifth Military Gate. Rather, egress from the Kerkoporta would aid the Byzantine and allied forces to conduct reconnaissance by small units that might go undetected.[12]

Thereafter, when relating the events of that fateful morning, Doukas writes:[13]

> Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι τὸ κατ᾽ ὀλίγου προσεγγίσαντες τὰ τείχη ἀσπιδοφοροῦντες, ἐτίθεσαν κλίμακας. Πλὴν οὐδὲν ἤνουν· ἐκώλυον γὰρ αὐτοὺς λιθοβολοῦντες ἄνωθεν. Ὡς οὖν ἐμποδιζόμενοι εἱστήκεσαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀντιπαρατάσσοντες ἦσαν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἅπασα ἡ δύναμις καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς ἦν, τοῦ μὴ ἀφεῖναι τοῖς Τούρκοις τὴν εἴσοδον ἐκ τῶν καταπεσόντων τειχέων· ἔλαθον, δι᾽ ἄλλης ὁδοῦ τούτους εἰσάξας ὁ θελήσας Θεός. Ἰδόντες γὰρ τὴν πύλην, ἣν προλαβόντες εἰρήκαμεν, ἀνεῳγμένην καὶ εἰσπηδήσαντες ἐντὸς ἐκ τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνω τῶν δούλων τυράννου ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπάνω τῶν τειχέων πῦρ πνέοντες καὶ τοὺς συναντήσαντας κτείναντες, τοὺς ἀκροβολιστὰς ἔπαιον. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θέαμα φρίκης μεστόν. Οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λατῖνοι οἱ κωλύοντες τοὺς τὰς κλίμακας προσηλοῦντας τοῖς τείχεσιν, οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν κατεκόπησαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καμμύσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔπιπτον, κατεῤῥάγοντες τὰ σώματα καὶ δεινῶς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς ἀποβάλλοντες. Τὰς δὲ κλίμακας ἀκωλύτως ἐπήγνυον καὶ ἀνέβαινον ὡς ἀετοὶ πετώμενοι.

> As the Turks slowly approached the walls, employing shields for their protection, they then placed scaling ladders [against the walls]. However, they were halted by [the defenders'] stone-throwing machines. The opposition beat off their attack. The Romans [= Greeks] with their emperor stood their ground against the enemy. Their entire strength and objective were to prevent the Turks from entering [the city] through the toppled walls. Unknown to them, God had willed that the Turks would enter [the city] in another way. They [the Turks] observed that the aforementioned

> gate was open and approximately fifty of the tyrant's [= sultan's] renowned slaves [= janissaries] passed through [the unattended gate]. They ascended the walls and ferociously slew all whom they encountered. They attacked the sentinels who were firing from the walls. This was a horrible scene. Some Romans [= Greeks] and Latins who prevented them from attaching scaling ladders to the walls were slaughtered [by the Turks]. Others [Greeks and Latins] closed their eyes, jumped from the walls, and ended their lives by horribly crushing their bodies. Without resistance, they [the Turks] placed their scaling ladders and ascended [the walls] like soaring eagles.

This incident has attracted scholarly attention and provided various interpretations regarding its significance and consequences for the city. If we assume that Doukas has transmitted a valid account and not a fabrication based solely upon an oral tradition of dubious merit or hearsay, and although there is no other source to attest to the validity of the event or to discredit it, we cannot easily reconcile the facts attributed to the incident. Van Millingen[14] does address the contradictions raised in Doukas' account. Drawing upon Paspates,[15] Van Millingen places emphasis upon the Greek physician/scholar's discovery in 1864 of a partially covered postern in the transverse wall where the Theodosian Walls terminate. Paspates, however, makes no reference to the discovery of an inscription at this site. Van Millingen even furnishes dimensions for the postern, noting that it is 6 feet wide and 10.5 feet high. While the height of the postern conforms to that of the gate we surveyed below the Chora Monastery, the width is less, about four feet. The entry at the palace-tower site is similar in its dimensions that Van Millingen provides for the Kerkoporta.

But Van Millingen's supposition that the Κερκόπορτα and Ξυλοκέρκου are a single gate remains problematic. It is more plausible that Greek and Latin troops continuously manned a palace-tower gate. The postern in the transverse wall had no provision for defense, and only enabled the Byzantine and their allied forces to conduct secretive operations. Vacalopoulos[16] cites Kritoboulos[17] in a general statement, the latter linking the Kerkoporta with "the Gate of Ioustinos [Giustiniani]." However, Giustiniani's defense was the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector and not the area about the Porphyrogenite Palace. Clearly, Vacalopoulos has reached an erroneous conclusion based upon a questionable non-eyewitness source. Also problematic are the embellishments of Pears. In a note to Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*,[18] Pears adds facts that appear nowhere in the sources. Doukas never asserts that some of the Greeks militia retreated through the Kerkoporta when they were pursued by fifty

Turks and then failed to close the gate. The gate may have been left unattended and unlocked to permit the small Byzantine or Latin unit to return from a reconnaissance mission. Most probably they were slain or captured, and therefore that postern in the transverse wall became an easy entry for an Ottoman unit. And Pears further amplifies Doukas' account by increasing the number of Turks who pursued the Greeks, beyond the fifty mentioned in the text.

If this incident has reality, then the entry of the Turks through the Kerkoporta had great significance for the imperial city. Some Turks made their way on top of the inner walls to the Adrianople Gate, the highest point in the western part of Constantinople, and raised their standard. Their flag was visible to the Byzantine and Latin defenders in the Saint Romanos-Pempton sector. If the standard were raised on a tower at the Ξυλοκέρκου, it would not have been visible to Constantine XI's and Giustiniani's men because the palace-tower is topographically lower than the Adrianople Gate.[19] For the defenders of Constantinople, this incident signified that the Ottoman forces had penetrated the fortifications of the city and the cause was lost. For Mehmed II's army, this signified that the city was theirs and they were victorious after a prolonged and costly struggle.

# Notes

[1] Our survey of the area revealed no identifiable remains of a gate or of a substantial wall. Cf. pl. 68.

[2] *Ioannis Cantacuzeni imperatoris historiarum libri IV*, 1: 60; and Theophanes (Classen edition) 1: 667. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 27-28, n. 64, indicates with his references that the postern was open for access into and egress from the city about 1373. Hence, the gate must have been sealed much later, perhaps closer to 1422 or 1453, although we have no precise evidence for this assertion.

[3] According to Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 89, n. 4, this designation for the circus gate is derived from its proximity to the Church of Saint Mamas. He attributes his source for this information to Doukas. However, Van Millingen's attribution is suspect. On this designation, cf. Déthier, *Der Bosphor*, p. 56; Essad, p. 71, after Déthier; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: 16 and 71.

[4] *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 89.

[5] 39.4:
...παραπόρτιον ἓν πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀσφαλῶς πεφραγμένον, ὑπόγαιον, πρὸς τὸ κάτωθεν μέρος τοῦ παλατίου.

[6] Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 282–283, also doubts that the gate provided entry into the *peribolos*.

[7] Müller-Weiner, p. 302; and Meyer-Plath and Schneider, 2: endmaps.

[8] Pears, p. 342, and n. 2. He, throughout this discussion, remains unsure of the topography of the area and believes that the gate between the palace and tower should be identified as the "Porta Xylokerkou" and it is identical with the Kerkoporta. He further confuses the discussion by initially admitting that there is a postern in the transverse wall, but also a small postern at the "extremity of the palace" that he identifies as the Kerkoporta and (n. 3) places it south of the tower, assuredly in the transverse wall. In the latter note, he remarks that he and Paspates had visited the site in 1875.

[9] *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 89 ff. He notes, pp. 90-91, that an inscription, which has since disappeared, had been placed about the gate. It would be more reasonable to seek the inscription at the palace-tower gate than at the gate in the transverse wall.

[10] Paspates, Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται, pp. 62 ff.; and *idem*, Πολιορκία, p. 52, n. 43.

[11] 39.4. Magoulias, in his rendition of the *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, p. 313, n. 82, states that the Kerkoporta and the Xylokerkos are one and the same gates. This does not follow, given the sources he cites and the topography of the area.

[12] Pears, pp. 342–343, n. 3, does not concern himself with the reconnaissance potential of the Kerkoporta.

[13] 39.11.

[14] *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 93 f. Pears, p. 342 f., is in agreement with Van Millingen on some points, but at variance on others, mainly the question of the location of the Kerkoporta. Setton, *PaL* 2: 127, n. 61, follows the reasoning of Pears and Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, without arriving at his own conclusions.

[15] Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται, pp. 63–67.

[16] *OGN*, p. 199.

[17] 1.60:
...τοὺς δὲ ὠθοῦσι διὰ τῆς πυλίδος Ἰουστίνου, ἣν οὗτος ἀνέῳξεν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τείχει,

ἵνα προχείρως ἔχη διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα. The context makes it clear that this gate is to be located at the Pempton, in Giustiniani's sector and Kritiboulos unambiguously states that "Giustiniani's gate" had been opened by him to allow his *condottieri* easy egress to the makeshift defenses. Thus "Giustiniani's gate" is clearly not the Kerkoporta.

[18] 7: 200–201, n. 82.

[19] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, pp. 90–91.

# IV: Some Defenders and Non-Combatants

# I. General Remarks

There exists a serious gap in the scholarship about the siege. There is no authoritative and comprehensive list of the defenders and the besiegers. We encounter general statements[1] about defenders, commanders, and soldiers but no roster, which describes their roles and their activities during the siege, their fate in the sack, or their behavior after the fall of Constantinople. In short, no prosopography of the defenders has been compiled thus far, a fact that has been lamented by investigators.[2] There are many reasons for this notable omission and a basic rationale undoubtedly dates back to the days before the siege. Clearly, there were not enough defenders to man the walls effectively against the Turkish assaults and the Byzantine leadership was painfully aware of this depressing state of affairs. The imperial administration was at pains to conceal these embarrassing circumstances:[3]

> …ἐχούσης τῆς Πόλεως, τῆς τοσαύτης εἰς μέγεθος, ἄνδρας πρὸς ἀντιπαράταξιν δψογ΄ ἄνευ τῶν ξένων…ἔγνων οὖν ἐγὼ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον ἀπὸ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· τοῦ γὰρ βασιλέως προστάξαντος τοῖς δημάρχοις, ἔγραψεν ἕκαστος τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ δυναμένου σταθῆναι ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ κοσμικοῦ καὶ καλογέρου καὶ τί καὶ τί ἄρμα πρὸς ἄμυναν νὰ ἔχῃ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν…. Εἶτα ὁρίζει πρὸς ἐμέ· "αὕτη ἡ δουλεία πρὸς σὲ ἀφορᾷ…καὶ λάβε τὰ κατάστιχα καὶ καθίσας εἰς τὸ ὀσπίτιόν σου λογάριασε ἀκριβῶς πόσοι εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι καὶ πόσα ἄρματα καὶ πόσα κοντάρια καὶ πόσα σκουτάρια καὶ πόσα τοξάρια." καὶ ἐκτελέσας τὸν ὁρισμὸν αὐτοῦ, φέρων δέδωκα τῷ αὐθέντῃ μου καὶ βασιλεῖ τὸ καταστιχόπουλον μετὰ λύπης καὶ σκυθρωπότητος ὅτι πολλῆς, καὶ ἔμεινε μόνο ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἡ ποσότης εἰς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐμέ.

> …in spite of the great size of our City, our defenders amounted to 4773, without counting the foreigners…. I was in a position to know this exact figure for the following reason: the emperor ordered the demarchs to take a census of their demarchies and to record the exact number of men – laity and clergy – able to defend the walls and what weapons each man had for defense…. Then he commanded me: “This task is for you…take these lists and compute, in the privacy of your home, the exact figure of the available defenders, weapons, shields, spears, and arrows.” I completed my task and presented the master list to my lord and emperor in the greatest possible sadness and depression. The true figure remained a secret known only to him and to myself.

During the siege this critical situation became apparent to some defenders, who were not professional soldiers but merchants who had volunteered their services in Constantinople's hour of need:[4]

> *Fuerunt in hac nobili et famosa civitate viri circiter viginti quinque seu triginta millia; sex autem vel septem millia expediti ad pugnam et ad bellandum fortissimi.*

> There were in this noble and famous city about twenty-five thousand or thirty thousand men. However, there were six or seven thousand very strong [men] equipped for battle and combat.

The tragedy of Constantinople's drama consists of the fact that the men and the aid sent by the west had failed to arrive in time to relieve the beleaguered city.[5] The outnumbered defenders fought with determination, in spite of the lack of cohesion among themselves, as circumstances had pitted Greeks against Italians, Venetians against Genoese, Catholics against Orthodox, and all of them facing the Turkish menace and the Islamic threat. The few defenders were not an army motivated by common ideals. They all met with a common objective: survival against an implacable enemy. In the process they proved their valor in various degrees. The nucleus of the defense consisted partly of Constantinopolitan and Cretan Venetians, about whom we have a great deal of information because of Barbaro's diary. They fought to the bitter end and managed to save many inhabitants from the enemy. They were also assisted, if unofficially, by the Genoese of Pera, who remained technically neutral during the conflict:[6] "But to the eternal glory of the Venetians within the city… and of the Genoese who aided them, the conduct of the combatants from both republics was worthy of the compatriots of Marco Polo and of Columbus." The elite troops of the defense on the landside were mainly adventurers and soldiers of fortune,[7] including Giustiniani's highly competent band of mercenaries.[8]

In the list that follows there are interesting individuals with equally fascinating stories. The list includes unsung heroes such as Cardinal Isidore. Not only was he a volunteer and a contributor to the repairs of the walls but also he was a military figure who brought a company of professional soldiers whom he personally recruited enroute to Constantinople. He fought on the walls, was wounded in the sack, concealed himself in Pera, disguised himself to escape on board a Turkish ship, eventually reached the safety of Venetian Crete, composed informative narratives of the siege, and returned to the Vatican. He may have been a cousin of the last emperor. But he was an ecclesiastic with a solid classical education and had an avowed interest in the occult.[9] He was a born leader and had traveled throughout Europe. He crossed boundaries, as a Greek Orthodox prelate who was nominally in charge of a Slavic flock and even became a cardinal of the Catholic Church. Yet his personal tragedy was that he never managed to please anyone. The Greeks, who saw him as an agent of the pope, reviled him. For his Slavic flock he was the devil incarnate, as he agreed to the union of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Even the Vatican gave him a “bad press,” by suggesting, unjustly as it turned out, that he had surreptitiously appropriated manuscripts from the library. Furthermore, over the centuries Isidore has suffered a sort of a *damnatio memoriae*, even though he was a true hero of the siege.[10] In the sack Mehmed II took the time to interrogate his prisoners in a futile effort to identify the cardinal.[11] On the secular side, the Venetian *bailo*, Girolamo Minotto, and his family also contributed generously to the defense of Constantinople and had committed the Venetian community against its own preference to this effort. Minotto and his family members paid with their lives for their courageous decision.[12]

The list of participants in the siege includes typical Renaissance personalities like Catarino Contarini,[13] who was involved in one of the earliest organized and recorded archaeological excavations in the Black Sea region prior to the siege. Alvise Diedo,[14] who was so proud of his role in the siege, recorded his activities on the monument built for himself in the Church of Saints Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. In addition, there are ambiguous individuals. What positively was the role of Loukas Notaras during the siege and what part did he actually play? Was he an ardent patriot or was he a traitor?[15]

Of the most important sources for the compilation of a list of defenders, we must scrutinize the various rosters that are encountered in Barbaro’s narrative, recognizing that these are limited to Venetians and Creto-Venetians. A comprehensive prosopography can only be the subject of an independent study. What is offered here is a modest contribution towards an eventual comprehensive prosopography. It should be emphasized that it represents only the first point of departure. The list presented here only claims to offer some of the evidence in an organized manner. The register can be extended both in terms of participants and information reconstructed for each participant. What is really needed is an exhaustive study of the archival material in Genoa and in Venice for additional entries. While the various publications of Iorga in his *NE* series supply some details (and they are included in our list), one must bear in mind that Iorga has often presented extracts and abstracts of the documents, which will have to be accessed anew to provide accurate quotations and publications of the pertinent material.

Our list includes various personalities that played a part in the siege. Some may not have been active defenders but were associated with the defenders. Others do not seem to have actively participated in the defense, such as various priests: George Scholarios and Neophytos of Rhodes come to mind, who viewed the active defense of the Greek capital to be a "Catholic project," and who advocated passive resistance as well as prayers for salvation. On many levels, such individuals would have preferred "the sultan's turban over the papal tiara"[16] and their activity and inactivity before and during the siege may anachronistically qualify them as honorary members of a fifth column within the city. In the list below such individuals are not assigned a number. Numbers are reserved for 225 known active defenders. Some perished in the siege or in Mehmed's wave of executions following the sack. Others survived and escaped to the west. In addition, no prosopography exists of the captives who remained in the Levant and were able to purchase their freedom in time.[17] It is also clear that there were many descendants of noble families still in Constantinople in the mid-sixteenth century. Evidently, not all noblemen were executed nor were they systematically eliminated after the sack, contrary to general impressions. This situation becomes evident in a letter that Theodosios Zygomalas addressed to Martinus Crusius:[18]

> Εἰσὶν οὖν καὶ ἔτι ἐνταῦθα [*sc.* ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει], παλαιολόγων ὀσπίτια ὀλίγα, κωνσταντίνου καὶ μανουήλου τῶν αὐταδέλφων: καὶ ἄλλα, ἕως τῶν δέκα…ἀπὸ καντακουζηνῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ῥάλη, ἀκούεται: ἔτι καὶ τοῦ μάμαλη, ἀπὸ νοταραδῶν, οἳ εἰσὶν ἐν πελοποννήσῳ οἱ πλείους. ἀπὸ λατίνων, μουζάλων, βατάτζιδων, καὶ ἔτι διπλοβατάτζιδων λεγομένων, ἀσαναίων, χρυσολοράδων, λασκάρεων, εὐγενικῶν οὕτω ὀνομαζομένων, καὶ ἄλλων γενῶν, ἃ καθέκαστον γράφειν δύσκολον.

> There still exist here [*sc.* in Constantinople] a few houses of the Palaiologoi, the brothers Constantine and Manuel. There are others, as many as ten…[descendants] of the Kantakouzenoi, of Rhales, are not unheard of. There are still descendants of the families of Mamalis, and of various branches of the Notaras family, most of which are in the Peloponnese. From the Latin (families) there are descendants of Mouzalis, Vatatzis (and of the so-called Diplovatatzis family), of Asen, of Chrysoloras, of Laskaris, and of Eugenikos (as this family is called). It is difficult to enumerate all of them.

It is our hope that future investigative work and scholarly research will expand this basic list and that more names and more documents will be located. While our list consists of only 222 known defenders and a handful of non-combatants, "[the] defenders amounted to 4773, without counting the foreigners, who were just about 200[0]."[19]

Given the nature of our sources, the later "elaborations," the labyrinth of primary, secondary, and even forged texts, fictional and invented personalities have found their way into the record. Some names are simple misunderstandings derived from careless reading of the manuscripts; the example of Phlantanellas stands out.[20] Others, like Don Francesco of Toledo, are clearly inserted into the record because a forger-elaborator was promoting his own agenda.[21] Another example of such practices concerns the Bembo brothers, whose names were excised from the record presented by Leonardo.[22] Other fictional personalities can simply be seen as the results of scholarly confusion and errors. A short list of invented personalities is appended at the end of the inventory. Our comments will be restricted to the notes and will be kept to a minimum, allowing the testimonies to speak for themselves. The following abbreviations indicate the sources that will be utilized in this list:

| | |
|---|---|
| **AA** | Abraham of Ankara[23] |
| **AGL** | Lomellino, Angelo Giovanni[24] |
| **AM** | Di Montaldo, Adamo[25] |
| **AV** | Anonimo Veneto: *Questo è'lamento de Costantinopoli*[26] |
| **B** | Benvenuto[27] |
| **CI** | Isidore, Cardinal[28] |
| **ET** | Eparkhos, Thomas[29] |
| **FR** | Da Rimini, Filippo[30] |
| **G** | Gregolin Archivio, no. 36/27[31] |
| **GTl** | Tetaldi, Jacopo, Latin version[32] |
| **GTf** | Tetaldi, Jacopo, French version[33] |
| **HGiu** | Hieronimo Giustiniani[34] |
| **HS** | Henry of Soemmern[35] |
| **L** | Leonardo [Giustiniani, of Chios][36] |
| **LNB** | List in Barbaro, Nicolò |
| **M** | |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Magno, Stefano[37] |
| **NB** | Barbaro, Nicolò[38] |
| **NBd** | Documents [Appendix: Cornet’s ed. of 1856] in Barbaro, Nicolò |
| **NI** | Nestor-Iskander[39] |
| **NS** | Sekoundinos, Nikolaos[40] |
| **S** | Samile [Samuel], Bishop [Vladik][41] |
| **Σφρ** | Sphrantzes, George: *Minus* |
| **UP** | Pusculo, Ubertino[42] |
| **ZD** | Languschi-Dolfin [based on *Ignotus*?][43] |

## II. List 1: Defenders and Non-Combatants

### A

**1.**

**ABRAHAM OF ANKARA**
**AA, 381ff.**

**2.**

**ABRAMO, JERUOLEMO [IEROLEMO]**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**3.**

**ABRAMO, MARCO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**4.**

**APOSTOLUS [APOSTOLES,** ’Αποστόλης]**, MICHAEL** [Μιχαήλ]
**UP, 3.661–667 (55).**

**5.**

**AQUA DALL’, ANDREA**
**LNB, 31**

**ARGYROPILUS [ARGYROPULUS, ARGYROPOULOS,** Αργυρόπουλος]**, IOANNES** [’Ιωάννης]
**L, 925** [*CC* 1: 126]; **UP, 3.661–667 (55)**

### B

**6.**

**BALBI, BERNARDO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**7.**

**BALBI, DOMENEGO [DOMENICO], son of Balbi, Nicolò**
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298:

list from Barbaro?]

**8.**

**BALBI, NICOLÒ, father of Balbi, Domenego [Domenico]**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**BAMBLACUS. cf. VLAKHOS [BLACHO(S), Βλάχος] JAN [᾽Ιωάννης]**

**9.**

**BARBARIGO, PIERO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**10.**

**BARBARO, NICOLÒ**
**NB, 58 (36); LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; NB, 1; NB, 65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**11.**

**BARBARO, ZACARIA**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 300: list from Barbaro?]

**12.**

**BEMBO, ALUVIXE [ALOISE, LUDOVICUS]** [brother of **Bembo, Antonio**]
**L** [*CC* 1: 150]; **LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10: LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**13.**

**BEMBO, ANTONIO** [brother of **Bembo, Aluvixe (Aloise, Ludovicus)**]
**L**, [*CC* 1: 150]; **LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63**

**14.**

**BENVENUTO, ANCONITANUS**
**B, 207; B, 208; LNB, 20**

**15–**

**17.**
**BOCCHIARDI [BUCCIARDI, BOJARDI, BUCCIARDI], BROTHERS**
**UP, 4.939–951 (79–80); AV, 241–244** [*CC* 2: 304]; **Document**

**of February 11, 1461;**[44] **Document of February 9, 1461;**[45] **Document of May 6, 1461**[46]

**15.**

**BOCCHIARDI [BUCCIARDI, BOJARDI, BUCCIARDI], ANTONIO**
**L, 934** [*CC* 1*:* 148]; **ZD, 19**

**16.**

**BOCCHIARDI [BUCCIARDI, BOJARDI, BUCCIARDI, Buzardi, Pakhiardi], PAOLO**
**L, 148** [*CC* 1: 148]; **L, 936** [*CC* 1: 152]; **L, 941** [May 29]; **ZD, 19; ZD, 21; ZD, 30; AGL, 46–48**

**17.**

**BOCCHIARDI [BUCCIARDI, BOJARDI, BUCCIARDI], TROILO**
**L, 148** [*CC* 1: 148]; **L, 941** [May 29]; **ZD, 19; ZD, 30**

**18.**

**BOLDÙ, MICHIEL**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**19.**

**BOSICHI, ACHELEO** **[Μποζίκι, Ἀχιλλεύς]**
**G**

**20.**

**BOSICHI, DEMETRIO** **[Μποζίκι, Δημήτριος]**
**G**

**21.**

**BOSICHI, THEODORO** **[Μποζίκι, Θεόδωρος]**
**G**

**22.**

**BRION [BRYENNIOS, BRIENNA. Βρυέννιος], LEONDARIO [L(E)ONTARIS, Λεοντάρης, ANDRONIKOS, Ἀνδρόνικος]**
**ZD, 17; UP, 4.169–172 (64)** [*CC* 1: 208]

## C

**CALAFATI, cf. KALAPHATES**

23.

**C [H] ANAL DE, ALUVIXE [ALOIXE]** [brother of de **Canal de, Jeruolemo (Gerolemo)**]
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 60; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

24.

**CANAL DE, JERUOLEMO [GEROLEMO]** [brother of **Canal de, Aluvixe (Aloixe)**]
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**CANTACUZENUS, cf. KANTAKOUZENOS,** Καντακουζηνός

25.

**CARETTO DEL, JOHANNES**
**L, 152; ZD, 21**

**CATACOXINO, MICAEL; cf. KANTAKOUZENOS, MICHAEL** [Καντα-κουζηνός, Μιχαήλ]

26.

**CATALACTI, GEORGIO** [Καταλάκτης, Γεώργιος]
**G**

27.

**CATALACTI, GIACOMO** [Καταλάκτης, Ἰάκωβος]
**G**

28.

**CATALACTI, GIOVANNI** [Καταλάκτης, Ἰωάννης]
**G**

29.

**CATANEO, MAURIZIO**
**AGL, 46–48; L, 931** [*CC* 1: 140]; **L, 934** [*CC* 1: 152]; **L, 936** [*CC* 1: 152];**ZD, 13–14; ZD, 18; ZD, 19; ZD, 21; AV, 165–168** [*CC* 2: 302]; **AV, 241–244** [*CC* 2: 304]; **AM, 13 (334); AM, 14 (334); AM, 18 (335); AM, 25 (338); AM, 34 (341); Letter of Nicholas Soderini** [May 20, 1452];[47] **Document of January 21, 1455;**[48] **Document of February 11, 1461;**[49] **Document of February 9, 1461;**[50] **Document of May 6, 1461**[51]

30.

**CATANIO, POLO**
**LNB, 31**

**31.**

**CATARO DA, ZUAN**
**LNB, 31**
**CATELUSO; cf. GATTILUSI**

**32.**

**CENTURIUS [CENTURIONE], BERNABEUS [BERNABA]**
**UP, 4.508–529 (71); L, 932; ZD, 14**

**33.**

**CHIRATO DE, ZUAN [same as CLARETI, GIOVANNI?]**
**LNB, 31**

**33a.**

**CLARETI, GIOVANNI [same as CHIRATO DE, ZUAN?]**
**Document of November 17 1453**[52]

**34.**

**COC[C]O, ANTONIO** [son of **Cocco (Coco, Cocho), Giacomo (Jacomo, Jacobus)**?]
**M** [*NE* 3: 298]

**35.**

**COCCO [COCO, COCHO. Κόκ(κ)ος], GIACOMO [JACOMO, JACOBUS, Ἰάκωβος]**
**L, 142; ZD, 15; NB, 4; NB, 28–29; NB, 30–31; NB, 33; NB, 65–66; UP, 4.601-–654 (73–74); UP 4.672–674 (74); GTl, 6: 16; GTf, 12; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 31; LNB, 59–60; LNB, 63–65; AV, 181–184** [*CC* 2: 302]; **Document of July 18, 1453;**[53] **Document of September 23, 1455;**[54] **M** [*NE* 3: 298]; **M** [three entries in *NE* 3: 299; the third: list from Barbaro?]

**36.**

**COCHINIANI, GEORGIO [Κοκινιάνος, Γεώργιος]**
**G**

**37.**

**COCHINIANI, LEONE GEORGIO [Κοκινιάνος, Λέων]**
**G**

**38.**

**C[H]OMMUSSI, ANDRONIKOS**

**Document of April 11, 1451;**[55] **Document of May 29, 1455**[56]

**39.**

**CONTARINI, ALUVIXE [ALOIXE]** [brother of **Contarini, Pietro**]
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]; **NBd 78** [*documenti, 1453* (*m. V.*: A.D. 1454)]

**40.**

**CONTARINI, CA [T] TARIN [O] , CATTAN [À]**
**L, 148; L, 168; ZD, 17; ZD, 19; UP, 4.939–951 (79–80); UP, 4.155–156 (64); NB, 16; NB, 6; LNB, 9–10; NB, 16; LNB, 61–63; NB, 61; NB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]; **M** [*NE* 3: 300]

**41.**

**CONTARINI, FELIPO**
**L1NB, 6; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]; **Document of July 10, 1447**[57]

**42.**

**CONTARINI, GABRIEL**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; NB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**43.**

**CONTARINI, MARIN**
**LNB, 9, 10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**44.**

**CONTARINI, PIERO**
**LNB, 6**

**45.**

**CONTARINI, PIE [T] RO** [brother of **Contarini, Aluvixe (Aloixe)**]
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 60; LNB, 61–63; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**46.**

**COPO, ANTONIO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65**

**47.**

**CORFÙ DA, ANTONIO**
**LNB, 31**

**48.**

**CORNER, FABRUZZI**
**UP, 4.169–172 (64); UP, 4.939–951 (79, 80); NB, 2 (9); NB, 2 (10); NB, 7** [Dec. 14, 1452]; **NB, 7; NB, 16; LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; NB, 61–63; NB, 59–60; NB, 63–65; ZD, 17; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]; **Document of July 10, 1447**[58]

**49.**

**CORNER, JERUOLEMO [GEROLEMO]**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

## D

**50.**

**DALLEZE [LEZE DA], MARCO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**51.**

**DALMATA [ILLYRICUS. Δαλμάτης] SCLAVUS [SCHIAVO], GIOVANNI [᾿Ιωάννης]**
**L, 936** [*CC* 1: 152]; **L, 941** [*CC* 1: 162]; **ZD, 21; ZD, 29–30; M** [*NE* 3: 297]

**52.**

**DANDRE [D’ANDRE?], NICOLÒ**
**LNB, 31**

**53.**

**DAVANZO, ANTONIO**
**LNB, 9–10**
**DAVANZO, PIERO**
**NB, 13–14** [*FC*, p. 84; *CC* 1: 348–349]

**54.**

**DEMETRIOS [KANTAKOUZENOS PALAIOLOGOS, DEMETRIOS,**
**Καντακουζηνός Παλαιολόγος, Δημήτριος?]**
**L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **ZD, 20**

**55.**

**DIEDO [Διέδος], ALVISE [ALOIXE, ALUVIXE, LUDOVICO, ALVISIUS, Ἀλωίζος] [brother of Diedo, Marco, and Diedo Vet(t)o(r)] L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **ZD, 14–15; ZD, 20; NB, 8; NB, 11 (12); NB, 12; NB, 14–15; NB, 22; NB, 28; NB, 29 (19); NB, 33; NB, 38; NB, 38–39; NB, 57–58 (35); NB, 58–59 (36); LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; NB, 63–65; Document of July 4, 1453;**[59] **Document of July 2, 1453**[60] (also a second entry); **Document of July 5, 1453;**[61] **M** [*NE* 3: 298]; **M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?];**Σφρ,** Σφρ, **36.3–4; Dresden Chronicle, F, 20, fol. 262v**[62]

**55a.**

**DIEDO, ANDREA [ALUVIXE?]**
**L, 935**

**56.**

**DIEDO, MARCO [brother of Diedo, Alvise (Aloixe, Aluvixe, Ludovico, Alvisius), and Diedo Vet(t)o(r)]**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**57.**

**DIEDO, VET[T]O[R] [brother of Diedo, Alvise (Aloixe, Aluvixe, Ludovico, Alvisius), and Diedo, Marco)]**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**58.**

**DIPLOVATAZES [DEPLORENTATZ], GIOSUE [JOSU]**
**ET** [*NE* 2: 518]

**59.**

**DIS[H]YPATOS, ALEXIOS**
**UP, 4.189–190 (64)** [*CC* 1: 208]; **ZD, 17**
**DIUSNAIGI, ZUAN**
**NB, 11 (12)**

**60.**

**DOLFIN, DOLFIN**
**NB, 16; NB, 33; NB, 58–59 (36); LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298]

**61.**

**DORIA, FILIPPO GEORGIO [Ντόρι, Φίλιππος]**

**G**

62\.

**DORIA, GIORGIO [ZORZI]**
**NB, 59 (37); LNB, 20; G**

63\.

**DORIA, MARINO GEORGIO** [Ντόρι, Μαρῖνος]
**G**

64\.

**DRIVASTO DE, DEMETRIUS**
**Document of December 28, 1453**[63]

65\.

**DRIVASTO DA, ZORZI DE NICOLÒ**
**ZD, 17**

## E

66\.

**EPARKHOS [EPERKUS], THOMAS**
**ET** [*NE* 2: 518]

## F

**FAIUZO**
**NB, 30**

67\.

**FELICIANO [FELLICZANO, FELISANO, FELLIZANO], BAPTISTA L, 931 (140)** [4/20/53]; **ZD, 13–14; Letter of February 2, 1453;**[64] **Letter of March 14, 1453**[65]

68\.

**FERARA DA, RENALDO**
**LNB, 31**

69\.

**FAXOL, ALUVIXE**
**LNB, 9–10**
**FILAMATI, CF. PHILOMATES, ANTONIOS**

70\.

**FIURIAN, BORTOLO**
**NB, 57–58 (35)**
**FLECTANELLA, cf. LECANELLA, PHLANTANELLAS**

**71.**
**FORMACHIANI, EUSTATHIUS**
**[Φορμακιάνος, Εὐστάϑιος]**
**G**

**72.**
**FORMACHIANI, GEORGIO**
**[Φορμακιάνος, Γεώργιος]**
**G**

**73.**
**FORMACHIANI, MARCO [Φορμακιάνος, Μάρκος]**
**G**

**74.**
**FORNARI, GIOVANNI**
**L, 152; ZD, 21**

**75.**
**FOXON, LIO**
**LNB, 31**

## G

**76.**
**GALERGIANI, BASILIO**
**[Γκαλεργιάνος, Βασίλειος]**
**G**

**77.**
**GALERGIANI, NICETA [Γκαλεργιάνος, Νικήτας]**
**G**

**78.**
**GALERGIANI, NICOLO [Γκαλεργιάνος, Νικόλαος]**
**G**

**79.**
**GATTILUSI, LEODISIO [LUDOVICO?]**
**L, 152; ZD, 21**

**80.**

**GEBELIN, MARIN**
**Lnb, 31**

**81.**

**GIORGI [ZORZI], GIOVANNI [ZAN]**
**NB, 8–9; UP, 4.208–211 (65); ZD, 17**

**82.**

**GIULIA? [JULIA. GIULIANO, Γουλιάνος?], PERE [PEDRO, Πέτρος]**
**AGL, 46; L, 150; L, 168; ZD, 20; ZD, 31; AV, 281–284** [*CC* 2: 306]; **NB, 66**

**83.**

**GIUSTINIANI, GIOVANNI [Ἰουστινιάνης, Ἰωάννης]**
**G**

**84.**

**GIUSTINIANI, LEONE [Ἰουστινιάνης, Λέων]**
**G**

**85.**

**GIUSTINIANI, LEONE [Ἰουστινιάνης, Πέτρος]**
**G**

**86.**

**GIUSTINIANI LONGO, GIOVANNI GUGLIELMO**
**Agl, 42; CI 74** [7/6/53]; **L, 928** [*CC* 1: 132]; **L, 928** [*CC* 1: 134]; **L, 932** [*CC* 1: 142]; **L, 934** [*CC* 1: 148]; **L, 934** [*CC* 1: 148]; **L, 936** [*CC* 1: 152]; **L, 940** [*CC* 1: 160]; **L, 941** [*CC* 1: 162]; **a gloss in the margin of the *Codex Trivultianus* of Milan to the previous extract;**[66] **ZD, 10; ZD, 15; ZD, 19; ZD, 21** (two entries); **ZD, 21; ZD, 22; ZD, 28; ZD, 28–29; GT, 5.14; GTf, 10; GTl, 17–18; GTf, 24–25; UP, 4. 279–305 (66); UP 4.309–314; UP, 4.574–584 (72); UP, 4.939–951 (79–80); UP, 4. 973–978 (80)** [*CC* 1: 212]; **UP, 4.601–654 (73–74); NB, 13 (12); NB, 55 (33); LNB, 20; ET** [*NE* 2: 517]; **B, 207; NI, 22–25 (40–42); NI, 28 (44–46); NI, 31 (46–48); NI, 39 (54); NI, 43 (58); NI, 60–62 (74–76); NI, 64 (76–78); NI, 66 (78); NI, 79 (88); Scholarios, Ἐπιτάφιος;**[67] **AA, 105; AV, 185–188** [*CC* 2: 302]; **AV, 228–231** [*CC* 2: 304]; **FR, 155; FR, 156; AM, 13 (334); AM, 14 (334); AM, 19 (335–336); AM, 20 (336); AM,**

**21 (336); AM, 33 (341); NS, Oratio ad Alphonsum;**[68] **M** [*NE* 3: 296–297]; **Ivani** [*TIePN*, pp. 160–162]; **Document of May 7, 1442;**[69] **Document of April 7, 1449 (or later);**[70] **Document of May 8, 1449;**[71] **Document of June 27, 1453, regarding negotiations between Genoa and Trebizond through George Amoiroutzes;**[72] **Document of May 2, 1450;**[73] **Document of April 1452;**[74] **Letter of Nicholas Soderini** [May 5, 1452]; [75] **Letter of Nicholas Soderini** [October 22, 1452];[76] **Letter of Nicholas Soderini** [November 29, 1452]; [77] **Letter of Nicholas Soderini** [July 20, 1453];[78] **Document of July 11, 1452;**[79] **Document of December 15, 1452;**[80] **Milan Chronicle** [*R 113, Sup., fol. 185v-186]*; [81] **Inscription on Giustiniani's tomb** [Paspates, Ἡ Πολιορκία καὶ Ἅλωσις, p. 181, n. 2; *PaL* 2: 129, n. 69]; **Da Foligno** [*TIePN*, p. 104]; the evidence by **HGiu** [*Istoria di Scio*, pp. 412–420]

**87.**

**[GIUSTINIANI], LEONARDO ARCHBISHOP**
**L, 923; L, 925** [*CC* 1: 6]; **L, 927** [*CC* 1: 11]; **NB, 5 (11–12); Document of October 18, 1453** [Reg. 401, f. 47b, Secret Archives of the Vatican, Pope Nicholas V]; **Document of July 21, 1449;**[82] **Document of July 8, 1449**[83]

**88.**

**GIUSTINIANI, NICOLAUS**
**UP, 4.872–878 (78)**

**89.**

**GOUDELES, EMMANUEL** [Γουδέλης, Ἐμμανουήλ]
**UP, 4.177–178 (64)** [*CC* 1: 208]; **ZD, 17**

**90.**

**GOUDELES, NIKOLAOS** [Γουδέλης, Νικόλαος]
**L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **UP, 4.157–164 (64)** [*CC* 1: 206]; **UP, 4.939–951 (79–80); ZD, 17; ZD, 20; CI, Letter of July 6, 1453;**[84] **Document of July 28, 1446** [Comptes de la chambre Apostolique, fol. 201v];[85] **Document of September 20, 1446;**[86] **Σφρ. 33.4–6; NI, 42 (58–59); NI, 83 (92–93)**

**91.**

**GRADENIGO, BAIARDO**
**LNB, 31**

**92.**

**GRANT, JOHN**
**L, 928** [*CC* 1: 134]; **L, 934** [*CC* 1: 148]; **ZD, 10; ZD, 19**

**93.**

**GRECI DE', TROILO**
**Document of October 12, 1453;**[87] **LNB, 31**

**GREDETA [GOUDELES?], NICOLAUS**
**IC. Letter of July 6, 1453**[88]

**94.**

**GRIMALDI, DOMENICO**
**LNB, 9–10**

**95.**

**GRIONI, ZAC[H]ARIA**
**NB 3 (10); NB, 24; NB, 30–31; NB, 59 (36); NBd, 69–71** [August 31, 1453]; **LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; AV, 245–248** [*CC* 2: 304]; **ZD, 14–15; ZD, 36; Document of February 25, 1453;**[89] **M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]; **Letter of July 30, 1454**[90]

**96.**

**GRIT[T]I, BATTISTA [BATISTA, BAPTISTA]**
**UP, 4. 279–305 (66); UP, 4.157–164 (64)** [*CC* 1: 206]; **UP, 4.574–584 (72); UP, 4.939–951 (79–80)** [*CC* 1: 210]**: Letter of July 30, 1454;**[91] **UP, 4.694–710 (75); ZD, 17; ZD, 18; LNB, 6; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]; **Document of November 17, 1479**[92]

**97.**

**GRITI, LUCA**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**98.**

**GULIAS, NICOLÒ**
**LNB, 31**

**GURO, cf. SGOUROS**

## H

**99.**

HYALINAS [YALINAS/GALINA], ANTONIOS

**[Ὑαλινᾶς/Γιαλινᾶς, Ἀντώνιος]**
**NB, 36; *Codex Addit.* 34060** of the British Museum; [93] **Document of December 26, 1453** [*Senato Mar, Reg. 5 (1453–1456), fol. 13v*]; [94] **Document of January 5, 1454** [*Duca di Candia 2, Ducali lettere ricevute, quat. 27 (1453–1454), fol. 11*$^r$][95]

## I

**100.**

**IAGARIS [Giagaris, JAGARIS, JAGARUS, IAGROS, [Ἴαγρος, Ἰάγαρης, Γιάγαρις]**
**UP, 1.529–538 (23)**

**100a.**

**IAGARIS [JAGARIS, JAGARUS, IAGROS, Ἴαγρος, Ἰάγαρης, Γιάγαρις (PALAIOLOGOS)]. MANUEL [Μανουήλ]**
**L, 936; ZD, 22; Σφρ, , 29.4**

**101.**

**IMPERIALIS [NEPHEW OF LOMELLINO, GIOVANNI ANGELO]**
**AGL** [*CC* 1: 42–44]; **AGL** [*CC* 1: 50]; **Letter of Nicholas Soderini** [August 30, 1453][96]

**102.**

**ISIDORE [ Ἰσίδωρος], CARDINAL**
***Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*** [Report of Franciscan brothers, *TIePN*, pp. 25–26; two versions]; **CI** [*CC* 1: 64 (7/6/53)]; **CI** [*CC* 1: 84 (7/8/53)]; **CI** [*CC* 1: 66 (7/6/1453)]; **CI** [*CC* 1: 66–68 (7/6/1453)]; **CI** [*CC* 1: 78 (7/6/1453)]; **CIf** [*CC* 1: 114 (7/15/53)]; **B, 207; B, 208; L, 925** [*CC* 1: 124]; **L, 925; L, 930; L, 934** [*CC* 1: 146]; **L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **ZD, 18–19; ZD, 20; ZD, 20; GTf, 27; NB, 3 (10); NB, 4 (11); NB, 5 (11–12); NB, 7; UP, 2.205–224 (31); UP, 3.488–505 (51–52); UP, 3. 520–526 (52); UP, 3.633–646 (54); UP, 3.728–731 (56); AV, 277–280** [*CC* 2: 306]; **FR, 153; FR, 155–156; HS** [*CC* 2: 86 (9/11/53)]; **HS** [*CC* 2: 86 (9/11/53)]; **Leonardo Benvoglienti** [*CC* 2: 109–111 (11/22/53)]; **Tignosi da Foligno** [*TIePN*, p. 114]; **Tignosi da Foligno** [*TIePN*, p. 118]; **Tignosi da Foligno** [*TIePN*, p. 120]; **Document of September 23, 1445 (?);**[97] **M** [NE 3: 297]; **M** [*NE* 3: 299];

Σφρ, 36.5–6; Document of January 24, 1452 [*Arch. du Vatican, Eugène IV, Lettres, reg. 398, fol. 56–56*];[98] Document of July 26, 1452;[99] Document of May 7, 1453;[100] Document of November 29, 1458;[101] NE 3: 308. n. 1; Document of August 14, 1464;[102] Quirini [*TIePN*, p. 74]

**ISIDORUS [Ἰσίδωρος] [PRIEST]**
L, 925; L, 930

103.
**ITALIANUS, HIERONYMUS**
L, 150; ZD, 20

### K

104.
**KALAPHATES, GIACOMO [Καλαφάτης, Ἰάκωβος]**
G

105.
**KALAPHATES, MICHAEL [Καλαφάτης, Μιχαήλ]**
G

106.
**KANTAKOUZENOS [Καντακουζηνός]**
Doukas, 40.7; UP, 3,614–633 (54)

107.
**KANTAKOUZENOS, ANDRONIKOS [Καντακουζηνός, Ἀνδρόνικος]**
UP, 2. 488–497; UP, 4.151–156 (64) [*CC* 1: 206]; UP, 4.165–168 (64) [*CC* 1: 206]; UP, 4.939–951 (79–80) [*CC* 1: 210]; CI [*CC* 1: 78]; ZD, 17; ZD, 17; Σφρ, 32.7

**KANTAKOUZENOS, DEMETRIOS [Καντακουζηνός, Δημήτριος]**
G; Document of July 1447[103]

108.
**KANTAKOUZENOS, IOANNES [Καντακουζηνός, Ἰωάννης]**
UP, 2. 488–496 (36); UP, 4.165–168 (64) [*CC* 1: 206; ZD, 17; G; Cyriacus Anconitanus; Σφρ, 32.7; Σφρ, 36.11; NI, 83

**(92)**

**109.**

**KANTAKOUZENOS, MICHAEL** [Καντακουζηνός, Μιχαήλ]
**Letter of May 15, 1454**[104]

**110.**

**KARYSTENOS, THEODOROS** [Καρυστηνός, Θεόδωρος]
**CI, 2.70** [*CC* 1: 70]; **L, 934** [*CC* 1: 148]; **ZD, 19; NI, 41 (56)**

**111.**

**KOMNENOS, ISAAKIOS** [Κομνηνός, Ἰσαάκιος]
**G**

**112.**

**KOMNENOS, KONSTANTINOS** [Κομνηνός, Κωνσταντῖνος]
**G**

## L

**113.**

**LACAVEL(L)A [LECANELLA], FRANCESCO [erroneously: FLACTANELLA and PHLANTANELLAS/**Φλαντανελλᾶς]
**L, 931 (140); ZD, 13**

**114.**

**LANGASCO DE, LEONARDO**
**L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **ZD, 20**

**115.**

**LASKARIS, MANUEL** [Λάσκαρης, Ἐμμανουήλ]
**G**

**116.**

**LASKARIS, THEODOROS** [Λάσκαρης, Θεόδωρος]
**G**

**117.**

**LOLIN, ALESANDRO** [brother of **Lolin, Zuan**]
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299]

118.

**LOLIN, ZUAN** [brother of **Lolin, Alesandro**].
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

119.

**LOMELLINO, ANGELO GIOVANNI**
**NB, 29; NB, 57 (35); L, 944; AGL** [*CC* 1: 42–44]; **Letter [September, 27, 1453] of Franco Giustiniani;**[105] **Letter [September 27, 1453] of Franco Giustiniani;**[106] **Letter of Nicholas Soderini [August 30, 1453];**[107] **Document of May 12, 1452;**[108] **Document of June 12, 1453;**[109] **Cod. Litterarum anni 1440–1447, num. II, X. 114 [August 1, 1447];**[110] **Cod. Litterarum ann. 1438–1469, num. 9, X. 112 [April 15, 1451];**[111] **Cod. Litterarum ann. 1438–1469, num. 9, X. 119 [June 28, 1452];**[112] **Inscription**[113]

**LONGINUS, ANDRONICUS**
**ZD, 17**

120.

**LOREDAN, ZUAN**
**NB, 33; LNB, 6; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

## M

121.

**MALIPIERO, ANDREA**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

122.

**MARANGON, ZUAN**
**LNB, 31**

123.

**MARCHINI, NICOLÒ**
**M** [*NE* 3: 298]

124.

**MARIANO, DOMINO**
**G**

125.

**MAVRICO, BORTALAMEO** [Μαυρίκος, Βαρθολομαῖος]
**G**

**126.**

**MAVRICO, GIOVANNI** [Μαυρίκος, Ἰωάννης]
**G**

**127.**

**METAXAS, ANTONIOS** [Μεταξᾶς, Ἀντώνιος]
**G**

**128.**

**METAXAS, NIKOLAOS** [Μεταξᾶς, Νικόλαος]
**G**

**129.**

**METAXAS, SERGIOS** [Μεταξᾶς, Σέργιος]
**G**

**130.**

**MICHIEL, FRANCESCO**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]
A relative of **MICHIEL, FRANCESCO**?

**131.**

**MICHIEL, PIERO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**MINOTTO, wife of MINOTTO, GIROLAMO [JERUOLEMO, HIERONYMUS]**
**ZD, 33; NE, 3: 288–289** (July 17, 1453); **Archivo di Stato Venice, Senato Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 202v;**[114] **NE, 3: 289**

**132.**

**MINOTTO, GIROLAMO [JERUOLEMO, HIERONYMUS]**
**AGL, 46; L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **L, 943**, [*CC* 1: 166]; **ZD, 14–15; ZD, 17; ZD, 20; ZD, 33; UP, 3.749–756 (57); UP, 4.173–176 (64)** [*CC* 1: 208]; **UP, 4.1075–1079 (82); B, 208; NB, 2 (9); NB, 5; NB, 6–7** [Dec. 14, 1452]; **NB, 7** [Declaration in favor of defending Constantinople]; **NB, 8–9; NB, 11; NB, 11; NB, 11–12; NB, 19; NB, 50; NB, 59; NB, 66** [additional note by Marco Barbaro: 7/18/1453]; **LNB, 6; LNB, 16; LNB, 59–60; LNB, 61–**

**63; LNB, 63–65; AV, 285–288** [*CC* 2: 306]; **Archivo di Stato Venice, Sen. Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 201v** [July 17, 1453]; [115] **Document of July 17, 1453;**[116] **Archivo di Stato Venice Senato Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 202v;**[117] **Document of August 28, 1453;**[118] **M** [*NE* 3: 298]: list from Barbaro?]; **M** [*NE* 3: 298]; **M** [*NE* 3: 300]; **Dresden Chronicle** [fol. 262v]; [119] **Document of April 29, 1450;**[120] **NBd, 67** [2/14/51, *m<ore> V<eneto>*]; **Document of September 20, 1450;**[121] **Register of Elections**[122]

**133.**

**MINOTTO, P[A]OLO, son of MINOTTO, GIROLAMO [JERUOLEMO, HIERONYMUS]**

**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; ZD, 33; NE, 3: 288–289; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]; **M** [*NE* 3: 298]

**134.**

**MINOTTO, ZORZI, son of MINOTTO, GIROLAMO [JERUOLEMO, HIERONYMUS]**

**AGL, 46; L, 943**, [*CC* 1: 166]; **ZD, 33; UP, 4.1075–1079 (82); LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 59–60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]; **NE, 3: 288–289** (July 17, 1453); **Archivo di StatoVenice, Sen. Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 202v**[123]

**135.**

**MOCENIGO [MOZENIGO], NICOLÒ**

**LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; Document of July 17, 1453;**[124] **M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**136.**

**MOCENIGO [MOZENIGO], THOMAS [TOMAO, TOMÀ, TOMADO]**

**LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**137.**

**MOLITIUS [MOLLISRUS?]**

**UP, 4.702–709 (75); UP, 4.939–951 (79–80)**

**137a.**

**MOLLISRUS [MOLITIUS?]**

**UP, 4.694–710 (75)**

**138.**

**MONDINI, GIACOMO** [Μονδίνι, ᾿Ιάκωβος]

**G**

**139.**

**MONDINI, LAZARO** [Μονδίνι, Λάζαρος]
**G**

**140.**

**MOREXINI, JERUOLEMO**
**NB, 3–4 (11); NB, 30–31; NB, 36; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65**

**141.**

**MOREXINI, NICOLÒ**
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65**

**142.**

**MOUSOUROS, ANTONIOS** [Μουσοῦρος, ᾿Αντώνιος]
**G**

**143.**

**MOUSOUROS, LEON** [Μουσοῦρος, Λέων]
**G**

**144.**

**MULIN [MOLIN] DA, ZACARIA**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 59–60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

## L

**145.**

**NANI, PIERO**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**146.**

**NAVAIER, ALOIXE [ALUVIXE]**
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**NEOPHYTOS [RHODIOS] HIEROMONK** [Νεόφυτος, ῾Ρόδιος],
**L, 925; L, 930; L, 936; ZD, 22;** Σφρ,. **33.4–6**

147.

**NESTOR-ISKANDER**
NI, 89 (96)

**NOTARAS, [unnamed] daughters of NOTARAS, LOUKAS [Νοταρᾶς, Λουκᾶς]**
UP, 4.1065–1074 (82); AM, 32 (340–341); Document of March 1454[125]

**NOTARAS, [unnamed] wife of NOTARAS, LOUKAS [Νοταρᾶς, Λουκᾶς]**
AM, 32 (340–341)

148–149. **NOTARAS, two [unnamed] sons of NOTARAS, LOUKAS [Νοταρᾶς, Λουκᾶς]**
L, 943 [*CC* 1: 166]; ZD, 31–32; CI; UP, 4.1065–1074 (82); AA, 181; AM 29 (339); AM 30 (339–340); AM, 31 (340); Moskhos, 19; Moskhos, 20; Σφρ.. 33.4–6; Σφρ., 34.8–9

**NOTARAS, IAKOBOS [Νοταρᾶς 'Ιάκωβος ( 'Ισαάκιος)] son of NOTARAS, LOUKAS [Νοταρᾶς, Λουκᾶς]**
L, 166; ZD, 32; UP, 4.1065–1074 (82); Letter of recommendation of January 6, 1448;[126] Document of March 1454[127]

150.

**NOTARAS, LOUKAS [Νοταρᾶς, Λουκᾶς]**
L, 150; L, 936 (152); L, 930; L, 943 [*CC* 1: 166]; ZD, 17; ZD, 20; ZD, 21; ZD, 31–32; CI; UP, 1.434 (21)-535 (23); UP, 2.104–116 (29); UP, 2. 488–497 (36); UP, 3.614–633 (54); UP, 3.732–740 (56); UP, 4.192–196 (65) [*CC* 1: 208]; UP, 4.1065–1074 (82); AA, 181; NB, 19; NB 66 (38); AM, 22 (37); AM, 28 (339); AM 29 (339); AM 30 (339–340); AM, 31 (340); AM, 32 (340–341); Moskhos, 16; Moskhos, 17; Moskhos, 18; Moskhos, 19; Moskhos, 20; Letter of July 1446;[128] Letter of recommendation, January 6. 1468;[129] Σφρ., 32.7; Σφρ., 33.4–6; Σφρ., 34.1–5; Σφρ., 34.8–9; Document of May 11, 1451;[130] Document of October 23, 1450;[131] Letter of June 7, 1443;[132] Letter of July 7, 1446;[133] Letter of instructions to Maruffo, March, 1454;[134] Document of July 10, 1447;[135] Document of October 14, 6959 (1450);[136] Document of October 23, 1450;[137] NI, 42 (58); NI, 83 (92), 87

151.

**NOTARAS, MATTHAIOS** [Νοταρᾶς, Ματθαῖος]
**G**

**152.**

**NOTARAS, VLASIOS** [Νοταρᾶς, Βλάσιος]
**G**

**153.**

**NOVARIA DE [NOVARA DA], DOMINICUS [DOMENICO]**
**L, 931** [*CC* 1: 140]; **ZD, 13–14**

## O

**OMELIA D’, NICHOLAS**
**Document of October 2, 1453**[138]

**154.**

**ORHAN [OSMANLI]**
**NB, 19; Henry of Soemmern** (*CC* 2: 86)

## P

**155.**

**PALAIOLOGOS [PALAEOLOGUS], DEMETRIOS**
[Παλαιολόγος, Δημήτριος]
**G; L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **ZD, 20**

**156.**

**PALAIOLOGOS [PALAEOLOGUS], EMMANUEL**
[Παλαιολόγος, Ἐμμανουήλ]
**G; ZD, 17; UP, 4.179–181**

**157.**

**PALAIOLOGOS [PALAEOLOGUS], METOKHITES THEODOROS**
[Παλαιολόγος Μετοχίτης, Θεόδωρος]
**UP, 4.191–192** [*CC* 1: 208]; **ZD, 17**

**PALAIOLOGOS [PALAEOLOGUS], SINGOURLA, cf. SINGOURLAS**
[Σέγκρουλα] PALAIOLOGOS [Παλαιολόγος]

**158.**

**PALAIOLOGOS [PALAEOLOGUS], THEOPHILOS** [Παλαιολόγος, Θεόφιλος]
**L, 925** [*CC* 1: 126]; **L, 934** [*CC* 1: 148]; **L, 941** [*CC* 1: 162]; **ZD, 19; ZD, 29–30; M** [*NE* 3: 297]

**159.**

**PALAIOLOGOS [PALAEOLOGUS], THOMAS** [Παλαιολόγος, Θωμᾶς]
**G**

**160.**

**PASCAL, ANTONIO**
**Document of November 24, 1453**[139]

**161.**

**PEXARO DE [CA], ANTONIO**
**LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**162.**

**PHILANTHROPENOS, [MANUEL?]** [Φιλανθρωπηνός, ᾿Εμμανουήλ]
**UP, 4.192 (64)** [*CC* 1: 208; also *CC* 1: Philanthropus]; **ZD, 17**

**PHILANTROCHUS, cf. PHILANTHROPENOS**

**163.**

**PHILOMATES [FILAMATI], ANTONIOS** [Φιλομάτης, ᾿Αντώνιος]
**NB, 58–59 (36); LNB, 20; Codex Addit. 34060** of the British Museum;[140] **Document of May 14, 1456**[141]

**164.**

**PHOKAS, ANDRONIKOS** [Φωκᾶς, ᾿Ανδρόνικος]
**G**

**165.**

**PHOKAS, EM[M]ANUEL** [Φωκᾶς, ᾿Εμμανουήλ]
**G**

**166.**

**PIXANI [PISANI], NICOLÒ**
**LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**167.**

**PIZAMANO, ANTONIO**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**168.**

**PRIOL[L]I DA, MAFIO [MATTIO]** [brother **Prioli (Priuli) di, Aluvixe (Aloixe)**]
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**169.**

**PRIOLI [PRIULI] DI, ALUVIXE [ALOIXE]** [brother of **Priol(l)i da, Maffio (Mattio)]**
**LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**170.**

**PUSCULO, UBERTINO**
**Conclusion 83** [*CC* 1: 199]

## R

**171.**

**REDOLFI, ALUVIXE**
**LNB, 9–10**

**172.**

**RHANGABES** [Ῥαγκαβῆς]
**NI, 39 (54)**

**173.**

**RHUODO [RHODO?] DA, ANDREA**
**LNB, 31**

**174.**

**ROSSI DI, LUCA**
**LNB, 9–10**

## S

**175.**

**SALAMON [SALAMUN], NADAL [HADAL]**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**176.**

**SALDIA [SARDAIA] DE, STEFANO**
**LNB, 31; NE 3: 290**

**177.**

**SALVATICO [SALVADEGO], THOMAS**
**L, 936** [*CC* 1: 152]; **ZD, 21**

**SAMILE [SAMUEL], VLADIK**
**NE 4, 65**

**SCHOLARIOS [SCHOLARIUS], GEORGE [GENNADIOS II, GENNADIUS]**
[Σχολάριος, Γεώργιος (Γεννάδιος Β΄)]
Ἐπιτάφιος;[142] **Manifesto of November 27, 1452;**[143] **Anti-unionist "Synod," November, 1452;**[144] **Agallianos,** Λόγος Α΄, 98 (265); **CI** [*NE* 2: 522]; **L, 930; L, 925; UP, 1. 513–517 (37)**

**178.**

**SCOLATO, FILIPPO** [Σκαρλάτος, Φίλιππος]
**G**

**179.**

**SEGNA DE, NICOLO**
**Document of December 28, 1453;**[145] **Document of September 23, 1455**[146]

**180.**

**SEGURIANI, MARCO** [Σιγουριάνος, Μάρκος]
**G**

**181.**

**SEGURIANI, NICOLO** [Σιγουριάνος, Νικόλαος]
**G**

**182.**

**SEGURIANI, PIERO** [Σιγουριάνος, Πέτρος]
**G**

**183.**

**SGOUROS [GURO, SGURO], PETROS**
[Σγοῦρος, Πέτρος]
**LNB, 20; Codex Addit. 34060** of the British Museum; [147] **Document of January 10, 1456;**[148] **Document of April 29,**

**1468**[149]

**184.**

**SIGNOLO, NADAL**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**185.**

**SINGOURLAS** [Σέγκρουλα] **PALAIOLOGOS** [Παλαιολόγος]
**NI, 41 (56); Note in a Short Chronicle**[150]

**186.**

**SOLIGO, BARTOLAMIO**
**NB, 15–16**

**187.**

**SOPHIANOS. THEODOROS** [Σοφιανός, Θεόδωρος] Ἐπιτάφιος[151]

**188.**

**SPHRANTZES, GEORGIOS** [Σφραντζῆς, Γεώργιος]
Σφρ.**. 33.4–6;** Σφρ.**, 34.1–6;** Σφρ.**, 34.8–9;** Σφρ.**, 35.8;** Σφρ.**, 35.9;** Σφρ.**, 35.11–12;** Σφρ.**, 36.5–6;** Σφρ.**, 36.11; NI, 42 (58)**

**189.**

**STECO, ANDREA**
**LNB, 31; NE 3, 289** [October 12, 1453]

**190.**

**STORNADUS, BERNARDO**
**UP, 4.694–710 (75); UP, 4.939–951 (79–80); ZD, 18**

## T

**191.**

**TAIAPIERA, JACOMO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 60; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**192.**

**TETALDI [TEDALDI, TETARDI, DALDI], GIACOMO [JACOBUS] GTI, 39 (19); GTl, 41 (20); GTl, 53 (26); GTf, 1;**

**GTf, 28; Document of July 5, 1453;**[152] **Document of August 5, 1453**[153]

**193.**

**THALASSENOS, ANDREAS** [Θαλασσινός, ’Ανδρέας]
**G**

**194.**

**THALASSENOS, IOANNES** [Θαλασσινός, ’Ιωάννης]
**G**

**195.**

**THALASSENOS, LEON** [Θαλασσινός, Λέων]
**G**

**196.**

**THALASSENOS, VARDAS** [Θαλασσινός, Βάρδας]
**G**

**197.**

**TRALDINI, ALUVIXE**
**LNB, 9–10**

**198.**

**TRAU DA, ZORZI**
**LNB, 31**

**199.**

**TRIVIXAN, ADAMO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**200.**

**TRIVIXAN, GABRIEL** [father of **Trivixan, Marco**]
**NB, 2 (10); NB, 3 (10); NB, 5** [December 14, 1452]; **NB, 8; NB, 11; NB, 14–15; NB, 24; NB, 30; NB, 32; NB, 38; NB, 39; NB, 58–59 (36); AV, 185–188** [*CC* 2: 302]; **AV, 213–216** [*CC* 2: 303]; **AV, 249–252** [*CC* 2: 305]; **L, 935** [*CC* 1: 150]; **ZD, 14–15; ZD, 17; ZD, 36; LNB, 16; LNB, 61; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 63–65; NBd, 69–71** [August 31, 1453]; **UP, 4.181–188 (64)** [*CC* 1: 208]; **UP, 4.960–962 (80); Document of November 24, 1453;**[154] **Document of December 10, 1453;**[155] **Document of May 7, 1453;**[156] **M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**201.**

**TRIVIXAN, MARCO** [son of **Trivixan, Gabriel**]
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**202.**

**TRIVIXAN, PIERO**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**203.**

**TRIVIXAN, SILVESTRO**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 60; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298]

**204.**

**TRUN [TRON], DONA[D]O**
**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

## V

**VALENTINUS [Russian slave of TETALDI (TEDALDI, TETARDI, DALDI), GIACOMO (JACOBUS)]**
**Document of August 5, 1453**[157]

**205.**

**VALERIANI, EMANUEL**
[Βαλεριάνος, Ἐμμανουήλ]
**G**

**206.**

**VALERIANI, GEORGIO** [Βαλεριάνος, Γεώργιος]
**G**

**207.**

**VALERIANI, GIOVANNI** [Βαλεριάνος, Ἰωάννης]
**G**

**208.**

**VALERIANI, NICCOLO** [Βαλεριάνος, Νικόλαος]
**G**

**209.**

**VARDAS, LEON** [Βάρδας, Λέων]
**G**

**210.**

**VARDAS, STAMATIOS** [Βάρδας, Σταμάτης]
**G**

**211.**

**VENIER, FRANCESCO**
**LNB, 6; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**212.**

**VENIER, ZUAN**
**NB, 58–59 (36); LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 20; LNB, 60; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**213.**

**VIT [T] URI, DANIEL**
**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**214.**

**VLAKHOS [BLACHO(S),** Βλάχος], **JAN** [’Ιωάννης] **[BAMBLACUS]**
**UP, 4.208; ZD, 17**

## Z

**ZACHARIAS [ZACHARIA] , ANGELUS [ANZOLO]**
**UP, 4.585–588 (72); ZD, 16**

**215.**

**ZANTANI, PIERO**
**LNB, 9–10**

**216.**

**ZEFINICHI [TZIFINICHI] , GIACOMO** [Τζιφινίκι, ’Ιάκωβος]
**G**

**217.**

**ZEFINICHI [TZIFINICHI] , MICHIEL** [Τζιφινίκι, Μιχαήλ]

**G**

**218.**

**ZEN, FANTINI**

**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; M** [*NE* 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**219.**

**ZON, ZUAN**

**LNB, 9–10**

**220.**

**ZORZI, BERTOLAMIO [BORTOLO, BARTOLO]**

**LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 61; LNB, 63–65; M** [NE 3: 299: list from Barbaro?]

**221.**

**ZUSTIGNAN [GIUSTINIANI], BERNARDO** [son of **Zustignan (Zustinian, Giustiniani), Nicolò**]

**LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [NE 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

**222.**

**ZUSTIGNAN [ZUSTINIAN, GIUSTINIANI], NICOLÒ** [father of **Zustignan (Giustiniani), Bernardo**

**NB, 7; NB, 9; LNB, 6; LNB, 9–10; LNB, 16; LNB, 61–63; LNB, 60; LNB, 63–65; M** [*NE* 3: 298: list from Barbaro?]

## III: List 2: Some Non-Historical Defenders

In addition to the well-attested personalities, some non-historical and even fictional individuals, have found their way into the list of defenders of Constantinople in 1453. Various reasons can account for this aberration. Some are clearly fictional and have been inserted into the record precisely because a writer had his own agenda to follow. Others are the result of copyists' errors or scholarly misunderstandings or misinterpretations. A sample of the non-historical defenders is furnished below.

**1.** Leonardo's text[158] includes the following comment: *Grossarum vero galearum praefectus Andreas Diedo, cum reliquis, triremes potius pavidus, quam portam, custodiebat. Naves perinde armatae, buccinis jugiter et ululatibus Martem invitabant*. Thus "Andrea" Diedo becomes the "admiral" of the Venetian fleet in charge of the defense of the harbor and the chain/boom guarding the entrance to the Golden Horn. The only difficulty with this attribution is that no such individual existed. Barbaro's journal does not include an Andrea Diedo and, clearly, we are dealing with an error in the manuscript tradition of Leonardo. From Barbaro and from other sources we learn that Aluvixe Diedo was placed in charge of the Venetian vessels. Thus, without doubt, we are dealing with a copyist's error in the transcription of Leonardo's manuscript. The correct name should be emended and restored as *Alvisius*. The correction is confirmed if we take into consideration the equivalent passage in the text[159] of a follower of Leonardo, Languschi-Dolfin: *Aluvixe Diedo capitano de gallie de Romania cum sue zurme spauroso custodiua el porto, le naue armate cum trombe et cridori continui accendeua et inuitaua a la pugna.* In addition, it should be noted that another imitator of Leonardo, the author of the *Anonymous Barberini Chronicle* also makes an error in regard to this name, which he reports[160] as "Antonio" Diedo: Καὶ τὸν ᾽Αντώνιον Ντιέδο, τζιντιλόμο Βενετζᾶνο, ὁποὺ ἤτονε καπετάνιος τῶν χοντρῶ κατέργων, τὸν ἔβαλε νὰ φυλάγη τὰ κάτεργα καὶ ὅλα τὰ πλεούμενα, ὁποὺ ἤτανε εἰς τὸν λιμῶνα, καὶ ἐβάρειε τὶς τρουμπέττες καὶ ἐκάλειε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰσὲ πόλεμον. Evidently, the manuscript of Leonardo must have been illegible at this point or perhaps the abbreviation used for *Alvisius* created problems for subsequent readers; thus one scribe read "Andreas" and another "Antonios" instead of the correct latinized form of "Aluvixe". Similarly, Sansovino also read "Antonio." While Leonardo is the ultimate source for the *Barberini Chronicle*, its immediate source is the

Italian text of Sansovino,[161] who printed this first name as *Antonio* and not as *Alvisius: E Antonio Diedo Capitano delle galee grosse haueua cura, come timoroso, piu tosto alle galee, che ala porta*. It should be noted, nevertheless, that the *Anonymous Barberini* is more faithful to the text of Leonardo than Sansovino. Perhaps this author was consulting a different immediate source altogether. Neither Languschi-Dolfin (who reports the name correctly) nor Sansovino (who has drastically abbreviated Leonardo's information), but rather an unknown intermediary that became the source, which the anonymous author of the Greek chronicle and Sansovino had consulted independently.

**2.** Nestor-Iskander cites a patriarch,[162] whom he even renders as "Athanasios": A самъ цесарь съ партіархомъ и святители и весь священный соборъ и множество женъ и дѣтей хожаху по церквамъ божіимъ и мольбы и моленія дѣюще, плачуще и рыдающе, и глаголюще…,

"the emperor himself, the patriarch with the priests and all the clerics of the council, and many women and children walked amid the churches of God, voicing petitions and prayers, crying, wailing, and exclaiming…."[163] He repeats the same information when he has the sultan address the patriarch during the sack. While it is possible that Mehmed II conversed with clerics, whose friendship he sought before and after the siege, there had been no patriarch assigned to the office in Constantinople.[164] There seems to be a confusion here with "Athanasios" as Nestor-Iskander portrays Mehmed addressing him as "Anastasios": Тобѣ глаголю, Анастасіе…, "I say to you, Anastasius…."[165] Is perhaps Nestor-Iskander's Анастасіе a scribal error in the transmission of the text for an original Аѳанасіе? After all, there has been an apocryphal tradition suggesting that there had been a patriarch in 1453, who was called Athanasios. Nestor-Iskander's passages involving Athanasios/Anastasios, the "patriarch," deserve a fresh scholarly investigation and study. Alternatively, it is possible that Nestor-Iskander meant, by "patriarch," the highest cleric in Constantinople, that is none other than Cardinal Isidore himself, who was often in the company of the emperor.[166]

**3.** Another fictitious personality is Phla(n)tane(l)las. He was supposedly the captain of the imperial transport that met with other Genoese ships and together they reached Constantinople and valiantly fought their way into the harbor, through the Turkish armada that had surrounded them. On the strength of this name, it has been assumed that Phla(n)tane(l)las was a Greek in charge of this cargo ship. A thorough reading of the reliable manuscripts of Leonardo establishes the correct form of the name as Lecanella, who was, after all, an Italian and not a Greek.[167]

**4.** Another non-historical eyewitness was the Italian "Christoforo Riccherio," who, as we have seen,[168] turns out to be Richer, a sixteenth-century scholar at the French court. This error originated in the failure of scholars to check into the sources of Sansovino, who had Italianized the name of the French scholar and had failed to indicate that Richer was a contemporary and that he had read his account in printed form and not in a manuscript of the *quattrocento*.

**5.** A deliberate fabrication by someone who was promoting his own agenda consists of the creation of the Spaniard Francisco de Toledo, who becomes a kinsman of the Greek emperor and gloriously perishes at his side in the final assault.[169]

**6.** A copyist's error or a misunderstanding by the translator of the Greek text of Cardinal Isidore's letter resulted in the creation of an otherwise unknown *Gredeta*. We have already discussed this case, and we are almost certain that the Greek name of the well-known personality Nikolaos Goudeles is to be found here embedded in this garbled form.[170]

**7.** Finally, we should mention a number of defenders of recent and of questionable origin, that is, they have appeared in modern accounts but have no authentic origins and are in fact missing from the reliable record. Thus Runciman speaks of a "Jacob Contarini" who was in charge of the Stoudion district.[171] Such a person fails to appear in eyewitness and secondary accounts. Evidently, there is confusion with another person. Furthermore, according to Runciman,[172] "Manuel da Genoa" was guarding the Golden Gate. He is equally obscure.

**8.** As a last observation, we bring up once more[173] the question of Demetrios Kantakouzenos, whose exact family affiliation and identity will have to remain obscure, as the traditional approach of identifying him with Demetrios Palaiologos has been recently challenged:[174] "[l]e mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène n'a jamais participé au siège de Constantinople en 1453, pour la bonne raison qu'il était mort plus tôt, peut-être de maladie."

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# Notes

[1] Cf., e.g. *FC*, p. 83: "Amongst the Venetians…were many that bore the most eminent surnames of the Republic, Cornaro, Mocenigo, Contarini and Venier."

[2] Cf., e.g., the remarks of Philippides, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani," p. 53: "The compilation of the prosopography of the participants in the siege and sack of Constantinople in 1453 has become imperative. There has never been any systematic study of defenders, attackers, and survivors. Such a project could provide us with a solid background to carry out an authoritative, military study of the operations. A prosopography based on reliable, authoritative texts composed by eyewitnesses and not on secondary documents that have passed thus far as primary texts must be carried out as the numerous analyses of the siege that have already appeared are deficient and seriously flawed on various aspects. The definitive investigation remains to be concluded." Also cf. the conservative estimate of Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, p. 127, n. 70: "The prosopography of the combatants in the siege of Constantinople has yet to be compiled. It has been estimated that our sources name about eighty individuals as commanders of various sectors and other notables in the city." There have been some modest attempts to establish facts about some of the defenders. A short list of participants that are directly and indirectly involved with the siege is offered by Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 157–161: "Brief Summary of the Main Characters in the Works of Sphrantzes and Melissenos"; Browning, "A Note on the Capture of Constantinople in 1453," pp. 379–383; Manoussakas, "Les derniers défenseurs crétois de Constantinople," pp. 331–340; Olgiati, "Notes on the Participation of the Genoese in the Defense of Constantinople," pp. 48–58; *eadem*, "Angelo Giovanni Lomellino," pp. 139–196; Philippides, "Some Prosopographical Considerations in Nestor-Iskander's Text," pp. 35–50; *idem*, "The Name Sphrantzes in Ubertino Pusculo," pp. 208–211; *idem*, "Giovanni Guglielmo Longo Giustiniani"; Ganchou, "Le Mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène," pp. 245–272; and *idem*, "Sur quelques erreurs relatives aux derniers défenseurs grecs de Constantinople en 1453," pp. 61–82.

[3] *Minus* 25.5–8; cf. *supra*, ch. 3: "A 'Chronicle' and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes," n. 16.

[4] Tetaldi *Caput V*. The equivalent French version (ch. IX) reads as follows: *En icelle cité ly avoit entour de trente à trente-six milles homines, & six à sept mille combattans, & non plus.* In addition, cf. *PaL* 2: 116, and n. 32.

[5] Pears, p. 248: "Unhappily for the city and for civilisation, Venice was unable to send more men before the final catastrophe." In addition, cf. *FC*, pp. 82–83: "Yet, though the governments [of the west] defaulted, there were men who were ready to fight for Christendom at Constantinople. The Venetian colony in the city offered unstinted support to the Emperor… 'for the honour of God and the honour of all Christendom,' as [Gabriel] Trevisano proudly said to the Emperor." Cf. Hanak, "Pope Nicholas V and the Aborted Crusade of 1452–1453," p. 352.

[6] Pears, p. 248.

[7] *Ibid.*: "In motives, derived from self-interest and chivalry, these foreign adventurers reminding English readers of the Drakes, Frobishers, Raleighs, and other heroes of our own Elizabethan period."

[8] Cf. above ch. 6: "Prelude to the Siege of 1453," section II, text with nn. 71–98.

[9] It is a little known fact, for instance, that Cardinal Isidore was a copyist of ancient manuscripts. Thus certain manuscripts of ancient authors that were reproduced by

his own hand survive and illustrate his interests; notable among them are his interests in astrology. He copied Ἡλιόδωρος, Ἀστρολογικά, and Ψευδο-Πτολεμαῖος in *Vatic. 1698*; in medicine *Vatic. Barb. 127*, and *Vatic. Chisianus F159*; and in rhetoric *Vatic. Urb. 110*, fols. 3–13, $119^{r}$–$122^{r}$. For his activities in these fields, cf. Patrinelis, "Ἕλληνες Κωδικογράφοι τῶν Χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως," pp. 63–124, esp. 87: Ἰσίδωρος Καρδινάλιος (δρᾷ 1409–1464).

Furthermore, at her request Cardinal Isidore addressed to a "lady who loves literature" his exegesis on an oracle about the walls of the Hexamilion at the Isthmus of Corinth, which had been renovated by Constantine XI when he was the despot of the Morea. She, it has been supposed, was Cleopa Malatesta, the wife of Theodoros II Palaiologos. This work (included in the *Greek codex 1852* of the Vatican, fols. 105, 106) has never been edited nor published in its entirety. The pertinent text on the oracle has been published by Zakythinos, "Μανουὴλ Β΄ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ Καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ," pp. 45–69. The oracle itself purports to date to the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.; unlike most Delphic oracles it is not written in meter but in archaic prose. The last of the predictions refers to Constantine Palaiologos, who fortified the Hexamilion in 1443. It must have been composed before 1446, when the Turks overran the fortifications and routed the troops of Constantine. The precise date of the oracle's composition is a subject of scholarly controversy, as Lampros, "Τὰ Τείχη τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Κορίνθου κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Αἰῶνας," pp. 435–489; and *idem*, "Προσθήκη εἰς τὰ τῶν Τειχῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Κορίνθου κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Αἰῶνας," pp. 20–26, believes that it was composed *ca.* 1443 in connection with Constantine's building projects. But Bodnar, "The Isthmian Fortifications in Oracular Prophecy," pp. 165–171, has attempted to show that most of the oracle existed earlier and was probably carved on the walls of the Hexamilion. His evidence derives from a number of statements from the journal of Cyriacus of Ancona. This matter has not been conclusively settled thus far and Father Bodnar, when he wrote his article, was not aware of the existence of Cardinal Isidore's explication or of his introduction to the text of the oracle. Be that as it may, the oracle was assigned to Constantine XI and, as Cleopa's request suggests, had become popular in the 1440s.

[10] It should once more be pointed out that no detailed scholarly biography of this fascinating figure exists. The basic sources on Isidore includes: Manoussakas, "Ἡ πρώτη ἄδεια (1456) τῆς

Βενετικῆς Γερουσίας γιὰ τὸ Ναὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας καὶ ὁ Καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος," pp. 109–118; Pierling, pp. 60–105; Ziegler, pp. 393–410; Hofmann, "Papst Kallixt III," pp. 209–237; Ammann, p. 251; Krajcar, pp. 367–378; Zakythinos, "Μανουὴλ Β΄ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ Καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος," pp. 45–69; Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro*; *idem*, "Lettere di un Isidoro," pp. 200–207; Laurent, "Isidore de Kiev," pp. 150–157; *PLP* 4: no. 8300 (130, 131); Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, Appendix 22, pp. 525–528; and Kalligas, pp. 169–170, and n. 98.

[11] Cf. the comments of Ganchou, "Sur quelques erreurs," p. 72. n. 1: "Or la menace d'une croisade inquiétait trop le sultan même après la prise de Constantinople, pour qu'il se soit soucié de donner un si bel argument à Rome. Autrement dit, se figurer qu'il ait fait activement rechercher Isidore pour se venger de lui serait par trop faire injure à son intelligence politique. S'il entreprit aucune recherche sérieuse pour le découvrir, c'est surtout qu'une telle prise l'eût mis dans une position embarrassante, en l'obligeant à statuer sur le sort du cardinal. Et on imagine difficilement le sultan contraint de soustraire Isidore du désir de vengeance de ses lieutenants en alléguant des considérations de haute politique. Il préféra donc le considérer comme mort en espérant qu'Isidore n'aurait pas le mauvais goût, par une maladresse quelconque, de venir se jeter dans se filets. Donc, quoi qu'Isidore en ait pensé, son évasion dut moins à sa présence d'esprit qu'à l'empressement de Mehmet II de le voir déguerir de Constantinople au plus vite: paradoxalement, elle dut être même certainement un égal motif de soulagement pour l'un comme pour autre."

[12] Maltezou, *Ὁ Θεσμὸς τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετοῦ Βαΐλου*, pp. 51–52: Οὐδεὶς ὅμως ἔδειξε τὸ θάρρος τοῦ Gerolamo Minotto.,.[ὁ Minotto] [ἐ]νόμιζεν ὅτι ἡ Βενετία θὰ ἐνίσχυε παντοιοτρόπως τὸν ἀγῶνά του...ἄνευ δὲ ἀναμονῆς ἀπαντήσεως, ...ἀπηγόρευσε τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν βενετικῶν πλοίων καὶ ἐτάχθη εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.... Θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀναμείνῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως, θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ βοηθήσῃ τοὺς ἀποίκους νὰ διαφύγουν τοῦ κλοιοῦ τῶν Τούρκων, θὰ ἠδύνατο τέλος ὁ ἴδιος νὰ λιποψυχήσῃ. Ὅμως δὲν ἔπραξεν τοῦτο .... Ὁ βάιλος προσέφερε τὴν βοήθειάν του, ὅτε ἡ χώρα του ἠρνήθη νὰ προσφέρῃ τὴν ἰδικήν της, ὁ βάιλος διὰ τῆς αὐτοθυσίας του ἔδειξεν εἰς τὴν Δύσιν, ὅ,τι ὤφειλεν αὔτη νὰ εἶχε πράξει.

[13] *Infra*, no. 41.

[14] *Infra*, no. 57.

[15] *PaL* 2: 133–134: "As for the proud Notaras, who can say what the truth may have been?"

[16] That famous comment is (justly, perhaps accurately?) attributed by Doukas to Loukas Notaras, whom he portrays, with considerable exaggeration, as an ardent anti-Catholic and anti-unionist and an ally of Scholarius-Gennadios. Cf. Doukas 37.10: ἔχων [*sc.* Scholarios-Gennadios] ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου τὸν πρῶτον μεσάζοντα τὸν μέγα δούκαν [*sc.* Loukas Notaras] συνεργὸν καὶ συνίστορα, τὸν καὶ τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν τολμήσαντα κατὰ Λατίνων, ὅτε εἶδον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι [Greeks] τὸν ἀναρίθμητον στρατὸν τῶν Τούρκων, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως: "Κρειττότερόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν." Cf. Evert-Kappesowa, pp. 245–257.

[17] A list of this last category, captives who bought their freedom and remained in

the Turkish occupied territories, is beyond the scope of the present study. Any list will have to begin with a scrutiny of the personal correspondence of Francesco Filelfo; cf., e.g., Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres dix lettres grec de François Filelfe*, letter 66, pp. 63–68. In addition cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," text with notes 185–191. Cf., e.g., Filelfo's letter of June 4, 1454, to his son, Giovanni Mario, about a Greek relative, Michael Dromokates Chrysoloras, who was a refugee of the sack. Cf. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres dix lettres grec de François Filelfe*, p. 69: Φραγκῖσκος ὁ Φίλελφος Ἰωάννη Μαρίῳ τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν. Ὁ ταύτην σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀποδοὺς Δρομοκάτης ὁ Χρυσολωρᾶς ἐν κηδείας νόμῳ ἡμῖν ὢν τυγχάνει, ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς σῆς μητρὸς γένους. Ἔστι δὲ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ, λυπηρὸν μέρος τῆς ἄρτι γενομένης κατὰ τὴν Νέαν Ῥώμην [=Constantinople] δυστυχίαν. In another letter, October, 1455, to the marquis of Mantua, Filelfo refers to the same individual again, adds his first name, and mentions other noble refugees; Legrand, p. 69: *Etsi non ignorabam eo te esse ingenio atqiue animi magnitudine et etiam sine ulla mea commendatione quam liberalissime munificintissimeque excepturum arbitrarer virum illustrem Michaelem Dromocatem Chrysolora, Manuelis illius Chrysolorae necessarium, qui extincta bonarum artium studia in lucem ad latinos revocavit; itemque viros nobiles Demetrium et Michaelem Assanes… quique penes Turcorum immanem illum et impium Mahometum quam miserrimam serviunt servitutem.* Furthermore, in a letter of August 1, 1465, to Leodisio Cribelli, Filelfo describes the circumstances that forced him to compose his fawning letter and his ode to Mehmed II. Cf. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres dix lettres grec de François Filelfe*, p. 66: *Nec illud certe vitio damnandum est quod ad Mahometum, tyrannum amyramque Turcorum, et epistolam olim et carmen dederim, et id quidem non inscio sapientissimo et innocentissimo principe meo Francesco Sfortia qui, cum vellet aliquid explorare de apparatu insidiisque Turcorum in christianos, audiretque honestissimam feminam, socrum meam, Manfredinam, uxorem illisus splendissimi Chrysolorae, et ipsam et duas filias ex praeda et direptione Constantinopolitana captivas servire apud illam barbariam, permisit ut, illarum et redimendarum obtentu, duo quidam iuvenes callidi et ad rem strenui, nomine meo et cum meis letteris, proficiscentur ad Mahometum.* Cf. the comments of Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, p. 22: "From the correspondence of Filelfo we know the names of many…Greeks who escaped from the destruction of Constantinople, such as: three Diplovatazae, Manuel Aggalus, …Alexander Kananos, Demetrios Palaiologos…Andronikos Trikhas Sandones, and George Doukas Armenes."

Moreover, such a projected list will have to utilize the documents published by Darrouzès, pp. 72–127; and the evidence presented by some documents from the period such as the speeches of Agallianos; cf. Patrinelis, Ὁ Θεόδωρος. For the high number of the captives, cf. Leonardo's estimate, *PG* 159: 942 (omitted by *CC* 1): *Triduo igitur in praedam decursam civitatem depopulatamque regis Teucrorum ditioni dicati admodum relinquunt. Traducitur ad papiliones omnis substantia et praeda, vinctique omnes ad sexaginta millia funibus Christiani captivantur; cruces ex templorum apicibus parietibusque evulsae pedibus conculcantur; violantur mulieres; virgines deflorantur; matres juvenes in turpitudinem maculantur; sanctimoniales ac reliquae etiam quae apparentes fuerunt, luxu foedantur….* Yet some of those individuals were able to gain their freedom in time, but were confronted with complications one would expect to arise from their misfortunes. Cf., e.g., the case of Demetrios Barniotes, reported by Agallianos (Patrinelis, Ὁ

*Θεόδωρος, Λόγος* II: 148–150. lines 2065–2090):

Γυνή τις ἐπιπράσκετο καὶ δεινῶς ἠναγκάζετο, ἧς ὁ ἀνήρ, Δημήτριος ὁ Βαρνιώτης, ἀπῆν διὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ ἀφανὴς ἦν· ἐξωνίσατο δ᾽ ὅμως αὐτήν, λαβὼν παρὰ Ἑβραίων ἀργύρια Μανουὴλ τις ἢ οἴκτου κινοῦντος αὐτὸν ἢ φιλίας ἢ χρείας, καὶ ὅσα γυναικὶ ἐχρῆτο αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπαιδοποίησε μετ᾽ αὐτῆς. Μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνου παραδρομὴν ἐπανῆκε καὶ ὁ πρώην ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ εὑρὼν αὐτὴν συνοικοῦσαν τῷ Μανουὴλ καὶ παιδοποιοῦσαν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡσύχασεν, μήτε αὐτὴν μήτε ἄλλην ἀγαγέσθαι θελήσας…ὁ δὲ Μανουὴλ ζητῶν ἱερολογηθῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκωλύετο διὰ τὸν Δημήτριον. Ἐλθόντων δὲ τῶν αὐθεντικῶν διαταγμάτων, δεῖν πάντα χριστιανὸν τὸν ἔχοντα ὠνητόν, ἢ ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ ἀφεῖναι ἐλεύθερον κελευόντων ἢ πιπράσκειν Τούρκοις καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρῳ τινί, ἐκ πλείονα κατέστην ἀνάγκην ὁ Μανουὴλ ἀνόσιον καὶ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος, εἰ διαπράσαιτο αὐτὴν οἷς εἴρηται σὺν δύο νεογνοῖς — ἔμελλον γὰρ κινδυνεύσειν περὶ τὴν πίστιν· μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ ἀφεῖναι αὐτὴν ἐλευθέραν δι᾽ ἃ ὤφειλε τοῖς Ἑβραίοις χρέα κεφαλαίων καὶ τόκων, μίαν εὕρισκε μηχανὴν εἰς παραμυθίαν τοῦ κακοῦ, εἰ αὐτὴν ἱερολογηθείη. Καὶ δὴ προσδραμὼν ἐζήτησε παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διάκρισιν, τὰς ἀνάγκας ἀφηγούμενος…. Οἱ μέντοι Ἑβραῖοι ἐβίαζον τὸν Μανουὴλ ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς ὀφειλάς, ὁ δὲ Μανουὴλ ἐνέκειτο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αἰτῶν λαβεῖν ἔνδοσιν ἢ ἀπεμπολῆσαι τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς Τούρκοις ἢ ἱερολογηθῆναι αὐτήν, τρίτον γὰρ οὐχ εὑρίσκετο· ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἦν….

[18] *Turcograecia* 90. Crusius' own translation of this passage into Latin: *Extant itaque hodieque hic domus quaedam paucae Palaeologorum, Constantini & Manuelis fratrum germanorum: & alia, plus minusue decem…. Sanè Cantacuzenorum & Raliorum nomina audiuntur. Praeterea, Mamalarum & Notaradarum: quorum plerosque Peloponnesus habet. Latinorum item, Muzalorum, Batzidarum, Diplobatazidarum, Asanaeorum, Chrysolorarum, Lascaridarum, Eugenicorum, altorumque: de quibus singulis scriptu difficile est.*

[19] *Minus* 35.1: …ἄνδρας πρὸς ἀντιπαράταξιν, ͵δψογ´ ἄνευ τῶν ξένων μόλις ὄντων σ$^{ων}$ ἢ μικρόν τι πρός. There is every reason to believe that the figure 200 is in error; clearly Sphrantzes must have counted 2000. On the absurdity of the "200" calculation, cf. *CC* 1: 422–423, n. 8: *Oltre ai veneziani ed ai genovesi presenti in Costantinopoli et atti a portare le armi, si tenga presente che il cardinale Isidoro aveva portato con sé 200 chioti, il Giustiniani e Maurizio Cataneo altri 700 (o 400) e i capitani delle navi veneziane da guerra e da mercato giunte fortunosamente nel porto prima dell'assedio* ***avevano a propria disposizione alcune centinaia di nomini*** *delle ciurme: si può calcolare un insieme di almeno 2000 uomini. Nel testo di Sphrantzès o c'è errore (cioè, 200 per 2000) o c'è l'idea di diminuire l'importanza del contributo dato dagli occidentali alla difesa della città.*

[20] On "Phlantanellas," cf. *supra*, ch. 3: "A 'Chronicle' and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes," nn. 81 ff.

[21] On "Don Francisco," cf. *ibid.*, text with nn. 59–66.

[22] Cf. *infra*, no. 12, no. 13, and n. 41.

[23] On Abraham Ankiwracʿi's Armenian elegy of the fall, consisting of 392 lines, cf. the translation and commentary of A. K. Sanjian, "Two Contemporary Armenian Elegies on the Fall of Constantinople, 1453," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1970): 223–261. Selections in Italian translation can also be found in *CC* 2: 412–419. This lamentation was first published in *MHH* 22.1: 915–933. On this poem, cf. H. A. Anasiian. *Հայկական աղբյուրները Բյուզանդիայի անկման մասին — Армянские источники о падении Византии* [Armenian Sources on the Fall of Byzantium] (Erevan, 1957), pp. 35–55. For some preserved Arabic literature, cf. S. S. Abouelrousse, "L'impact de la chute de Constantinople sur les mentalités arabes chrétiennes à Alep au XVIIIème siècle,"

*Parole de l'Orient* 2 (1996): 199–213.

[24] Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," sec. II.A.2.

[25] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.B.13.

[26] This poetical and popular source was evidently composed by someone who had participated in the defense and preserves valuable prosopographical information and details on the different land sectors; it has mainly been neglected by scholarship; nevertheless it has been described by Pertusi (*CC* 2: 293) as "uno [Lamento] dei più belli e interessanti, sulla caduta di Costantinopoli." It was first published in A. Medin and L. Frati, *Lamenti storichi dei secoli XIV, XV, e XVI*, 2 (Bologna, 1888): 127–146; it has been edited and printed anew in *CC* 2: 296–315.

[27] Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," sec. II.A.6.

[28] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.A.5.

[29] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.A.8.

[30] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.B.8.

[31] No. 36 *Miscellanea Gregolin-Archivio di Stato di Venezia* [= No. 27 *Miscellanea gregolin: Testamenti*]. This document contains a list of nobles aboard the galley of Zorzi Doria who had landed in Crete. It exists in three versions; an Italian rendition is based on a Greek original in the archives of Corfu and two Italian renderings published by Mertzios. "Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Διαφυγόντων τὸ 1453 Παλαιολόγων καὶ Ἀποβιβασθέντων εἰς Κρήτην," pp. 170–177. Cf. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, p. 194, n. 6. A Greek version of the list can be found in a note by Protopsaltes in his translation of Schlumberger, *La siège*, pp. 284–285, n. 14. Preceding the list, the following note can be read: *Copia tratta dal originale dal Archivio della Canea Karte 134 tradotta dal greco. Catalogo fatto dal pudentissimo e generoso messer Tomaso Celsi dignissimo Provedidor della nobile armata delli Illustrissimi Veneti per tutti li infelici gentil huomini che fugirono dalla miserabile Constantinopoli doppo la di lei schivitu, i quali venero con le loro famiglie nell'isola di Scio con li galioni del principe Doria genovese e il predetto generoso Celsi la condusse nella nostra citta della Canea e di poi parte andarono dal beatissimo Papa parte di Corfu parte restarono nelle citta dell'isola di Candia et il presente Catalogo fu fatto l'anno 1453 per comando del predetto domini Proveditore giusta l'autorita veutali dall' Illustrissimo Senato perche fosse dato mantenimento, il tutto scritto per mano di me Bortalameo Floriano publico Tabulario li 29 Maggio 1453*.

[32] Cf. *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," sec. III.

[33] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. III.

[34] Cf. *supra*, ch. 9: "Land Operations: The Main Targets," text with nn. 171 and 172.

[35] Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," sec. II.A.5.viii.b.

[36] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.A.4.

[37] Cf. *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," text with n. 54.

[38] Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," sec. II.A.1.

[39] Cf. *supra*, ch. 2: "Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy," sec. IV.

[40] Cf. *supra*, ch. 1: "Scholarship and the Siege of 1453," sec. II.B.10.

[41] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.A.10.

[42] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.A.7.

[43] Cf. *ibid.*, sec. II.A.4.i.

[44] Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali*, 10 (*libro xv*), no. 72 (p. 113) [*1461, ind. xi, Febbraio 11*].

[45] *Ibid.*, no. 73 (pp. 142–143) [*1461, ind. IX, Febbraio*].

[46] *Ibid.*, no. 74 (143) [*1461, Mazzo 6*].

[47] *NE* 2: 478–479, *Archiv. d'État de Florence, Dieci di Balia, Cart. responsive, reg. 23,*

*fol. 134–177*.

[48] *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13.2: 270–271.

[49] Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali* 10 (*libro xv*), no. 72 (p. 113) [*1461, ind. xi, Febbraio 11*].

[50] *Ibid.*, no. 73 (pp. 142–143) [*1461, ind. IX, Febbraio*].

[51] *Ibid.*, no. 74 (143) [*1461, Mazzo 6*].

[52] *NE* 3: 289.

[53] *Ibid.*, 3: 289.

[54] *Ibid.*, 290, n. 1.

[55] *Ibid.*, 263.

[56] *Ibid.*, 290, n. 1.

[57] Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali*, 10 (*libro xv*), no. 17 (pp. 7–8) [*1447, ind. x, luglio*].

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *NE* 3: 288.

[60] *TIePN*, pp. 6–9: *Archivio di Stato, Sen. Mar.* fol. $198^{v}$, $199^{r}$.

[61] *TIePN*, pp. 9: *Archivio di Stato, Sen. Secr. 19, g.* $203^{v}$.

[62] *NE* 3: 301, n. 1.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 279–280.

[66] *CC* 1: 404, n. 57.

[67] *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios* 1: 279–280.

[68] *CC* 2: 134; *NE* 3: 319–320.

[69] *NE* 3: 88; *Arch. d'Etat de Gênes, Lib/Diversor., reg. 31*.

[70] *NE* 3: 245.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[74] *Ibid.*, 2: 464; *Arch. d'Etat Florence, Dieci di Balia, Carteggio responsive, reg. 22, fol. 125*.

[75] *NE* 2: 477–478.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 491.

[79] *Ibid.*, 3: 272.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 301, n. 1.

[82] *Ibid.*, 2: 432–433.

[83] *Ibid.*, 3: 241.

[84] Hofmann, "Ein Brief," p. 413.

[85] *NE* 2: 25.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 26, *Comptes de la chambre Apostolique, fol. 210*.

[87] *NE* 3: 289.

[88] Hofmann, "Ein Brief," p. 413.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 281–282.

[90] In Manoussakas, "Les derniers défenseurs crétois de Constantinople," p. 334, n. 21.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali* 10 (*linro xv*), No. 141 (p. 231) [*6988 del mondo* (= A.D. 1479)]. For Gritti's activities and his return to Constantinople in 1479 with Giovanni Dario and the painter Gentile Bellini, cf. Diana Gilliland Wright and J. R. Melville-Jones, eds., trans., and commentary, *The Greek Correspondence of Bartolomeo Minio*, 1: *Dispacci from Nauplion (1479–1483)*, Archivio del Litorale Adriatico XI

(Padua, 2008): 37, 147, 189, and 273.

[93] Cf. *supra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” text with n. 63.

[94] Quotes in Manoussakas, “Les derniers défenseurs crétois de Constantinople,” p. 337, n. 43.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

[96] *NE* 2: 493.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 290, n. 1.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 461.

[99] *Ibid.*, pp. 272–273.

[100] *Ibid.*, 3: 283–284.

[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 290–291, n. 1.

[102] Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali* 10 (*libro xv*), No. 87 (146).

[103] *Ibid.*, no. 17 (pp. 7–8).

[104] Iorga, *Documente privitoare*, no. 2 (p. 2).

[105] *CC* 2: 100 [*NE* 3: 293].

[106] *NE* 3: 294.

[107] *Ibid.*, 2: 493.

[108] *Ibid.*, 3: 272.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[110] *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13.2: no. CXII, p. 205.

[111] *Ibid.*, no. CXLIII, p. 221.

[112] *Ibid.*, no. CXLVI, p. 224.

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 333:

—+ *M CCCC LII Die PrimA Aprilis*
*Nicolavs Papa Quintvs Ianvensis*
*Tempore. Spectabilis. Domini. Angeli. Iohannis Lom*
*Elini Potestatis Pere Svb Dvcatv Illvustris*
*. Domini. Domini. Petri. De. Campofregoso. Ianve. Ducis:.*

[114] *Ibid.*

[115] *PaL* 2: 133, n. 87.

[116] *NE* 3: 288–289.

[117] Maltezou, Ὁ Θεσμός, p. 64, n. 1.

[118] *NE*: 3, 289.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 301, n. 1.

[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 254–255.

[121] *Maggior Consiglio*, *Ursa*, fol. 180. *Bailo*, 1450–1453.

[122] Maltezou, *JO Qesmovi*, Ὁ Θεσμός, , p. 125.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 64, n. 1.

[124] *NE* 2: 524.

[125] *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13.2: no. CLIV (p. 269).

[126] Desimoni, “Introduzione all’ opuscolo di Adamo di Montaldo,” pp. 299–300.

[127] *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13.2: no. CLIV (p. 269).

[128] Cf. “Della conquista di Costantinopoli per Maometto II,” p. 299.

[129] *Ibid.*, pp. 299–300 (*data Janue die VI Januarii 1468*).

[130] *NE* 2: 447; *Arch. d’État de Raguse, Lett. e comm. Lev., reg. 1451–1452*, fol. 167$^{v}$.

[131] *Ibid.*, 3: 257–258.

[132] Cf. Desimoni, “Introduzione all’ opuscolo di Adamo di Montaldo,” pp. 207–208.

[133] *Cod. Litterarum ann. 1446–50, num. 13, X., 16, car. 35 recto; CXX. 1446, 11 luglio*; cf. Desimoni, “Introduzione all’ opuscolo di Adamo di Montaldo,” p. 209.

[134] *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 13.2: no. CLIV, p. 269.

[135] Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali* 10 (*libro xv*), No. 17 (pp. 7–8).

[136] *Ibid.*, 10 (*libro xiv*), No. 168 (pp. 55–56).

[137] *Ibid.*, Nos. 168 and 169 (p. 56).

[138] *NE* 3: 289.

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] Cf. *supra*, n. 93.

[141] *Senato Mar, Reg. 5 (1454–1456)*, fol. $149^{r}$ (Manoussakas, “Les derniers défenseurs crétois,” p. 339, n. 58).

[142] *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios* 1: 279–280.

[143] *Ibid.*, 3: 172.

[144] *Ibid.*, pp. 189–195.

[145] *NE* 3: 290.

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 290, n. 1.

[147] Cf. *supra*, n. 93.

[148] *Senato Mar, Reg. 5 (1453–1456)*, fol. $126^{v}$ [= Manoussakas, “Les derniers défenseurs crétois,” p. 336, n. 34].

[149] *Senato Mar, Reg 8 (1464–1468)*, fol. $168^{r}$ [= Manoussakas, “Les derniers défenseurs crétois,” p. 336, n. 36].

[150] Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 1: 99.

[151] *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios* 1: 279–280.

[152] *NE* 3: 288.

[153] *Ibid.*, 4: 99 (no. 19).

[154] *Ibid.*, 3: 289.

[155] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[156] *Ibid.*, pp. 283–284.

[157] *Ibid.*, 4: 99 (no. 19).

[158] 935. This passage is omitted in the selections of *CC* 1. On this point cf. *supra*, nos. 55a and 88.

[159] Fol. 317 (p. 20).

[160] *Anonymous Barberini* 21.

[161] Sansovino, ch. VII (p. 104).

[162] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 14 (pp. 33–35).

[163] Long ago scholars were under the impression that there had been a patriarch in 1453, an ecclesiastic by the name of Athanasios (1443–1453), but this has been demonstrated to be a mistaken notion; cf. Gennadios (metropolitan of Heliopolis), pp. 117–123; and Unbegaun, “Les relations vieux-russes,” pp. 13–38, esp. pp. 27–30. For some observations, cf. *supra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” text with n. 151.

[164] On the question of a Constantinopolitan patriarch in 1453, cf. Hanak, “Pope Nicholas V,” pp. 348 ff.

[165] Cf. the previous note.

[166] Hanak and Philippides, *The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture)*, 81 (pp. 90–91).

[167] For detailed comments, cf. *supra*, ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle’ and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes,” nn. 81 ff.

[168] Cf. the detailed discussion, *supra*, ch. 2: “Four Testimonies: A Ghost, a Pope, a Merchant, and a Boy,” sec. II.

[169] Cf. the detailed discussion, *supra*, ch. 3: “A ‘Chronicle’ and its Elaboration: Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes,” text with nn. 59–66.

[170] Cf. *supra*, nn. 126 and 132.

[171] *FC*, p. 93.

[172] *Ibid.*, pp. 218–219.

[173] Cf. *supra*, **Kantakouzenos, Demetrios** (with no number).

[174] Ganchou, “Le Mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène.”

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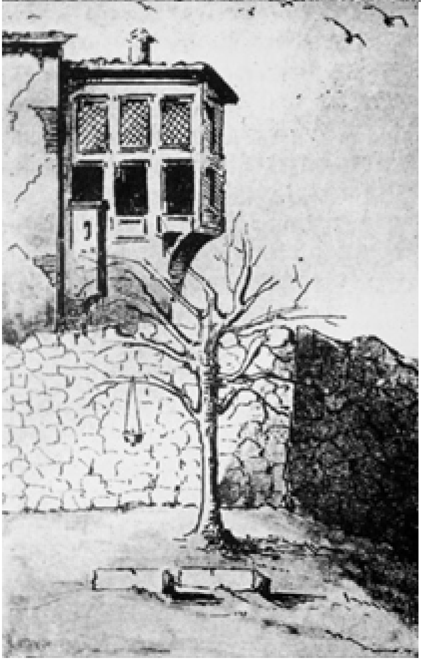

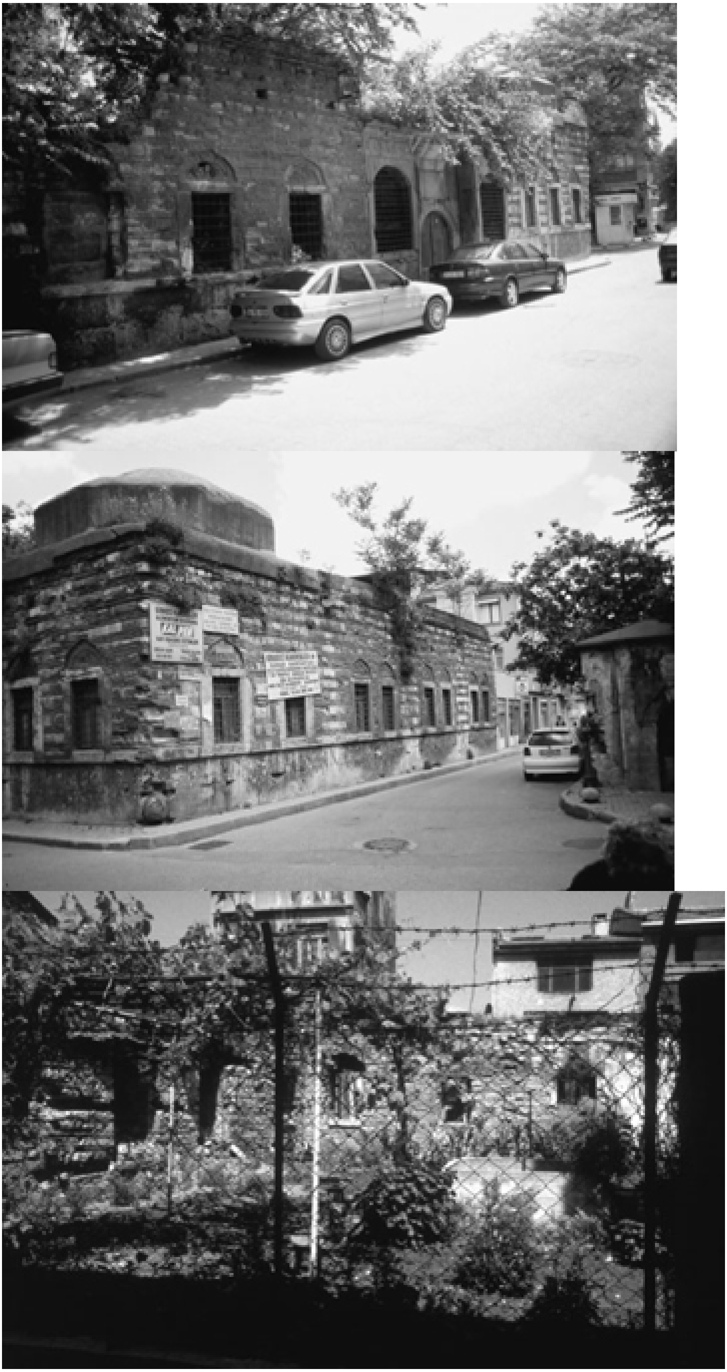

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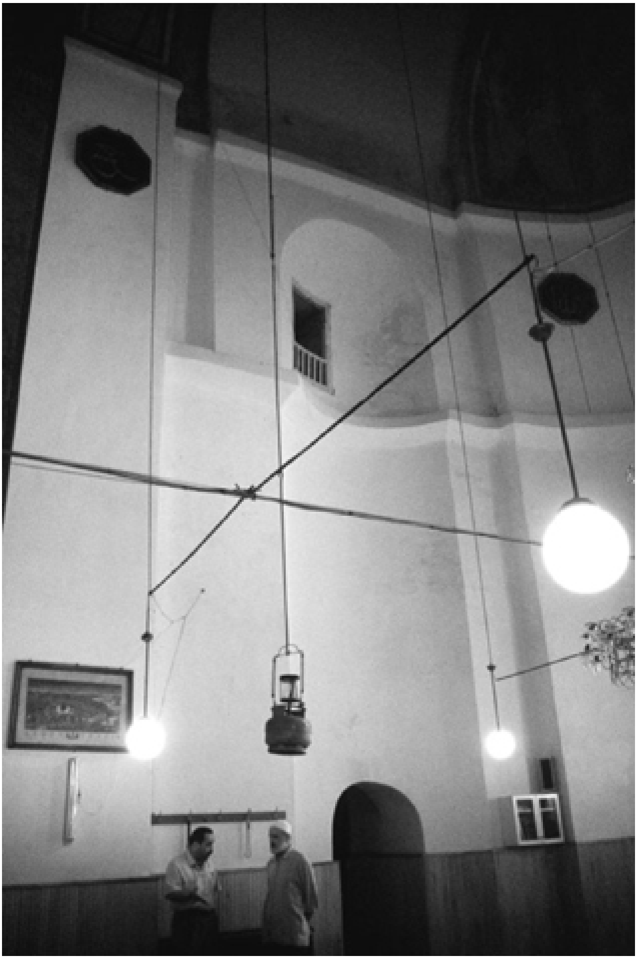

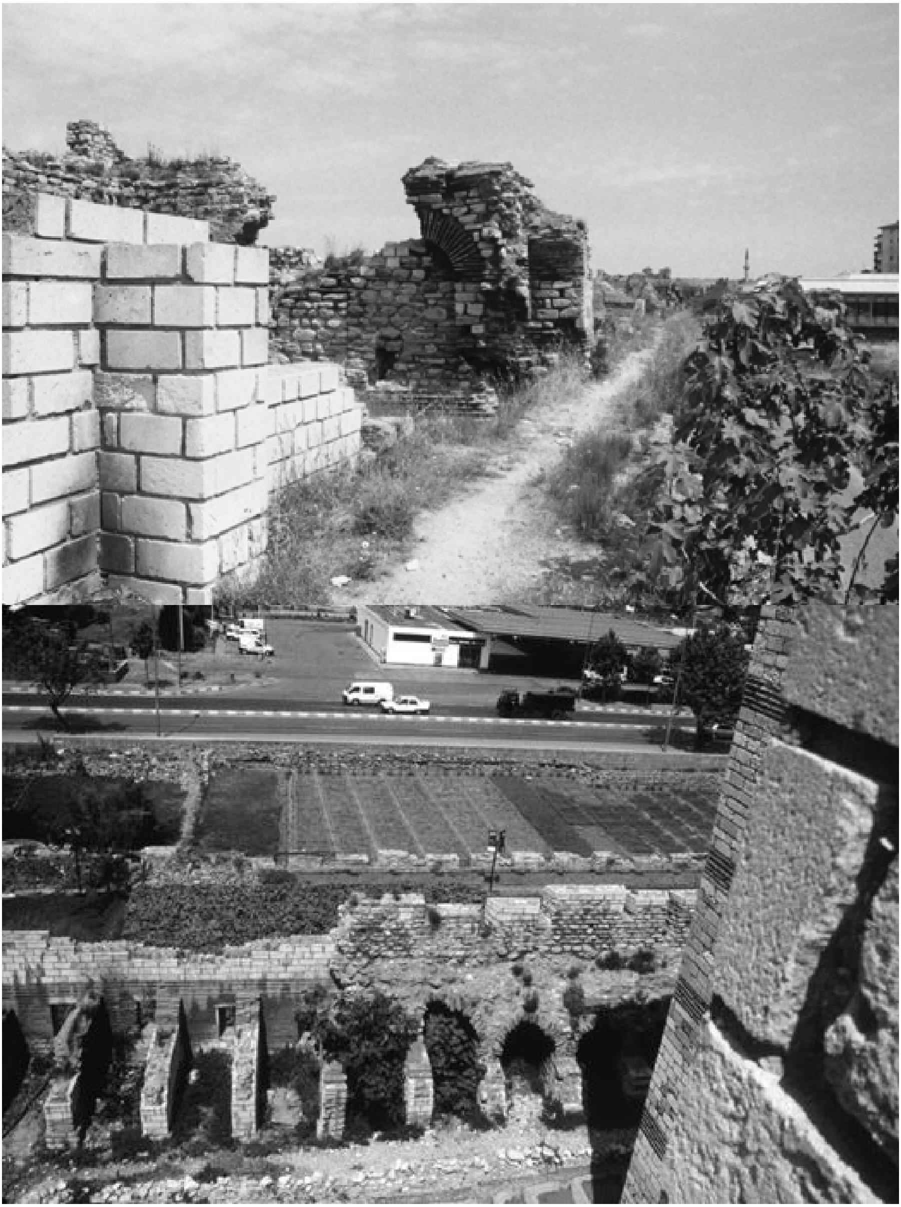

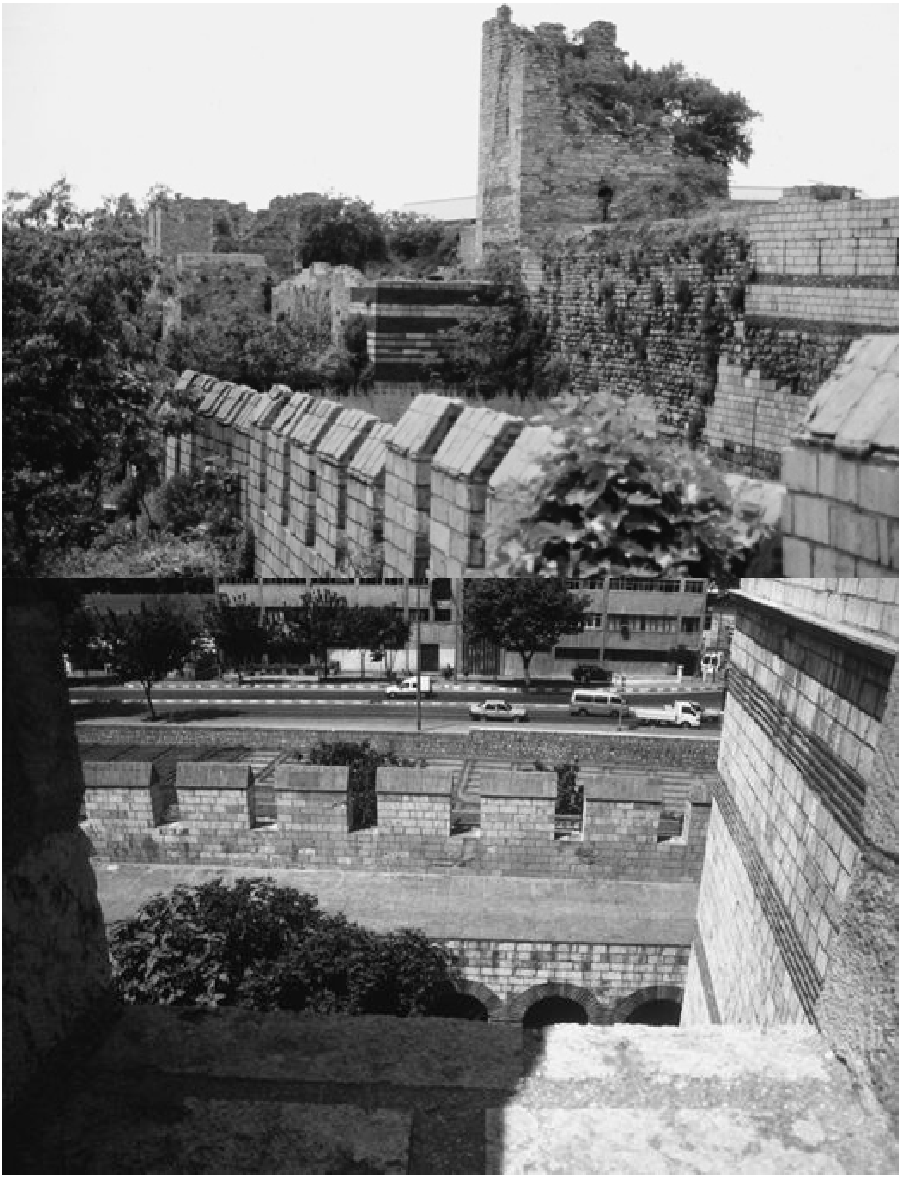

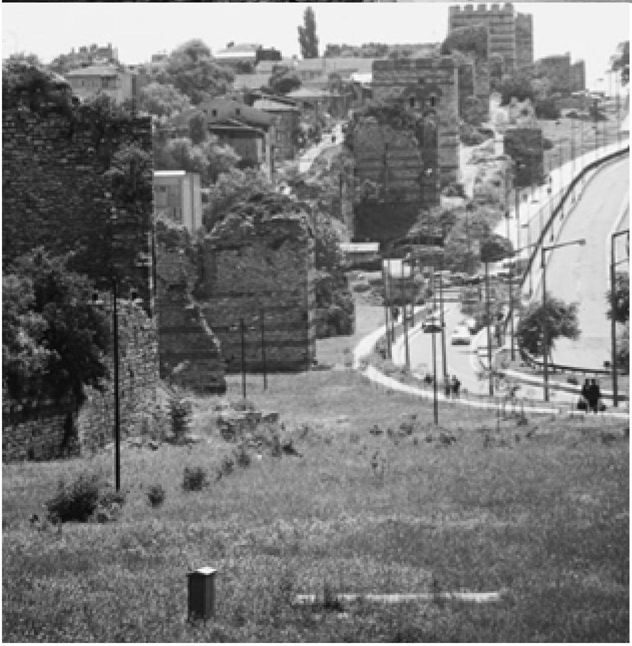

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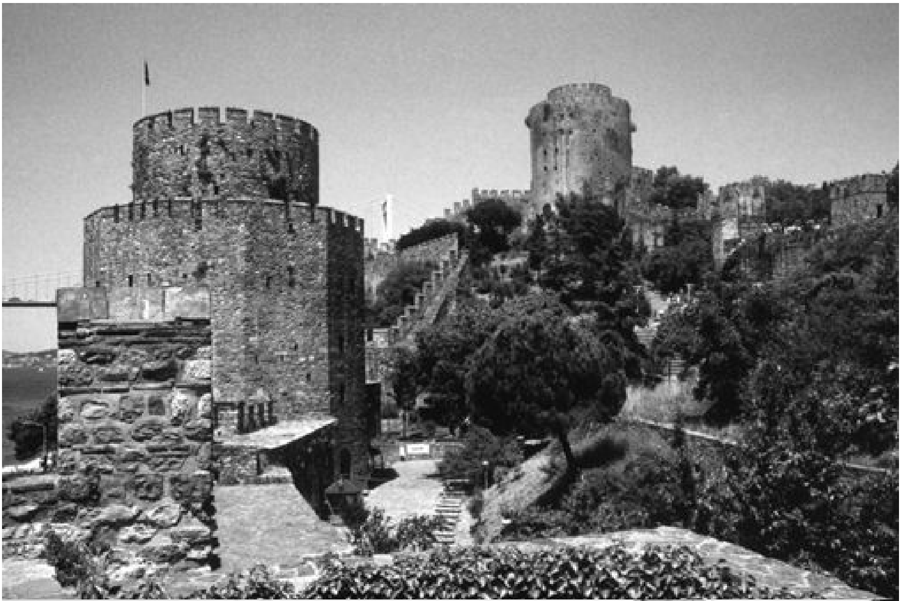

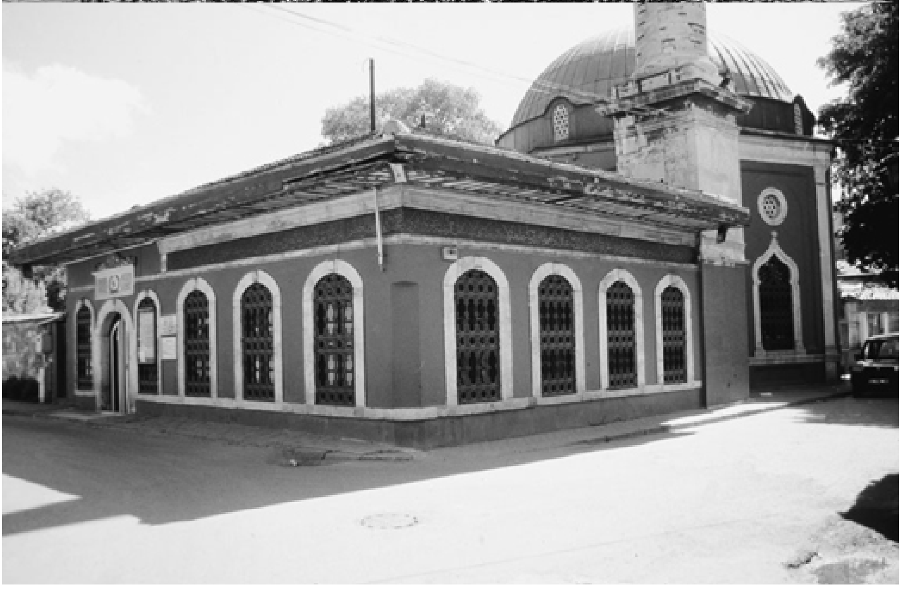

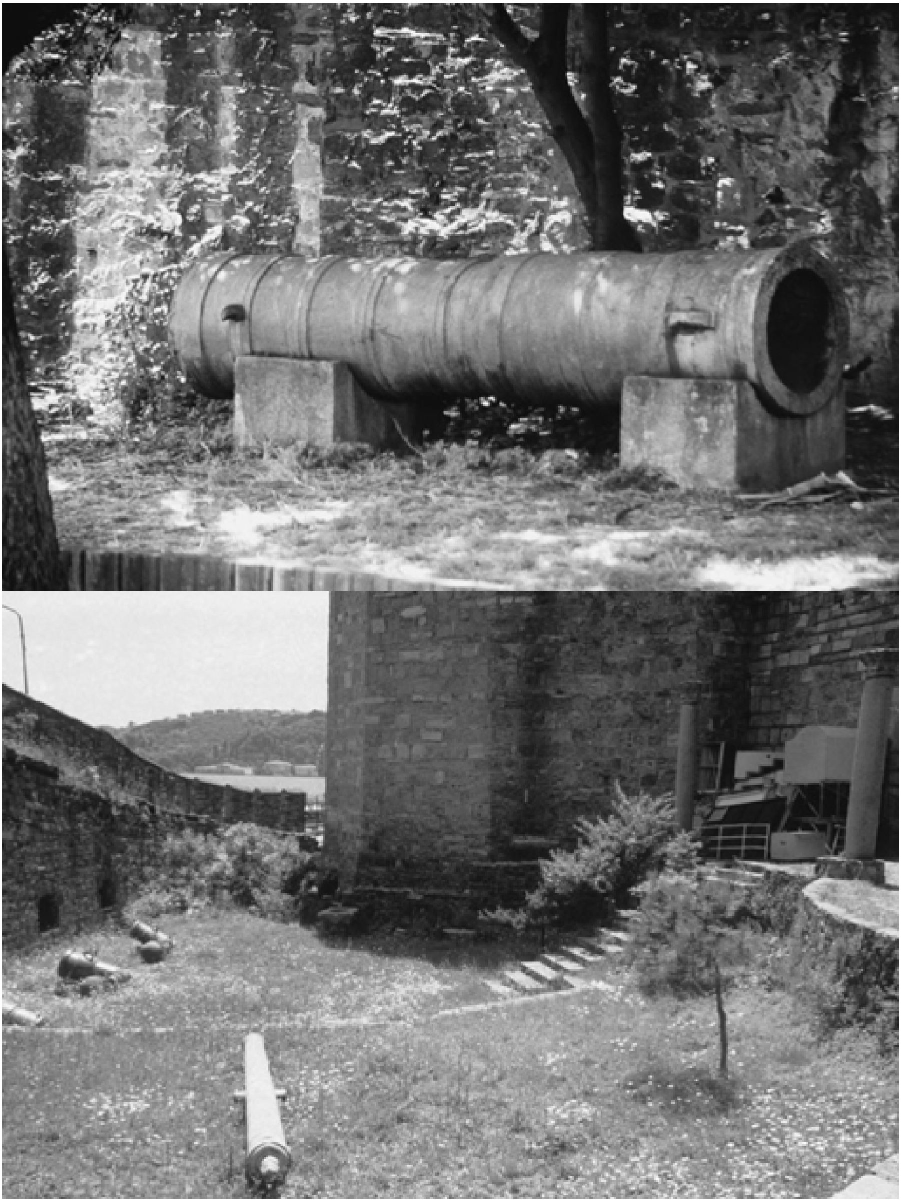

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